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EDITED BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS.

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VOL. VI.

CONTAINING  
LIFE OF THOMAS CHALKLEY.—JOURNAL OF JOHN CHURCHMAN.—LIFE OF  
JOHN PEMBERTON.—SELECTIONS FROM THE MEMORANDUMS, &c.  
OF JOHN BARCLAY.—MEMOIR OF SARAH MORRIS.

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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THOMAS CHALKLEY,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

---

Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful; but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth he meditate both day and night. *Psal. i. 1, 2.*

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*The testimony of the monthly meeting of Friends, in Philadelphia, concerning our ancient worthy friend, Thomas Chalkley, deceased.*

THE christian experiences of the faithful being useful to direct such as are desirous of following them in the path of true religion and virtue, and their good examples shining with the greatest clearness, when they have, with the flesh, put off all human infirmities; justice to their memory, and a concern for the benefit of their survivors, demand our grateful remembrance of them, and the contributing of our endeavours to render their labours useful to posterity.

These considerations engage us to preface the writings of this our esteemed friend and elder in the truth, with this testimony concerning him.

He was a member of our monthly meeting above forty years, so that some of us had opportunities of being intimately acquainted with him, and of knowing his fidelity and diligence in promoting the cause of truth and the edification of the church of Christ; this having been the principal engagement and concern of his mind, and which he preferred to any other consideration, as will evidently appear to those, who with an honest and unprejudiced intention, peruse the journal of his life and travels.

By this it will appear, that he was, in the early part of his life, sensibly affected with the visitation of divine life and grace, and by adhering thereto, was preserved from the vanities and follies which often divert and alienate the

minds of youth from a due remembrance and awful regard of their Creator. Thus he was enabled to bear a testimony of christian patience and self-denial in his youthful days, and by keeping under that exercise, as he advanced in years, attained to further knowledge and experience in the work of religion, in which he had a sight of the necessity of keeping in a state of humility, and of bearing the cross of Christ, which mortified him to the world. The loss which many sustain by the anxious pursuit of the lawful things thereof, appearing to him, he was concerned to avoid it, and in obedience to the precept of Christ, to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, having faith in his promise, that all things necessary for him should be added.

Thus the love of God influencing his mind, and opening his understanding, he became concerned for the general good of mankind, and received a gift of the ministry of the gospel of Christ, before he had attained the age of twenty-one years; in the public exercise of which, he soon after travelled through many parts of England, and into Scotland. In the year 1697 he came to visit Friends in this and the adjacent provinces of America, where his ministry and conversation were to the comfort and edification of the faithful, as some of us can with satisfaction declare, from our knowledge and remembrance of him at that time; and the near fellowship and union he then had with Friends here, we believe contributed to his more speedy determination of settling among us, which he afterwards thought it his duty to do, though leaving his parents



and relations was no small cross to him, being of a dutiful and affectionate disposition.

After fixing his residence among us, he persevered in his concern and labour for the edification of the churches, and gathering people to faith and dependence on the inward teachings of Christ, and for that purpose only he travelled many long journies and voyages through the several English colonies on this continent, and most of the islands in the West-Indies, and in Europe, through England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Friesland, and several parts of Germany, and the adjacent northern kingdoms. In many of these places his ministry and religious labours were blessed with the desired success, of which there are yet some witnesses living, and others, who were convinced of the principles of truth by his means, became serviceable members of the church, and continued therein to the end of their lives.

But as the wise king Solomon formerly observed, that one event cometh to the righteous and to the wicked, so it happened to this good man, who met with various losses and disappointments in his temporal estate; after which, the circumstances of his affairs engaged him to undertake some business, in the management of which he was obliged to cross the seas frequently. This however, did not abate his zeal and religious care to make use of all opportunities of visiting the meetings of Friends, when among them, and of calling, at other times, to such who might be accounted as the outcasts of Israel, and the dispersed of Judah, or as sheep not yet of the fold of Christ; and his services of that kind are worthy to be commemorated, having been often productive of good effects.

His patience was remarkable in disappointments and afflictions, of which he had a large share; and his meekness, humility and circumspection, in the general course of his life and conversation were conspicuous and exemplary. As he frequently exhorted and admonished others to the observation and practice of the many excellent precepts and rules of Christ our Lord and law-giver; and more especially those expressed in his sermon on the mount, which contains the sum of our moral and religious duties, so he manifested himself to be one of that number, whom Christ compared to the wise builder, who laid a sure foundation; so that his building stood unshaken by the various floods and winds of tribulations and temptations which he met with, both from within and without.

He was a lover of unity amongst brethren, and careful to promote and maintain it, showing the example of a meek, courteous, and loving deportment, not only to Friends, but to

all others, with whom he had conversation or dealings; so that it may be truly said, few have lived more universally beloved and respected among us. It was manifest that this did not proceed from a desire of being popular, or to be seen of man; for his love and regard to peace did not divert him from the discharge of his duty in a faithful testimony to those who professed the truth, that they ought to be careful to maintain good works. He was often concerned zealously to incite and press Friends to the exercise of good order and discipline, established in the wisdom of truth, by admonishing, warning, and timely treating with such as fell short of their duty therein, and by testifying against those who, after loving and brotherly care and endeavours, could not be brought to the sense and practice of their duty; and thereby he sometimes shared the ill-will and resentment of such persons.

The several essays which he wrote on religious subjects while at sea, are further proofs that his mind was principally engaged in the great business and concern of religion; and as he continued under the same engagement to the end, we are fully persuaded the words, with which he concluded his last public testimony in the island of Tortola, may be truly and properly applied to him, that he had fought a good fight, and had kept the faith, and we doubt not, he now enjoys a crown of righteousness.

Much more might be truly said of his integrity, faithfulness and worth, but we do not think it necessary; our chief intention being to express our respectful remembrance of him, and our unity with his labours and services, and in order to assure those, to whom he was not personally known, of the truth of what he hath himself written of his life and travels. We believe, as he was a man signally influenced with the spirit of universal love and good will to mankind, this was his chief motive for writing; and we are sincerely desirous that his good design may be answered, and that the glory of every good and perfect work may be attributed to that divine power alone, which can qualify others to supply the places of those faithful ministers and servants of Christ, who have been of late years removed from among us, and are of that number, of whom it is written, "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."

*Signed on behalf, and by appointment of the monthly meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, the 28th day of the second month, 1749, by*

ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

## THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS CHALKLEY.

---

HAVING great cause to acknowledge the regard and protection of divine Providence in the several stages of my life, I think it may be of service to others, to leave behind me the following account of my life and travels.

I was born on the 3d day of the third month, 1675, in Southwark, and descended of honest and religious parents, who were very careful of me, and brought me up in the fear of the Lord; and oftentimes counselled me to sobriety, and reprov'd me for wantonness; and that light spirit which is incident to youth, they were careful to nip in the bud: so that I have cause to bless God, through Christ, on the behalf of my tender parents.

I may not forget the dealings of God with me in my very tender years. When between eight and ten years of age, my father and mother sent me nearly two miles to school, to Richard Scoryer, in the suburbs of London. I went mostly by myself, and many and various were the exercises I went through, by beatings and stonings along the streets, being distinguished to the people by the badge of plainness which my parents put upon me, of what profession I was: divers telling me, "it was no more sin to kill me than it was to kill a dog."

About this time the Lord began to work strongly on my mind by his grace, insomuch that I could not forbear reprov'ing those lads, who would take the name of the Lord God in their mouths in vain, reminding them of the third commandment, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain;" and of Christ's saying, "every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the day of judgment;" for which I was mocked and derided by some, and others would sometimes refrain from such bad words when I reprov'd them.

One time I remember being amongst some men, one of whom I had reprov'd, and he told the rest of it, and turned to me, and said, "that I was no Christian," and asked me, "when I said the Lord's prayer?" I asked him, if he said it. He replied yes. I then asked him, how he could call God Father, and be so wicked as to swear and take God's name in vain; which I had heard him often do; and I told him what Christ said to the Jews, "ye are of your father the devil, because his works ye do;" and that those that did the devil's

work could not truly call God father, according to Christ's doctrine. Being convicted in their consciences that what I said was true, they were all silent, and wondered that I, being so young, should speak in such a manner; in which I remember I had great peace and good satisfaction; and from thenceforth these men let me alone.

Notwithstanding I hated to hear wicked words, I loved play exceedingly, being persuaded that there was no harm in that, if we used no bad words. One time I was at play at a neighbour's house with the children, and in the midst of my sport I was reached with strong conviction, insomuch that I could not forbear weeping. The children's mother observing that I wept, said, "why do you weep?" I told her I could not tell, except it was because I was a naughty boy. "Oh!" said she, "don't believe him, for that's the devil tells you so, for you are the best boy in all our street." But I knew I was told the truth by conviction, and that she was mistaken: for I plainly understood by clear conviction, and by the holy Scriptures, which I had been trained up in the reading of, that I was too vain and wanton; for I loved music, dancing and playing at cards, and too much delighted therein, and was followed with the judgments of God therefor in the secret of my soul. What I did in those sports and games, I always took care to do out of the sight, and without the knowledge, of my tender parents; for I was afraid of their reproofs and corrections, the which I was sure to have, if they had any intelligence of it.

I remember that, unknown to my parents, I had bought a pack of cards, with intent to make use of them when I went to see my relations in the country, where there was liberty in the family so to do, at a place called Woodford, about seven miles from London, where I got leave sometimes to go. At the time called Christmas, I went to see them, and five miles on my way went to a meeting, at a town called Wanstead; at which meeting, a minister of Christ declared against the evil of gaming, and particularly of cards; and that the time which people pretend to keep holy, for Christ's sake, many of them spend mostly in wickedness, sports and games; even some pretending to be religious; and generally speaking, more sin and evil is committed in this time, than in the like space of time in all the year besides; so that the devil is served instead of honour-



ing Christ. From this meeting at Wanstead, I went to the house of my relations, where the parson of the next parish lodged that night, who used to play cards with them sometimes. The time drawing near that we were to go to our games, my uncle called to the doctor, as he styled him, to me and to my cousin, to come and take a game at cards; at which motion I had strong convictions upon me not to do it, as being evil; and I secretly cried to the Lord to keep me faithful to him; and lifting up my eyes, I saw a Bible lie in the window, at the sight of which I was glad. I took it, and sat down, and read to myself, greatly rejoicing that I was preserved out of the snare. Then my uncle called again, and said, "Come, doctor, you and I, my wife and daughter, will have a game at cards, for I see my cousin is better disposed." Then he looked upon me, and said, "He was better disposed also." So their sport for that time was spoiled, and mine in that practice for ever; for I never, as I remember, played with them more, but as soon as I came home, offered my new and untouched pack of cards to the fire. I am certain the use of them is of evil consequence, and draws away the mind from heaven and heavenly things; for which reason all Christians ought to shun them as engines of satan; and music and dancing having generally the same tendency, ought therefore to be refrained from. The sentiments of the Waldenses, a people in great esteem among Protestants, are worthy the consideration of all Christians; which were, "That as many paces, or steps, as a man or woman takes in the dance, so many paces or steps they take towards hell."

I very well remember the work of God upon my soul, when I was about ten years of age; and particularly at a certain time when I had been rebelling against God and my parents, in vanity and lightness: and as I had offended both, so I was corrected by both: for I had not only felt the anger of my parents, but the Lord frowned upon me, insomuch, that I trembled exceedingly, and was as though I heard a voice say to me, "What will become of thee this night, if I should take thy life from thee?" At which I was amazed, and in great fear. Then I covenanted with God, that if he would be pleased to spare my life, for I thought God would have taken it from me that very moment, I would be more sober, and mind his fear more than I had done before.

Nevertheless, I broke covenant with God my Maker, my adversary tempting me so to do, telling me I was but a child, and it was natural for children to be brisk and play, and that God would wink at my childhood and youth, and it was time enough for me when a man, to become religious. But still God fol-

lowed me with his chastising rod, and often put me in mind of my covenant which I made with him in my distress; and that he had granted the request I then made to him; and unless I would take up a cross to my own corrupt will and inclinations, he should take me out of the world. Then, Oh, then! I cried, Lord help, or I die! Save me, or I perish for ever! I cannot keep thy covenant, nor do thy will, without thy help and assistance! And indeed, if the Lord had not helped, I had been undone for ever.

I continued bowed down in my mind, calling on the Lord; thinking and meditating on heaven and heavenly things: but as I am sensible I had an inward enemy that always sought my hurt and overthrow, I have cause to bless God, who by his grace, as mine eye was turned to it, helped me to do his will, as he was pleased to manifest it to me, so that thereby some change was wrought on me both inwardly and outwardly.

I then began to delight in reading and sobriety, which before were irksome to me: and when I read the holy Scriptures, I desired that God would open them to my understanding, which he did many times to my edification. I also begged earnestly of the Lord, that he would be pleased to be with me, and make me like his children and servants, of whom I read in the holy Scriptures, who faithfully served him all their days. And when I read of the crucifixion of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, it would break my soul into tenderness. I thought it was enough to awaken and humble any soul that was well meaning, and had any sense of the power, love and grace of Christ. Thus I went on for several years, feeling that peace which passeth natural understanding, which many times accompanied my poor and needy soul: and being advanced to about fourteen or fifteen years of age, I remember that I used to shun the cross of speaking in the plain language, which I always read in the holy Scriptures, to those whom I conversed with, except my father and mother, who would not allow me to speak otherwise. I was convicted in my conscience that it was not right to play the hypocrite after that manner; and on a certain time I had occasion to speak with an officer, a great man in our neighbourhood, and my heart moved within me for fear I should shun the cross of Christ; for it was Christ's language to all, as we may read in the New Testament; and all the Scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations, speak thee and thou, to a single person.

So I took up the cross, and said thee to him; and he was much affronted, and said, "Thee! what dost thou thee me for?" I so-



berly asked him if he did not say thee to his Maker in his prayers? and whether he was too good, or too great, to be spoken to in the same language in which he addressed the Almighty? to this he made no reply, but seemed to fall from his passion into admiration, as one smitten in himself. He bore me respect ever after; and I greatly rejoiced that I was preserved faithful. Though it may look a little thing to some, yet I found it good, as the Scripture saith, not to despise the day of small things.

About the twentieth year of my age, I was pressed and carried on board of a vessel belonging to a man of war. I was put down into the hold in the dark, not having any thing to lie upon but casks; and what made it worse to me, I was among wicked, debauched men; and as we were shut up in darkness, so was their conversation dark and hellish. In the morning, for which I longed more than the watchman, the lieutenant called us up on deck, and examined us, whether we were willing to serve the king? He called me to him, and asked me, if I was willing to serve his majesty? I answered, that I was willing to serve him in my business, and according to my conscience; but as for war or fighting, Christ had forbidden it in his excellent sermon on the mount; and for that reason I could not bear arms, or be instrumental to destroy or kill men. Then the lieutenant looked on me and on the people, and said, "Gentlemen, what shall we do with this fellow? he swears he will not fight." The commander of the vessel made answer, "No, no, he will neither swear nor fight." Upon which they turned me on shore. I was thankful that I was delivered out of their hands; and my tender parents were glad to see me again.

As I grew in years, the world began to take too much root in me; and my unwearied enemy would tell me that it was lawful enough, and indeed I see that he hurts many with lawful things, with whom he knoweth unlawful things will not take; and here I had been lost if God had not been gracious to me. But he, in whose presence I delighted, withdrew, and deprived me of that enjoyment which was grateful and comfortable above all things to my soul. Then did I pray with tears, Oh, that it might be with me as it was at other times before! and I was willing to let the world go, rather than grace and God's glory. The Psalmist saith, "no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly."

About this time there was a great concern on my mind, rightly to distinguish between the voice of Christ, and the whisperings of satan; and thus it opened to me: that Christ, the truth, always speaketh good and for a good end, and that there is divine life to the soul in

this speaking; but the devil never speaks good, unless sometimes for a bad end, and then not good in reality, only coloured with good or a fair shew.

Keeping under this exercise, the Lord appeared to me again, and many times refreshed my heart with his goodness. When I was in my business amongst men, I witnessed the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, to be near me; which was more to me than all the world, or the riches, glory and beauty of it. The love of God being so sweet to my soul and spirit; my breathings, prayers and supplications, were to the Lord, that my neighbours, acquaintance, and relations, might also partake of the like precious faith and love which I enjoyed; and that the children of men might answer that great and good end for which the Lord created them; which is, that glory, honour, and praise, might ascend and be given to Him.

I had such a sense and fear of dishonouring God, that I often, with tears, cried, Never let me live to dishonour thee. Oh! it had been better for me that I had never been born than that I should live to dishonour thee, or wilfully reproach the name of Christ, who, with the Father, is only worthy of divine honour.

In this concern I felt the gospel power of our Lord Jesus Christ to work upon my soul, and the word of God was as a seed in my heart, growing and opening in me, speaking to me, and making my understanding fruitful in the things of his kingdom; and in that ability which was given me of God, through his grace and holy Spirit, I exhorted people to repentance and amendment of life; and I always humbly desired the help and divine influence of God's eternal Word therein. Oh! I did fervently pray that I might minister the gospel in the power of Jesus; for I clearly discerned, in the light of the Son of God, that all ministering out of Christ's power was neither edifying nor efficacious unto souls: therefore I did earnestly beseech God for the continuance of the gift of his Spirit, that I might be enabled to preach the gospel in the power of Christ Jesus. The concern that was upon me on this account at that time, is hard to be expressed in words.

The latter end of the year 1695, my father sent me into Essex on some business, and when I had accomplished it, I visited some meetings of Friends there, and my mind being much affected with the apprehensions of an impending storm, the nation being about this time threatened with an invasion from France, in favour of the late king James, so that there was expectation of much blood-shed and confusion in the land, I wrote a letter to my parents, and another to Friends of the evening meeting, kept weekly at my father's house,

expressing my thankfulness to the Almighty, in the remembrance of the many precious visitations of divine love and favour we had been partakers of, uniting our hearts to him, and to one another; and my earnest prayers and supplications, that we might be preserved in true love, and the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of everlasting peace; and that the world might be made sensible of this true peace, which abounds in those who love and fear the Lord, and truly believe in the name of Jesus. Oh! surely, they would then depart from sin, and abandon iniquity, by which they incur the wrath of the Lord, and provoke the just One to anger; so that the line of confusion seems to be stretched over the city and nation, and the eyes of the faithful see it to the grief of their souls. Yet the mercy of the Lord, even of the just God, who will render a just reward to every one according to his deeds done in the body, is still handed forth to the land. Oh! that the inhabitants thereof would consider their ways, and be wise, and turn to the Lord with unfeigned repentance, while the day of mercy lasteth, before it be said, now it is hid from thine eyes; for the Lord, even the God and Father of spirits, hath said, "My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh."

On the expiration of my apprenticeship, having served my father faithfully seven years, I entered more strongly into covenant with my heavenly Father and master, to serve him all my days, through his assistance; and was soon after drawn forth, in the spirit and love of Christ, to visit the meetings of Friends westward from London, viz. through Surry, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall to the Land's-end; in which journey I was accompanied by William Hornould. At one of our meetings at Falmouth, in Cornwall, two men called gentlemen came from the inn to hear the strangers; and after meeting, they said they could take their oath that I was a Jesuit, and that they had heard me preach in a Romish chapel in France; which was utterly false; for I never was in France. Besides, had I been a papist, or popishly inclined, which I was not, I was too young to be a Jesuit.

Indeed, I thought I was mean for the work of the ministry, but the good remembrancer brought those truths to my remembrance, which strengthened me in the work and service of God. The spirit breatheth where it listeth; out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, &c. We having great peace in our labours in this journey, and being edified therewith, returned to London, after about four months absence from home.

After I had been two weeks at home, my dear mother departed this life, in a sweet frame of spirit, praising the Lord. She was one who lived the life of the righteous, and whose latter end was like theirs, and left a good report behind her, being well beloved, I think I may safely say, by all our neighbours; not only by those of our own society, but others also, to whom she was often very helpful.

I went to my calling and got a little money, a little being enough, which I was made willing to spend freely, in the work and service of my great master, Christ Jesus. About this time I was concerned to travel into the north of England, and part of Scotland, which I did in that ability God gave me; and that dispensation which I had freely received, I freely handed forth to the people, devoting my strength and time to serve him who had done so much for me; and I had the satisfaction to find divers confessing the truth, as it is in Jesus. In this journey I was from home about four months, being mostly alone as to any yoke-fellow in that work, travelling many hundreds of miles, as far as Edinburgh, in Scotland, where our meeting was in the street, we being locked out of our meeting-house by the then power, and great numbers of people were there. This news being carried to the provost of the city, he said, "The Quakers would do more hurt out of doors than within," and he ordered Friends their key. Since which I have understood that Friends in that city have enjoyed their meetings in the meeting-house; and sometimes when the rabble have disturbed Friends, the magistrates have sent officers to disperse them.

After I had visited the churches of Christ in divers parts of England, and had many sweet seasons of God's love, and many good opportunities with my Friends and others in this nation; the word of life being declared in the simplicity of the gospel, in several places people were very open-hearted, and received the testimony of it with gladness. After I had been at my father's, and at my calling, a little after this north country journey, I found myself engaged in the love of the gospel to visit Friends in America; and having acquainted my friends and relations of my mind, they being willing to give me up, in order for the voyage, Friends of the monthly meeting gave me a certificate, and I had another from the meeting of the ministers in London.

My father, and several other friends with me, took boat from London, and accompanied me to Gravesend, on the 21st of the tenth month, 1697. I went on board the ship Josiah, Thomas Lurting, master, and sailed that day from Gravesend, and got to the Downs the next day, where we tarried some days for



a fair wind; in which time several others, who were concerned in the same gospel labour, came on board, viz. Thomas Turner, William Ellis, and Aaron Atkinson. In about four days time the wind was fair for us, and we set sail, and in a little time we got out of sight of the land; soon after which the wind was contrary, and we proceeded but a small distance for several weeks; the weather was rough and the sea boisterous, so that with the motion thereof, most of the passengers were sick. In this time we lost a lad, who fell into the sea as he was drawing a bucket of water and was drowned; the ship running swiftly, he could not be saved, although it was speedily endeavoured. Several others died before we got over; but for the most part we were healthful. The Lord be praised, he was, is, and will be with those who faithfully serve him to the end.

There were three ships in company, but by the distress of weather, soon after we came out, we parted. After we had been at sea about eight weeks, on the 25th of the twelfth month, we saw two vessels astern of us. One of them came up with us, and the people hailed us, and told us they came from Bristol, and had been out ten weeks. The other came up with us next day. The people informed us they had been at sea seven weeks, and had had a dreadful time of it. She had lost part of her topmast, and her spritsail topmast was gone. She was a new ship, and never at sea before, belonging to London, and bound for Virginia, as near as we could understand. Our ship lost none of her tackling, through the great mercy of God to us, though the wind and sea were wonderfully high at times; the mate told me, I might go to sea all my life, and not see the like: he said he had been at, or used to, the sea for twenty years, and never saw it so rough and high before. We had meetings twice a week, several of which were comfortable and refreshing, to which most of the passengers, being in all about sixty, sometimes came; and several of them were affected with the sense of truth, and the Lord strengthened our faith and hope in him.

Oh! for ever blessed be the living and eternal God, who kept my soul above the fear of death, hell, and the grave; for my trust was in him, and he did bear up my spirit above the waves of the sea; and in the time of tossing with tempests, I was comforted and cheerful, praising the Lord in my heart, both in the day time, and in the night season.

I was much concerned in my mind for many of the passengers, who, with the second mate, and several of the seamen, were very sick, and by some were thought near unto death. I cried to the Lord to heal them, in the name of his dear Son, and that it might be a means

to convince them of the efficacy of love to, and faith in Christ Jesus, the physician of value; and the Lord was pleased to heal them. The mate of the ship desired that I would come and pray by him. I went to him, and prayed in the power and name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Lord helped him, that he said he was fine and easy, and thanked me for my love; and in a little time he recovered. Several others of the seamen and passengers I was instrumental to help in their sickness. The Lord blessed my endeavours in supplicating him on their behalf, and administering what I had to them. One of the seamen said, he was bound to pray for me as long as he lived, and that the Lord would bless me. Another of the passengers said, that I was the blessed doctor, for there was not a surgeon, or doctor in the ship. I was very free to communicate of what I had to any sick person in the ship, and several blessed the Lord on my behalf. Indeed I thought I could scarcely do enough for any that were in distress. I write not thus, that I may seem popular, but with my mind bowed before the Lord. Many times in this voyage there were consultations in my mind, whether I had best write a memorandum hereof; but at last, conceiving in my spirit that it might strengthen and excite love to God, and faith in his beloved Son, in true believers, I wrote as aforesaid; and then I was satisfied, and gave the glory to God.

Before we came to the land, we saw a ketch, which had saved the lives of some who belonged to a ship that was a little before foundered in the sea; who said also, that a fleet of New-England ships which had been upon that coast, by stormy weather were forced to Barbadoes. Within a few days after, we saw the land of Virginia, and also a New-England ship, which sailed from England three weeks before us. We arrived within the Capes of Virginia the 31st of the first month 1698, and overtook the John and Margaret, a ship that came out of the English channel with us, the master, Thomas Salmon, being dead. Next day we anchored our ship at the mouth of Patuxent river, in Maryland, where our boats were hoisted out, and we were rowed up Patuxent river twelve miles, to Arthur Young's house, where we lodged that night; and for our preservation and safe arrival, we blessed the Lord our God, and my spirit praised him who lives for ever and ever. Our voyage was above twelve weeks, it being then winter time, and for the most part the winds so high that the ship could carry but little sail, which made our voyage the longer.

About four days after we landed, we had a meeting, near Patuxent river; and a blessed one it was! When it was ended, we went

that night to Daniel Rawling's, and from thence to the Cliffs, to Richard Johns', a Friend who came with us from England, at whose house we had a meeting, wherein God's presence was powerfully felt. We had several meetings on that side the bay, called the Westernshore, and then we sailed over to the east side of Chesapeake bay, with Thomas Everden, in his sloop; went to his house and had a meeting, where many people came. Here we met with our friends, Jonathan Tyler, Henry Payton, and Henry Payton's sister. While I was at this Friend's house, one Robert Cathing, being very ill, sent for Thomas Everden, and he not being very well desired me to visit the sick person. So I went, and the man was near to death. Howbeit, he said he was comforted much with the visit, and that he never had received so much benefit by the parish priest, although, said he, it cost me dear for what I had; and if ever I live to get over it, by the assistance of God, I shall have nothing to do with them more. But, he said, he should not live three days. And before the end of three days he expired. He desired if I were not gone that I would be at his funeral. On notice hereof, about ten Friends went; and there was a great many people, among whom we had a good opportunity, and many weighty truths were opened to them in the love of God; and some of them were tender and wept; and the most, if not all, I think I may say, were solid and weighty.

From Thomas Everden's we went to George Truit's, at whose house we had a meeting. This Friend and I went to an Indian town not far from his house, because I had a desire to see these people, having never seen any of them before. When we came to the town they were kind to us, spoke well of Friends, and said they would not cheat them, as some others did.

From George Truit's, in Maryland, we went down to Virginia; and in Accomack and Northampton counties had large meetings. I hope they were effectual to many, and I think my hope is not without ground. In those parts we had several meetings, where we were informed Friends had not had any before. And really I cannot but bless the Lord for the opportunities we had with the people; for the goodness of God, through Christ our Lord, was great, both to us and them, and with tears they did acknowledge the truth. Thomas Turner, who had hitherto accompanied me, went by the sea-side the nearest way to Philadelphia, and afterwards I had a meeting at George Truit's brother's, and on the first-day, another near the court-house, and went to Thomas Everden's, and so to Leven Denwood's, and thence to Nanticoke river, and

visited Friends up the bay until I came to the river Choptank, about which there are many Friends. I went on and took the meetings till I came to Philadelphia, in and about which place, and in other parts of the province of Pennsylvania, I had many large and precious meetings, the power of the eternal Son of God being wonderful; in which power we many times blessed his name together. It was much in my heart to exhort Friends to love God, and to be at unity one with another, without which there is no fulfilling the law or gospel. There are many Friends in that province, and many sober young people, which greatly rejoiced my spirit, so that for their encouragement, the Lord opened my mouth in a prophetic manner to declare unto them on the blessings which he had in store for them, on condition of their walking in the truth. Glory to God on high! untruth decays and the branches of it mightily wither; the darkness is much past, and the true light shineth gloriously in many souls. Oh! powerful praises be given to God, who is light for ever.

From Philadelphia I went to Burlington and to Crosswicks, where we had a large meeting under the trees, and some were convinced of the truth. From hence I went to Shrewsbury and had meetings; then to Woodbridge, Staten island and Long island, being accompanied by several Friends. On Long island we had several large and good meetings, wherein Christ was preached freely; and after we had been two weeks there, we went on board a sloop bound for Rhode Island, and by the way we touched at Fisher's and Block islands, and on the first-day morning we set sail from Block island to Rhode Island, the yearly meeting being just over when we got there. That evening we sailed over to Conanicut island, and on the third-day of the week had a meeting there. From thence we went over to Narraganset and had a meeting, and back to Rhode Island, where Ruth Fry, a sober young woman, was convinced and remained a Friend till her death. Here I met with several travelling Friends. From this island we went to the main, and had a large meeting on first-day at a place called Greenwich. It was thought there were about five hundred people present, and many of them were tender. We went the same night to the island; and after several open times with Friends and others on Rhode Island, about twelve Friends of that island went with me to Warwick and Providence yearly meetings. We set sail about noon, and having but little wind, it was late in the night before we got there, and very dark, insomuch that we could neither see nor know one another, only by our speech, and the darkness occasioned us to run our



vessel against the rocks; but at last we got ashore with our horses, and after going over a very dirty slough, entered a dismal wilderness. These difficulties occasioned our not getting to the Friend's house till the next day, which being the last day in the week, we had a meeting; and on the first-day also we had a very large and satisfactory meeting. Many of us were so united in the love of God, that it was hard to part one from another.

From Providence I went to Boston and Salem, where I had meetings, and from thence to Hampton. In those parts God Almighty hath shortened the power of persecutors, and brought his righteous judgments upon them for their unrighteousness. Oh! that New-England's professors might live in the sense of the same, and repent. I being a stranger and traveller, could not but observe the barbarous and unchristian-like welcome I had in Boston, the metropolis of New-England. Oh! what a pity it was, said one, that all of your society were not hanged with the other four!\* In the eastern part of New-England God hath a seed left of his people.

From thence I returned in order to get a passage to the isle of Nantucket; and from a place called Cushnet, we sailed over to the said island in about ten hours, where we tarried several days and had five meetings. The people generally acknowledged to the truth, and many of them were tender-hearted. Some of the ancient people said, it was never known that so many people were together on the island at once. After the first meeting was over, one asked the minister, so called, whether we might have a meeting at his house? he said, with a good will, we might. This minister had some discourse with me, and asked, What induced me to come hither, being such a young man? I told him I had no other view in coming there than the good of souls, and that I could say with the apostle, a necessity was laid upon me, and wo would be to me if I did not preach the gospel. Then, said he, I wish you would preach at my house in God's name. So next day we had a meeting at his house; and on first-day we had the largest meeting that we had on the island. It was thought there were above two hundred people. The Lord in his power did make his truth known to the praise of his name. Oh! how was my soul concerned for that people! The Lord Jesus did open my heart to them, and theirs to him. They were also loving and kind to us. The chief magistrate of the island desired that I would have a meeting at his

house, there being no settled meeting of Friends before I came; and after meeting he disputed with me about religion. I thought we were both but poor disputants; and cannot remember all that passed between us, but that in the close of our dispute he said, I disputed with your friends in Barbadoes, and they told me that we must eat the spiritual flesh, and drink the spiritual blood of Christ: and, said the governor, did ever any one hear of such flesh and blood; for is it not a contradiction in nature, that flesh and blood should be spiritual? Oh! surely, said I, the governor has forgotten himself; for what flesh and blood was that which Christ said, "except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you." Why, said he, I do not think they were to gnaw it from his arms and shoulders. I then told him he had answered himself; and thus our dispute ended. From that time forward they have continued a meeting, and there is now a meeting house and a yearly meeting for worship; it is a growing meeting to this day, and several public Friends are raised up amongst them, who preach the gospel of Christ freely.

At this time a Friend was convinced whose name was Starbuck, who became very serviceable on that island, and lived and died an eminent minister of Christ. Several scores of the people accompanied us to the water side; and when we embarked on board our sloop, they desired that I would come and visit them again. I recommended them to the grace of our Lord Jesus, and we parted in great love and tenderness. In the evening of the next day we got to the main land, where we were gladly received. Now it was in my heart again to visit the eastern parts of New-England before I left America; therefore I went to Boston yearly meeting, thence to Lynn and Salem, where we had a sweet comfortable time; likewise to the yearly meetings at Dover, and to Piscataway, where we had several meetings, which were profitable opportunities to many. From Piscataway, James Goodbridge and I went over to the isle of Shoals. We had with us a church member of the Presbyterians, whose brother invited her over with us to the said island, to the meeting which was at his house; and while he was talking with her in the yard or garden, I saw a bible and took it and read therein. When she came into the house, she asked me, What I did with that book? I told her, if she was offended I would lay it down. No, no, said she, do not think to come off so, for you disown or deny that book. I told her she was mistaken; and asked who told her so. Why, said she, our minister in his pulpit. I replied, that it was a great abuse upon us, for I had been trained up from

\* Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, Mary Dyer and William Ledra, who were put to death in 1659 and 1660.

my childhood in the reading and belief of the Scriptures, and my father and mother were Friends, that is Quakers. She willing to try me further, said, Did your father and mother suffer you to read the bible when you were a little boy? Yes, said I, and gave me correction when I was not so willing to read therein as they would have me. Then, said she, our minister has belied you; and since you say so, if it please God, I will go and hear you. She went with us to meeting; and after it was over, one asked her how she would answer it to their minister for going to meetings? She replied, it was truth she had heard, and she would stand by it, through the grace of Christ, and need not be ashamed of it, though we are of ourselves but poor weak creatures. This woman was sober and religious, and one of good report. By the foregoing we may see how slanders flow from some pulpits: the more is the shame and pity. We went on and preached the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, in that ability he gave us, with which the people were affected, and would have had us tarry longer, but we could not, although they much importuned us, because we had appointed a meeting at Oyster river. After having several meetings about Piscataway and Dover, we went to Hampton, where we had meetings; and at Salisbury we had a large open meeting, of about three hundred people, as it was supposed, which was at this time accounted a great concourse of people thereabouts. At Jamaica and Haverhill also, we had meetings, and from thence went to Salem and Lynn again, where we had good service for truth; and then to Boston, and had a meeting at the meeting house, and another at a Friend's house in the evening, at which there were many people. From Boston I went to visit Friends about Cape Cod, till I came again to Rhode Island. By the way I met with Aaron Atkinson, who was on a visit to Friends in New-England. I had several good opportunities and powerful meetings in those parts, and truth wrought a tenderness in divers at Rhode Island. The presence of Him who said, "Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," being sensibly witnessed by many; for he was with us of a truth. From thence I went round the Narraganset country, and had meetings at several places, and was accompanied by John Rodman and William Beackley, through Connecticut to Long island, which is accounted two hundred miles. We had one meeting by the way, in which Christ, the Light of the world, was preached to the people, at a place where we were told there had never been a Friend's meeting before. I came to Long island about two weeks before the general meeting, and visited Friends in several places on this

island, as at Hempstead, Jerusalem, Jericho and Bethpage, where there were large meetings, and much openness among the people, and some were convinced. We had a meeting at a place called Matinicoek, where I met with some of the people called Ranters, who disturbed our meeting. I may say as the apostle Paul, only altering Ephesus to Matinicoek, that I fought with beasts there. I travelled to New-York, where we had two meetings; from thence we went to the Jerseys, and had several serviceable meetings; and so to Pennsylvania, where there are many very large meetings of Friends, and the Lord is with his people, and prospereth them spiritually and temporally. Here I met with my dear friend William Ellis. From Philadelphia, Richard Gove of that city, and I travelled to Maryland, and visited Friends on the Western Shore and to Virginia. In Virginia, near James' river, I met with an aged Friend whose name was William Porter: he was ninety-two years of age.\* We had several meetings there amongst Friends and others, many being well satisfied concerning the truth, and spoke well of it.

After we had had several good and open meetings in Virginia, we found ourselves clear of America, and in order for our passage, agreed with our friend F. Johnson, of the Elizabeth and Mary, to carry us for England.

On the 11th of the first month, 1698-9, we were accompanied on board by several Friends, who abode with us all night; and the next day being the first-day of the week, we had a comfortable meeting, and then parted in much love, having the evidence of the power of the Almighty with us. We waited for a fair wind until the 20th of the aforesaid month, and left the Capes of Virginia that day, and at night got our ship into a sailing posture; and I was glad in my spirit that I was setting my face towards my native land; and more glad that I was returning with peace in my bosom. The power and presence of Him who said, Go, teach all nations, was sweet to my soul at that time, and now in some measure I enjoyed the fruits of having laboured in that ability which God had given to me. Glory to

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\* I saw him some years after, and he was weeding Indian corn with a hoe. He was then about one hundred and six years of age, and had upwards of seventy children, grand-children, and great-grand-children. Divers Friends of us went to see him, and he preached to us a short, but very affecting sermon, which was, as near as I remember, thus: "Friends, you are come to see me in the love of God; God is love, and those that dwell in God, dwell in love; I thank God I feel his divine life every day and every night." He died, aged one hundred and seven years.



God, through Christ, who is worthy for ever! The presence of God was with us on the great ocean, and we were wonderfully strengthened through his goodness. We had several good meetings on board our ship, and were very largely opened in the love of God to the poor seamen.

When we launched forth into the deep, there were several ships in company; but we had been but a little time at sea, before we lost sight of them all. Several ships passed by us about a week after we sailed; and about this time we saw a very large whale, which lifted itself partly out of the water, with its mouth open, which looked like the entrance of a large cave. We likewise saw several other large sea-fish, such as grampuses, sharks, &c. all which show forth the wondrous works of the great Creator of all things. Elizabeth Webb and Elizabeth Lloyd went over with us in this vessel, both virtuous women. For about two weeks the winds were mostly fair, in which time we got finely on our way; but for above a week afterwards the winds were mostly contrary, and the ship had a great motion, which caused some of us to be seasick, especially Elizabeth Lloyd,\* who was but weakly. One night our sailors thought that an enemy or pirate was near us, as a vessel fired two guns, and passed by us; but it being night, we could not certainly know what she was. I rather judged it might be some ship in distress, for that evening we saw one of the ships that came out with us, and the next morning we could see none at all, and there was hardly any wind that night, so I feared that our companion had sprung a leak and foundered; and when I told our master my opinion, he said he feared the same likewise. For nearly two weeks time we beat about the sea, and made little progress. Howbeit, we had several good meetings, wherein we gave glory to God, our Saviour; and for ever let it ascend to him over all, saith my soul! Contrary winds are commonly tedious at sea, but especially to those that know not where to stay their minds; but there being several Friends of us on board, we had oftentimes good meetings; and if any of our ship's company came to meeting, they always were sober and sometimes tender; and truly God's love was extended towards them. When it was not our meeting days, we spent not our

time idly, but for the most part in reading the holy Scriptures, writing, &c., in which we were at seasons greatly refreshed, strengthened and comforted, Oh! my soul! glorify God thy Maker, and Christ thy Saviour for ever, in the sense of his goodness and mercy, both by sea and land, by night and by day! After we had been almost seven weeks at sea, we thought that we were near the land, but we sounded several days and found no bottom, although we let out abundance of line, I think above three hundred yards.

About this time our doctor dreamed a dream, which he related to me, to this effect; he said "He dreamed that he went on shore at a great and spacious town, the buildings whereof were high, and the streets broad; and as he went up the street he saw a large sign, on which was written in great golden letters, SHAME. At the door of the house to which the sign belonged, stood a woman with a can in her hand, who said to him, Doctor, will you drink? He replied, with all my heart, for I have not drank any thing but water a great while, (our wine and cider being all spent, having had a long passage) and he drank a hearty draught, which he said made him merry. He went up the street reeling to and fro, when a grim fellow coming behind him, clapped him on the shoulder, and told him that he arrested him in the name of the governor of the place. He asked him for what; and said, What have I done? He answered, for stealing the woman's can. The can he had indeed, and so he was had before the governor, which was a mighty black dog, the biggest and grimmest that ever he saw in his life; and witness was brought in against him by an old companion of his, and he was found guilty, and his sentence was to go to prison, and there lay for ever."

He told me this dream so punctually, and with such an emphasis, that it affected me with serious sadness, and caused my heart to move within me; for to me the dream seemed true, and the interpretation sure. I then told him he was an ingenious man, and might clearly see the interpretation of that dream, which exactly answered to his state and condition, which I thus interpreted to him: "This great and spacious place, wherein the buildings were high and the streets broad, is thy great and high profession. The sign, on which was written *shame*, which thou sawest, and the woman at the door, with the can in her hand, truly represent that great, crying, and shameful sin of drunkenness, which thou knowest to be thy great weakness, which the woman with the can did truly represent to thee. The grim fellow who arrested thee in the devil's territories, is death, who will assuredly arrest all mortals: the governor whom

\* She was the daughter of Thomas Lloyd, late deputy-governor of Pennsylvania. She lived and died a virtuous woman; and, I think, generally beloved by all who were acquainted with her. When she died she was the wife of Daniel Zachary, a merchant of Boston, New-England, and was well known and much beloved there for her piety and virtue.

thou sawest, representing a great black dog, is certainly the devil, who after his servants have served him to the full, will torment them eternally in hell." So he got up, as it were in haste, and said, God forbid! it is nothing but a dream. But I told him it was a very significant one, and a warning to him from the Almighty, who sometimes speaks to men by dreams.

In seven weeks after we left sight of the land of America, we saw the Scilly islands, and next day the land of England, which was a comfortable sight to us; in that God Almighty had preserved us hitherto, and that we were so far on our way. We drove about the channel's mouth for several days for want of wind; after which the wind came up, and we got as far up the channel as Lime-bay, and then an easterly wind blew fresh for several days, and we turned to windward, but rather lost than got on our way, which was tiresome and tedious to some of us.

About this time, being some days after the doctor's dream, a grievous accident happened to us. Meeting with a Dutch vessel in Lime-bay, a little above the Start, we hailed her, and she us. They said they came from Lisbon, and were bound for Holland. She was loaded with wine, brandy, fruit, and such like commodities, and we having little but water to drink, by reason our passage was longer than we expected, we sent our boat on board in order to buy a little wine to drink with our water. Our doctor, and a merchant who was a passenger, and one sailor, went on board, where they staid until some of them were overcome with wine, although they were desired to beware thereof. When they came back, a rope was handed to them, but they being filled with wine to excess, were not capable of using it dexterously, insomuch that they overset the boat and she turned bottom upwards, having the doctor under her. The merchant caught hold of a rope called the main-sheet, whereby his life was saved. The sailor not getting so much drink as the other two, got nimbly on the bottom of the boat, and floated on the water till our other boat was hoisted out, which was done with great speed, and we took him in; but the doctor was drowned before the boat came. The seaman who sat upon the boat saw him sink but could not help him. This was the greatest exercise that we met with in all our voyage; and the more so, because the doctor was of an evil life and conversation, and much given to excess in drinking. When he got on board the aforesaid ship, the master sent for a can of wine, and said, Doctor, will you drink? He replied yes, with all my heart, for I have drank no wine a great while. Upon

which he drank a hearty draught, that made him merry, as he said in his dream; and notwithstanding the admonition which was so clearly manifested to him but three days before, and the many promises he had made to Almighty God, some of which I was a witness of, when strong convictions were upon him, yet now he was unhappily overcome, and in drink when he was drowned. This is, I think, a lively representation of the tender mercy, and just judgment of the Almighty to poor mortals; and I thought it worthy to be recorded for posterity, as a warning to all great lovers of wine and strong liquors. This exercise was so great to me, that I could not for several days get over it; and one day while I was musing in my mind on those things relating to the doctor, it was opened to me that God and his servants were clear, and his blood was on his own head; for he had been faithfully warned of his evil ways.

We were obliged by contrary winds to put into Plymouth harbour, and from Plymouth I went by coach to London, where I was gladly received by my relations and friends. I got to the yearly meeting of Friends in London, in the year 1699, which was large, and was at divers public meetings for the worship of Almighty God. I may truly say, the Holy Ghost was amongst us, blessed be God our Saviour, for evermore.

In this year I thought it my place to enter into a married state, and I acquainted my father of my design, and that I inclined to make choice of Martha Betterton, a religious young woman, whom I entirely loved for the piety, virtue and modesty, which I beheld in her. I was in the twenty-fourth year of my age, and she in her twenty-first. I likewise acquainted her father and mother with my intentions, to which both our parents consented; her father saying, when I spoke to him, the Lord bless you together. And my father said, if I was worth my weight in gold, she deserved me. The heartiness of both our fathers in this matter, was more to me than a portion of silver or gold, of which we had but very little; but our love to each other was very great, and being honourably grounded, it was not easily shaken. We proposed our intentions of marriage to the monthly meetings to which we belonged; and because I had been travelling in America, I had certificates from my brethren there, not only of my industry and labour in the ministry, with the good effects thereof, but also of my clearness in relation to marriage. After having twice published our intentions, we had liberty of the said meeting to proceed to the solemnization of our marriage, which was accomplished at Devonshire-house, in London, at a



meeting appointed for that end, on the 28th day of the seventh month, in the aforesaid year, in the presence of many hundreds of people, and many worthy brethren and elders. A day of days it was to my soul! wherein I was made sensible of the love and goodness of God in a particular manner, which to me was an earnest of our future well doing. My dear wife was one who truly loved and feared God, and had an excellent gift of the ministry given unto her, and was serviceable therein. [A paper coming to my hands of her own hand writing and composing, I transcribe it here. She calls it, An account of the Exercise of Martha Betterton, viz. "As I was walking in the city of London, with a concern on my mind, in beholding the abominable pride of the people; it opened upon my mind in this wise: Wo, wo! to the crown of pride! And then I was deeply bowed in my spirit before the Lord, and it was said to me, I will yet spare a little longer. I have sheep which I will gather home to me, and there shall be one Shepherd and one sheepfold. Then I said in my heart, Oh! Lord, shall I be one of the sheep belonging to thy sheepfold of eternal rest? And again it was answered me, My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me. Then a cry was raised in me, Cause me to hear thy voice; and not only so, but enable me to obey the same. And then this charge was returned to me, Be thou faithful."]

Soon after I was married, I had a concern to visit Friends in the counties of Surry, Sussex and Kent, which I performed in about two weeks time, and came home and followed my calling, and was industrious therein. When I had gotten something to bear my expenses, and settle my wife in some little business, I found an exercise on my spirit to go over to Ireland, to visit our friends and brethren on that island, in which William Townshend accompanied me, and Friends in that nation were generally satisfied with our service among them. When we had been from home about ten weeks, and had visited most parts of that nation, having had many meetings among Friends and others, we found freedom in our minds to return home, which we did, being comforted in our service, and blessed the name of the Lord.

After some few months, I acquainted my wife and my father, with her father and mother, that I thought it my duty to go over and live in America. To which proposal my father consented, though with tenderness of heart, considering that I must be so far separated from him. I also laid it before the monthly meeting of Friends, at Horslydown, in Southwark, of which meeting I was a member; they consented to it, though somewhat

unwilling to part with us, and gave us their certificate, to let our brethren know that we were in love and unity with them, and walked according to our profession. When we were ready, and in order for going, we agreed for the freight of our goods and servants, with John Snowden, and shipped them on board the Josiah, bound for Maryland. When the ship was at Gravesend, and ready to sail, several of our dear relations and friends accompanied us to the ship, on board of which we had a good meeting, and took our solemn leave of one another, as expecting never to see each other any more in this world. It was a solemn time indeed! We prayed for one another, and so parted, our ship sailing that evening, and we got to Margate-road, where we anchored, and the wind sprung up very fresh, and blew tempestuously, so that we broke our cable, and lost our best bower anchor, and drove violently towards the Goodwin Sands. We let go our sheet anchor and three more, which were all we had, but they did not stop her; upon which the master ordered the carpenters to stand by the mainmast, with their axes upon their shoulders, and when he gave the word, they were to cut the mast. The people in the ship, there being many passengers, were in great consternation, expecting nothing but death: but for my part, being exceedingly sea sick, and having been in many storms, I was not so much surprised with this, the sailors sometimes making a great noise when there is but little danger; but there was more danger than I was aware of, as appeared afterwards. One of the passengers came weeping, and said our case was very bad. The doctor also came in the same manner; and cried, Oh! Mr. Chalkley, we are all dead men! I thought with myself, I would go out on deck, and see what the matter was. I went to the pilot, who had the lead in his hand; he sounded, and cried out, Lord, have mercy upon us! she is gone, she is gone, she is gone! by which I perceived that we were very near the Goodwin Sands, on which many ships have been lost with all their crews. In this sense of danger, I sent for the passengers into the cabin, and told them that I thought it would be well for us to sit still together, and look unto, and wait upon God, to see what he would please to do for us; that, if death came, we might meet him in as good a frame of mind as we could, and that we might not be surprised beyond measure. As we were thus composed in our minds, a concern came upon my dear wife, and she prayed to God, the Father, in the living power and sense of his Son; and he heard from his holy habitation, and answered the prayer: for immediately after the wind abated, and our anchors held

us. This was a great deliverance, which is not to be forgotten. When we saw the longed-for morning, we were very near the sands and the sea ran prodigiously high, and broke upon them mightily, so that we were forced to leave our cables and anchors, and make the best of our way to Deal, as well as we could. One of the owners being on shore, and seeing us in distress, sent off a cable and anchor to us; and we anchored before Deal with our new cable and anchor, and sent a boat for our other anchors and cables, when it was calm, which brought them to us. After we had supplied ourselves with what we wanted, we put to sea again, and had fair winds till we got as far as the Western islands, where captain Cant, being in company with us, spoke with our captain in the evening, and the two captains concluded it would be stormy that night, which happened accordingly. They took in their sails, and we all but our main-sail; notwithstanding which, the storm was such, that we lost our main-mast, sprung the head of our fore-mast, and broke our cross-jack-yard, and thus lay rolling upon the sea for about two weeks: the ship Bristol-merchant coming by in that time, lent us a spare top-mast, of which we made a main-mast, and a top-mast of our top-gallant-mast, and so re-fitted as well as we could, and had a pretty good passage afterwards. We were about eight weeks from the Land's-end to the capes of Virginia; had meetings twice a week on board, and they helped to stay our minds on our Maker, though our bodies were tossed to and fro on the mighty waters. We went on shore at Patuxent river, and by land to Herring bay, where my family tarried that winter; and I with my three servants followed my calling. In the spring we transported ourselves, our goods and servants, from Maryland to Pennsylvania, where we intended to settle, when we came from our native country. At Philadelphia I bought a lot of ground upon the river Delaware, and there I followed my calling that summer. In the fall I had an inward call to visit Friends in Barbadoes, which I proposed to our monthly meeting, and they certified on my behalf that they had unity with me in my proposal, conversation and ministry. I took ship at Philadelphia, about the 20th of the seventh month, 1701, on board the Abraham, ——— Street, commander, and was about a month on the voyage; Josiah Langdale was with me. We had several good meetings in the ship to our satisfaction; and were well received, and had many meetings at Barbadoes, which were often very large and open, and some of the people loving and tender. We had several meetings at Bridge-town, Speight's-town, the

Spring, the Thicketts, and at Pumpkin-hill; and after being there about six weeks, we went in a sloop to Bermuda, where we found but very few Friends, yet had meetings in several places, and at the houses of some people who were not of our profession. The longer we tarried, the larger our meetings were; and many began to be affected and spoke well of us and our devotion, but some were disturbed, and spoke to the governor to break up our meetings; which at the desire of one of the inhabitants we had appointed at his house: upon which he sent orders by one of his colonels to break up our meeting, which troubled the sober people. After this I met with the governor at the house of one judge Stafford; and he being a moderate man, we had the following discourse, viz.

*Gov.*—How do you like our country? We are but a little spot in the sea.

*T. C.*—I like it well for its moderate climate. If the people were moderate also, it would be well.

*Gov.*—Doth it answer your end in coming?

*T. C.*—My end in coming, was to visit the people in Christian love.

*Gov.*—Do you think the people will be brought over?

*T. C.*—If they are brought to truth and righteousness, it will be well for them. That is the end of our coming.

*Gov.*—If you had acquainted me with your design, when you first came, you had done well. It was your duty.

*T. C.*—If we had known the governor's will herein, or that thou wouldst have spoken with us, we should have readily answered it: but knowing nothing of it, we could not tell but that it might be taken for rudeness in us, considering our homely way and manner of addressing such men.

*Gov.*—Then your design in coming here was to preach. Had you no other end?

*T. C.*—Yes. As we found a concern upon us to preach, and a desire in the people to hear.

*Gov.*—Why do you not tarry with them? that looks strange. Here the people are affected with you, and you go away and leave them: I blame you for that.

*T. C.*—We do not direct them to men, but to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher, and the bishop of their souls. And why should our leaving them look strange to the governor? It was the practice of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his own practice and command to his followers. And further, the apostles (which word signifies ambassadors or messengers) say, follow us, as we are followers of Christ. They travelled up and down the world preaching the gospel; and our



great Lord himself had not whereon to lay his head.

*Gov.*—The apostles were inspired men; inspired by the Holy Spirit to preach the gospel. I suppose you do not pretend to be inspired.

*T. C.*—Every true Christian ought to pray for the pouring out of the Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost upon him. The church of England\* also prays for it, the receiving of which is inspiration.

*Gov.*—Your reasons being grounded on Scripture, you are well grounded; for no man can deny the Scriptures. Then you say you are inspired?

*T. C.*—I hope I am. I pray for it with great earnestness.

*Gov.*—Then it is but ask, and have, you think.

*T. C.*—If we ask in faith, without wavering, we shall receive, according to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles in the New Testament.

*Gov.*—Well, If any have a desire to hear you, you may preach and welcome.

After I had this discourse with the governor, it was reported on the island, that he had given us a license to preach, which report was not true, further than the aforesaid discourse, and then we had larger meetings than before. We had a meeting at judge Stafford's house, and one at a house not far from his.

It is observable, that this island hath formerly been a very healthy and fruitful place. Red-cedar, or sweet-wood, is all the timber they have, with which they build their houses, make their household goods, build their ships and sloops, and make their fires; so that there is continually a fragrant and pleasant smell, which we could smell at sea sometime before we saw the land; and it is yet a pretty healthy and fruitful island, but not so much so as formerly. In one of the meetings I was concerned to let them know, that it was the evil of their ways and doings that had caused the Almighty to withhold from them the fruits of the earth, and to make their island more unhealthy than it was formerly. After meeting, the judge told me I had said truly, for that was the cause; and if I had spoken more on that subject, I had done well. Several were convinced at this time on the island.

Soon after, an opportunity offered, in a sloop belonging to this island, bound for Philadelphia, and being clear we embarked in her, and on our voyage had pretty good weather, only one hard gale of wind, which caused us to hand our jib. A mulatto man named Stavo, the master's servant, went out upon the bowsprit to hand the sail, and there came a sea

and washed him off; and the vessel ran over him; and in all probability, he had been drowned, had he not been a good swimmer; for he swam, as we judged, three quarters of a mile, before he got to the sloop, it not coming into any one's mind to lower the sails, until I sharply ordered it to be done, which they then did readily; and the course of the vessel being stopped, he soon got on board, having stripped himself of his clothes in the sea, and brought them in his mouth. I was very thankful for the poor fellow's life, and praised the Lord in the secret of my soul for his preservation. In about two weeks time we arrived at Philadelphia, and I had great peace in my labours in this visit, in which I was from home about five months. The Friends of Barbadoes were so well satisfied with this labour of love, that they certified the same by way of certificate, more than is proper for me to mention. But though they thought so well of me, yet I had occasion to think very meanly of myself, for I was emptied at times to exceeding great spiritual poverty.

After I came home from Barbadoes and Bermuda, I followed my calling, and kept to meetings diligently; for I was not easy to be idle, either in my spiritual or temporal calling. At times I travelled in the work of the ministry in our own province, in which there are many large meetings of Friends, and they increase and multiply from time to time. Since my settling in this province, which is now about a year, some hundreds of people are come here to reside, and many meeting houses are built; and I do certainly know from above, that this province of Pennsylvania, and city of Philadelphia, will flourish both spiritually and temporally, if the inhabitants will love and live in righteousness, and in the fear of God; otherwise the hand that planted them can soon pluck them up. After some time, I was drawn forth to visit Friends in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and went with the unity of Friends, having their certificate; according to the good order established among us. About the 26th of the first month 1703, I went through Maryland, and visited Friends in Virginia and North Carolina, to the river Pamlico, where no travelling, public Friends, that ever I heard of, were before, and we had several meetings there on each side of the river. One day going out of our canoe through a marsh, I trod on a rattle-snake, which is accounted one of the most poisonous snakes; but it only hissed at me, and did no harm. This was one deliverance, among many, which the Lord, by his providence, wrought for me; and I bless his holy name for all his mercies. In going to, and coming from this place, we lay two nights in the woods, and I think I never

\* Of which church the governor was a member.

slept better. It was the eighth hour in the evening, when I laid down on the ground, one night, my saddle being my pillow, at the root of a tree, and it was four o'clock in the morning when they called me. When I awoke, I thought of Jacob's lodging on his way to Padan Aram, when he saw the holy vision of angels, with the ladder, whose top reached to heaven. Very sweet was the love of God to my soul that morning, and the dew of the everlasting hills refreshed me. I went on my way, praising the Lord, and magnifying the God of my salvation. In this journey I met with another remarkable deliverance; going over a river eight miles broad, there being eight men and seven horses, we put the horses into two canoes tied together, so that they stood with their fore feet in one, and their hind feet in the other. It was calm when we set out, but when we were about the middle of the river, the wind rose, and the seas ran high, and split one of the canoes, so that with our hats we were obliged to cast out the water; and with much difficulty, at last, all of us, with our horses, got safely on shore, through the good providence of God. On our return through North Carolina, we had several large meetings, and an open time it was; as also at Nancemond and Chuckatuck, and several other places in Virginia. When my service was over in those two provinces, I went back to Maryland, and visited meetings there, and then went home. As nearly as I can compute, I rode about a thousand miles in this journey; after which I staid at home, following my business, in order to the maintenance of my family, being blessed with a wife, children, servants, and other things; for which I am truly thankful.

While I was at home I visited the neighbouring meetings, as I found a concern on my mind; and on the 6th day of the third month, 1704, I laid before our quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, an exercise that was upon my mind, to visit our Friends' meetings on Long island, Rhode Island, in New-England, and the places adjacent. They gave me a good certificate, which I thought it my duty to endeavour to live up to; and being accompanied by several Friends to Burlington and Crosswicks, and Joseph Glaister being my fellow-labourer in the work of the gospel; at the two aforesaid places we had meetings, and then travelled to New-York and Long island, where we had divers meetings; as at Flushing, Westbury, Jerusalem, Jericho, Bethpage, Martinicock, and also at West Chester, on the main. From thence we travelled to Rhode Island yearly meeting, which was large and serviceable to many. Joseph Glaister then went towards Boston, the inland way, and I

went by the sea side; and we met together, after I had been at meetings at Dartmouth and Nantucket island, at which island there are large meetings, the people being mostly Friends, and sober and growing in the best things. Though not of our society when they first received the truth, yet they received it with gladness; and although the people called Presbyterians were very cruel in their expressions, and bitter in their spirits against us, yet there were others who went under that name, who were more open and charitable towards us, and received us gladly with tenderness; and at some places we had meetings at their houses to our mutual satisfaction. We likewise had meetings at Suckanuset, Scituate, and Sandwich. About this time the Indians were very barbarous in the destruction of the English inhabitants, scalping some, and knocking out the brains of others, men, women, and children, by which the country was greatly alarmed, both night and day; but the great Lord of all was pleased wonderfully to preserve our friends, especially those who kept faithful to their peaceable principle, according to the doctrine of Christ in the holy Scriptures, in his excellent sermon which he preached on the mount, recorded in the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Matthew, which is quite opposite to killing, revenge, and destruction, even of our enemies. Because Friends could not join with those of fighting principles and practices, some were put into prison; divers people railing, and speaking very bitterly against their peaceable neighbours, and wishing the Quakers might be cut off.

Some of the New-England priests and professors were so bitter against Friends, that instead of being humbled, under the mighty hand of God upon them, in suffering the Indians to destroy them, they expressed their enmity against the poor Quakers, on a day appointed for humiliation and a fast; and particularly in a sermon preached by one of their priests, which he divided into three heads, viz. First, That the judgments of God were upon them, in letting loose the savage Indians to destroy them. Secondly, In that he withheld the fruits of the earth from them, for there was a great scarcity. Thirdly, That the Quakers prevailed, and were suffered to increase so much among them; which he said, was worse than the Indians destroying them, and gave this absurd reason for it; the Indians destroy our bodies, but the Quakers destroy the soul.\* This is an abominable falsehood; for it is sin that destroys the soul; and those who preach to the people that there is no freedom from it

\* This priest was soon after killed by the Indians, as I was told by a minister.



in this world, contradict Christ's doctrine, "Be ye perfect," &c. and that of the apostle, "He that is born of God cannot sin." And thus their blind guides mistake light for darkness, and darkness for light. Among the many hundreds that were slain, I heard but of three Friends being killed, whose destruction was very remarkable, as I was informed; one was a woman, the other two were men. The men used to go to their labour without any weapons, and trusted to the Almighty, and depended on his providence to protect them, it being their principle not to use weapons of war, to offend others, or to defend themselves. But a spirit of distrust taking place in their minds, they took weapons of war to defend themselves; and the Indians, who had seen them several times without them, and let them alone, saying, "They were peaceable men, and hurt nobody, therefore they would not hurt them;" now seeing them have guns, and supposing they designed to kill the Indians, shot the men dead. The woman had remained in her habitation, and could not be free to go to a fortified place for preservation, neither she, her son, nor daughter, nor to take thither the little ones; but the poor woman after some time began to let in a slavish fear, and advised her children to go with her to a fort not far from their dwelling. Her daughter being one who trusted in the name of the Lord, the mighty tower to which the righteous flee and find safety, could not consent to go with her; and having left a particular account in a letter to her children of her and their preservation, I think it worthy to be inserted here in her own words; viz.

When the cruel Indians were suffered to kill and destroy, it was shewn me, that I must stand in a testimony for truth, and trust in the name of the Lord, who is a strong tower, and that we should wait upon him. I often desired my mother and husband to sit down and wait upon the Lord, and he would show us what we should do. I could not prevail with him, but he would say it was too late now, and was in great haste to be gone; but I could not go with him, because I was afraid of offending the Lord. Still he would say I was deluded by the devil, so that my mother would often say, "a house divided could not stand;" and she could not tell what to do. Although she had most peace in staying, yet she had thoughts of moving, and said to me, "Child, canst thou certainly say it is revealed to thee that we should stay; if it be, I would willingly stay, if I was sure it was the mind of God." But I being young, was afraid to speak so high, and said, mother, I can say it is thus with me, that when I think of staying and trusting in the name of the Lord, I find

great peace and comfort, more than I can utter, with a belief that we shall be preserved; but when I think of going, Oh! the trouble and heaviness I feel, with a fear some of us should fall by them! And my dear mother sighed, and said, "She could not tell what to do." I said to them, if they would go, I would be willing to stay alone; if they found freedom, I was very willing, for I was afraid of offending the Lord. But still my poor husband would say, "I took a wrong spirit for the right." And he would say, "How should I know? For if I was right, I would be willing to condescend to him." Then I said, in condescension to him I would move; but I hoped the Lord would not lay it to my charge, for was it not to condescend to him, I would not move for the world, and after I had given away my strength, in a little time there came men from the garrison, with their guns, and told us, "They came for us," and said, "The Indians they thought, might be near;" and then away we went, and my mother went in with my brother-in-law, although I persuaded her not to do it. But she said, "Why, my child is there; and may not I be with her as well as thee?" And so we went along to Hampton, to my husband's brother's. But, Oh! the fear and trouble I felt! and I told my husband it seemed as if we were going into the mouths of the Indians. The next day was the first of the week; and our dear friend, Lydia Norton, came with my dear mother; and in her testimony, she said there was there that was very near to her life, who was very near to death. Oh! then I was ready to think it would be me, because I believed we had done amiss in moving, and great trouble was I in, and told dear Lydia of it; but she comforted me as much as she could, and said, "She did not think it would be me." My dear mother went to my sister's again, to the garrison, where she found herself not easy; but as she often said to many, she felt herself in a beclouded condition, and more shut from counsel than ever she had been since she knew the truth. Being uneasy, she went to move to a friend's house who lived in the neighbourhood; and as she was moving, the bloody cruel Indians lay by the way, and killed her. Oh! then how did I lament moving; and promised if the Lord would be pleased to spare my life, and husband, and children, and carry us home again, I would never do so more. But, Oh! the fear, and trouble, and darkness, that fell upon me, and many more at that time! and three or four of us kept our meeting: but although we sat and waited as well as we could, yet we sat in a poor beclouded condition, until we returned home again, then did the Lord please to lift up the light of his love

upon our poor souls. Then I told my husband, although he had built a little house by the garrison, I could not move again. So he was willing to stay while the winter season lasted, but told me he could not stay when summer came, for then the Indians would be about; and told me, that if I could not go to the garrison, I might go to a friend's house near it. I was willing to please him, if the Lord was willing; and applied my heart to know the mind of truth, and it was showed me, that if I moved again, I should lose the sense of truth, and should never hold up my head again. Then I told my husband, he must never ask me to move again for I durst not do it. Still he would say it was a notion, till our dear friend Thomas Story came, and told him, "He did not see that I could have a greater revelation than I had." He satisfied my husband so well, that he never again asked me to go, but was very well contented to stay during all the wars; and then things were made more easy, and we saw the wonderful works and the mighty power of the Lord, in keeping and preserving us, when the Indians were at our doors and windows, and at other times. And the Lord put courage in you, my dear children; do not you forget it, and do not think that you were young, and because you knew little, so you feared nothing, but often consider how you staid at home alone, when we went to meetings, and how the Lord preserved you, and kept you, so that no hurt came upon you. I leave this charge upon you, live in the fear of the Lord, and see you set him always before your eyes, lest you sin against him. If I had not feared the Lord, and felt the comforts of his holy Spirit, I could never have stood so great a trial, when so many judged, and said that I was deluded, and that the blood of my husband and children, would be required at my hands; but the Lord was near to me, and gave me strength and courage, and faith to trust in him, for I know his name to be a strong tower, yea, and stronger than any in the world; for I have oftentimes fled there for safety. Oh! blessing, and honour, and everlasting high praises, be given to the Lord, and to his dear Son, our Saviour and mediator, Christ Jesus. Amen.

MARY DOE.

A neighbour of the aforesaid people told me, that as he was at work in his field, the Indians saw and called him, and he went to them. They told him, they had no quarrel with the Quakers, for they were a quiet, peaceable people, and hurt no body, and that therefore none should hurt them. But they said, that the Presbyterians in these parts had taken away their lands, and some of their

lives, and would now, if they could, destroy all the Indians.

Those Indians began about this time to shoot people down as they went along the road, and to knock them in the head in their beds, and very barbarously murdered many. We travelled the country, and had large meetings, and the good presence of God was with us abundantly, and we had great inward joy in the Holy Ghost in our outward jeopardy and travels. The people generally rode and went to their worship armed, but Friends went to their meetings without either sword or gun, having their trust and confidence in God.

After having had divers good meetings in those eastern parts of New-England, I returned to Salem, Lynn, Boston, and so towards Rhode Island, and at adjacent places, as in the Narraganset country; we had meetings also, at Dartmouth, Sandwich, and Scituate. As I was entering into the town of Boston, in company with many others, a man rode up to me, and asked in a scoffing manner, "Whether I saw or met with any Quakers on the road?" I pleasantly told him, we should not tell the Presbyterians, lest they should hang them. He not thinking of such an answer, went sneakingly away.

Having thoroughly visited Friends in those parts, in company with my friend Thomas Story, I travelled through Connecticut government, and had several meetings in that colony; and came to Long island, where we had meetings to the satisfaction of ourselves and Friends. From Long island, after we were clear of the service and exercise of the work of the ministry, and had visited Friends' meetings as we travelled, and in many places found openness among the people who were not of our profession, who sometimes came in great numbers to our meetings, and several were convinced in a good degree, and many comforted, strengthened and edified, in Christ our Lord, we came to Philadelphia, the place of our habitation. Let his name, saith my soul, have the praise of all his works for ever.

After being at home some time, I visited Friends' meetings in our county, and several parts of New-Jersey, Maryland, and the lower counties on Delaware. At Jones' I appointed a meeting at a public house near the courthouse. General notice being given thereof, there came one ——— Crawford, a priest, with many of his hearers, and in the beginning of the meeting he read a sermon, as they called it, which was a transcript of the works of some of our adversaries, which we desired to have from them to answer. They said, "If I would answer it myself I should have it." I told them I should, if they would let me have it; but though they promised it,



they did not perform, but were worse than their word. We heard them read it patiently; and after they had done, had our meeting. The auditory was large, and most of the magistrates were at it. The priest's reading, and my testimony, occasioned this meeting to hold long; after which, as we were getting on horseback, the priest cried out among the people, "That he did not think we would go away so sneakingly." We having twenty miles to ride that night, and he near his home, and having the advantage in that respect, some thought it made him the bolder, for he let me get on horseback before he uttered that expression. I told him to challenge was enough to set a coward to work, and we were no cowards; for he knew we could venture our lives for our religion, which I questioned whether he would do for his. I dismounted, and he having the Bible open in his hand, I being near him, chanced, against my will and knowledge, to touch it with my foot. "Look you, gentlemen," says he, "he tramples the word of God under his feet." For which gross abuse, his own hearers openly rebuked him, and put him to shame. Then he said, "He would prove us no ministers of Christ." I bid him prove himself one, and he would do the business. "Well," says he, "how shall we know who are Christ's ministers?" Why, said I, art thou willing to be tried by Christ's rule, for he hath given us a plain rule to know them by. "What is that rule? let us hear it," says he. It is short, but full, namely, "By their fruits you shall know them; for men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles:" wherefore by their fruits they are known. "I deny it," says priest Crawford, for that was the name he went by here, he going by another elsewhere, "that they are known by their fruits." I answered, then thou deniest the plain and naked truth of Christ. So I called aloud to the people to take notice what a blind guide they had; and indeed he was wicked, as well as blind, and his fruits not good; which may make one suppose that he was not willing to be tried by his fruits. For soon after news came that he had a wife in England, and as he had another here, his fruits were wicked with a witness; and according to Christ's doctrine, no good could spring from his ministry, therefore he proved himself by his evil deeds, to be no minister of Jesus Christ. Near the aforesaid place we got a meeting settled, which is called Little-creek meeting; and about the same time a meeting was established, and a meeting house built at Duck-creek. The people in those parts about this time began mightily to see through the formal preaching of such as preach for money, who love the hire,

though they do not love to be called hirelings.

In the year 1706, having some concerns in the province of Maryland, I had divers meetings as I travelled on the road, as at Nottingham, Elk river, North-east, Susquehanna, Bush and Gun-powder rivers; at some of which places I do not know that there had been any meeting before. At one of these meetings were one Edwards a priest, and a lawyer, the attorney-general, and several justices of the peace. The priest was angry, and said, "It was an unlawful assembly, the house not being licensed by law." The justices told him, "That he and his people being there to hear, if any unwarrantable or false doctrine was preached, he had a fair opportunity to lay it open before all the people." So they desired him to hear patiently and quietly. He seemed to like the proposition, and sat down by me. We had not sat down long before I stood up, and spoke to the people a considerable time. The lawyer sat opposite to me, and took what I said in short hand, for about half an hour; but growing weary, he laid down his pen, and took out of his pocket a bottle of liquor, or spirits, and said, "Come friend, here is to thee (or you) you have spoken a great while, you need something to refresh you." I made a stop, and said to the people, here is your minister, and here is some of the fruits of his ministry, of which he and all sober people may be ashamed. And then went on again without any opposition till I had done; but afterwards they were in a rage, and threatened what they would do to me, if ever I came there again to have a meeting. But I told them if they had power to take our lives from us, they were not dear to us for the sake of Christ and his gospel; and that we did not regard their threatenings. I desired the lawyer to give me a copy of what he had written; he went about it, but did not do it; neither was he candid in penning my words; for several of the people then present bore witness that he had not written it verbatim, or truly taken the sense of what I spoke. I charged him to be just, otherwise he had many witnesses against him; at which the priest bent his fist, and held it up to me, but did not strike me, and away they went in a fret. Soon after we had another meeting at the same place, which was large and quiet. The man of the house being an attorney at law, had got his house licensed, and though the priest and lawyer threatened hard, they came not.

Aquila Paca, high-sheriff of the county, living at the head of Bush river, near the main road, built a meeting house, at his own charge, and had it licensed, at which we had many good meetings. About this time also

a meeting house was built at a place called Nottingham, which is a large meeting, and greatly increases.

When I was travelling in those parts, I had a concern on my mind to visit the Indians living near Susquehanna, at Conestoga, and I laid it before the elders of Nottingham meeting, with which they expressed their unity, and promoted my visiting them. We got an interpreter, and thirteen or fourteen of us travelled through the woods about fifty miles, carrying our provisions with us, and on the journey sat down by a river, and spread our food on the grass, and refreshed ourselves and horses, and then went on cheerfully, with good will and much love to the poor Indians; and when we came they received us kindly, treating us civilly in their way. We treated about having a religious meeting with them, upon which they called a council, and were very grave, and spoke one after another, without any heat or jarring; and some of the most esteemed of their women do sometimes speak in their councils. I asked our interpreter why they permitted the women to speak in their councils? His answer was, "That some women are wiser than some men." Our interpreter told me, that they had not done anything for many years, without the counsel of an ancient grave woman; who, I observed, spoke much in their council; for I was permitted to be present at it; and I asked what it was the woman said? He told me she was an empress; and they gave much heed to what she said amongst them; and that she then said, "She looked upon our coming to be more than natural, because we did not come to buy, or sell, or get gain, but came in love and respect to them," and desired their well-doing both here and hereafter; and further continued, "That our meetings among them might be very beneficial to their young people," and related a dream which she had three days before, and interpreted it, viz: "That she was in London, and that London was the finest place she ever saw, it was like to Philadelphia, but much bigger, and she went across six streets, and in the seventh she saw William Penn preaching to the people, which was a great multitude, and she and William Penn rejoiced to see one another; and after meeting she went to him, and he told her that in a little time he would come over and preach to them also, of which she was very glad. And now she said her dream was fulfilled, for one of his friends was come to preach to them." She advised them to hear us, and entertain us kindly; and accordingly they did. Here were two nations of them, the Senecas and Shawanese. We had first a meeting with the Senecas, with which

they were much affected; and they called the other nation, viz., the Shawanese, and interpreted to them what we spoke in their meeting, and the poor Indians, particularly some of the young men and women, were under a solid exercise and concern. We had also a meeting with the other nation, and they were all very kind to us, and desired more such opportunities; the which, I hope divine Providence will order for them, if they are worthy thereof. The gospel of Jesus Christ was preached freely to them, and faith in Christ, who was put to death at Jerusalem, by the unbelieving Jews; and that this same Jesus came to save people from their sins, and by his grace and light in the soul, shows to man his sins, and convinceth him thereof, delivering him out of them, and gives inward peace and comfort to the soul for well-doing, and sorrow and trouble, for evil-doing; to all which, as their manner is, they gave public assents; and to that of the light in the soul, they gave a double assent, and seemed much affected with the doctrine of truth; also the benefit of the Holy Scriptures was largely opened to them.\*

After this we returned to our respective habitations, thankful in our hearts to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Several of the Friends that went with me, expressed their satisfaction in this visit, and offered themselves freely to go again on the like service.

I also was concerned soon after to visit the people about Egg-harbour and Cape-May, and had meetings amongst them, and several meetings were settled in those parts, and the people somewhat reformed from what they had been before they were visited by Friends. They told me, after a meeting we had with them, that they used to spend the sabbath days in sporting and vanity, until Friends came among them, and now they meet together to worship God and his Son Jesus Christ. At our coming amongst them, some backsliders and apostates were displeased. One, in a very bitter spirit, called us cursed and cruel devils. Another wrote against us. To him I sent an answer, for which he scandalized me in one of his almanacs, and publicly belied me in print; which lies I swept away with "A small Broom," printed in this year, 1706, to which I never understood that

\* It is worthy of notice, that at the first settling of Pennsylvania, William Penn took great care to do justice to the Indians, and bought his land of them to their satisfaction, and settled a trade with them: so that whereas the Indians were destructive to the other colonies, they were helpful to Pennsylvania; and to this day they love to hear the name of William Penn.



he returned any answer, nor that he wrote against Friends afterwards, though he had made it his practice for several years.

At Little Egg-harbour lived a Friend whose name was Edward Andrews, who, as himself told me, had been a leader of the people into vanity and folly, as music, dancing, &c., but the good hand of the Lord being upon him, wrought a wonderful reformation in him, and made him an instrument to lead people into truth and righteousness, and gave him an excellent gift in the ministry of the gospel of Christ; so that he was made instrumental in gathering a large and growing meeting, most of the people thereabouts being convinced, and a great reformation and change wrought in their conversations. This Friend told me that when he was very rude and wild, he was mightily reached to, at the meeting we had under the trees at Crosswicks,\* so that he could not go on with his vanity as before; after which he had strong convictions on him, which wrought conversion in the Lord's time, after he had gone through many deep inward exercises.

After these journies were over, and I had cleared myself, I was some time at home, and followed my business with diligence and industry, and thrived in the things of the world, the Lord adding a blessing to my labour. Some people would tell me that I got money for preaching, and grew rich by it; which being a common calumny cast upon our public Friends that are travellers, I shall take a little notice of it, and leave it to posterity. It is against our principle, and contrary to our known practice and rule to take money for preaching the gospel of Christ, and publishing salvation through his name unto the people; for according to Christ's command, we, receiving it freely, are to give it forth freely. I can say, without vanity or boasting, I have spent many pounds in that service, besides my time, which is as precious to me as to other people; rising early, and laying down late; many days riding forty, fifty, and sixty miles a day, which was very laborious and hard for my flesh to endure, being corpulent and heavy from the twenty-seventh year of my age. I can truly say, that I never received any money or consideration on account of these services, either directly or indirectly; and yet, if any of our ministers are necessitous or poor, we relieve them freely, not because they are preachers, but because they are needy; and when we have done those things, we have done but our duty: and well will it be for those that have discharged themselves faithfully therein. Such will, besides

the earnest of peace in their own souls in this world, have a blessed reward in the glorious kingdom of the Lord and his Christ in that world which is to come. It is well known that I have spent much of my time, since I have been free from my apprenticeship, in travelling and preaching the gospel, being out often many months, and sometimes a whole year, and more; and at intervals I have been apt to think the time long, till I got to my business and family; and have at times made more haste than I should have done, which has brought trouble on my mind, and is a trouble to me unto this day. This may be a caution to those who travel in the work of the ministry hereafter, not to make too much haste from the work of Christ; and yet there ought to be discretion used; for a minister may stay too long, as well as return too soon, which may be perceived as we keep the eye of our mind to our divine guide.

After I had staid at and about home for a considerable time, a weighty concern came upon me to visit Friends in the West Indies, and some parts of Europe, as it might please the Almighty to open my way; and as it was to be a long travel, both by sea and land, and hazardous, by reason that it was war time, and many privateers at sea, I settled my affairs by will, and otherwise, that if I should not live to come home again, things relating to my outward affairs might be done honourably and well: for at this time, as at many others, I can truly say I gave up my life freely for my holy Master's sake, and in his cause, who said, Go teach all nations, &c.

On the 29th of the sixth month, 1707, I had a certificate from the monthly meeting of Friends at Philadelphia, signifying their unity with my undertaking, and desires for my welfare; and a tender concern was on my mind that I might live according to what my brethren had certified concerning me. I likewise laid my exercise before the general meeting of ministers and elders, held for the provinces of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, on the 22d of the seventh month, who also signified their fellowship with my intended journey, and recommended me to the grace of God, and in much love and tenderness I parted with my dear and loving wife, and my near and affectionate friends and brethren.

I had for my companion and fellow-labourer in the work of the gospel, my dear friend, Richard Gove, who also had the approbation and unity of Friends in this journey and undertaking.

We went on board a sloop at Philadelphia, bound for Barbadoes, John Knight, master, about the 27th of the eighth month, in the aforesaid year.

\* See page 8.

After a few days sailing down the river Delaware, we put to sea, and in about a month's time we came within sight of Barbadoes, where we met with a privateer, which chased, and had like to have taken us; but the good providence of God preserved us out of the hands of those enemies; for ever blessed be his name! In this chase the seamen were uneasy, and belched out wicked oaths, and cursed the Quakers, wishing all their vessels might be taken by the enemy, because they did not carry guns in them; at which [evil conduct] I was grieved, and thus expostulated with them: Do you know the worth of a man's life? guns being made on purpose to destroy men's lives. Were this ship and cargo mine, so far as I know my heart, I do ingenuously declare, I had rather lose it all, than that one of you should lose his life: for I certainly knew they were unfit to die. Lives! say they, we had rather lose our lives than go to France. But, said I, that is not the matter; had you rather go to hell, than go to France? They being guilty of great sins and wickedness, and convicted in their own consciences, held their peace, and said no more about the poor Quakers; and when we got within gun-shot of a fort on Barbadoes, the enemy left chasing us.

Next morning early we safely arrived at Bridgetown, in Barbadoes, where our friends gladly received us; amongst whom we laboured in the work of the gospel for about two months. After having had divers good and edifying meetings for the worship of God, we sailed for Antigua, and staid some days there, having meetings and visiting our brethren. From Antigua we sailed for Nevis, but the wind being contrary, we put in at Montserrat, an isle that has a great mountain in it, on the top of which is a hot spring of water, which boils up, and the mire of it is clear brimstone; some of which we carried on board our vessel; which is admirable, and shows the wonderful works of God. They say that the spring is hot enough to boil an egg. From this island we sailed to Nevis, and had meetings with the few Friends there, with whom we parted at the sea-shore in great love and tenderness. We sailed to an island called Anguilla, and were civilly treated there by the generality of the people; as also by the governor, George Leonard, at whose house we had meetings. I remember that after one meeting the governor went into his porch, and took the Bible and opened it, and said, "By this book, if people believe the holy Scriptures, I am able to convince the world, and prove, that the people called Quakers, are the people of God, and that they follow the example and doctrine of Christ, and the practices

of the apostles and primitive Christians, nearer than any people in the world;" i. e., generally speaking. At this island several people were heartily convinced, and confessed to the truth, among whom a meeting was settled. Here was never any Friend before, as the inhabitants said. I entreat the Lord Jehovah to preserve the sincere-hearted among them in his holy fear whilst they remain in this world; and not them only, but all that love and fear him, in all kindreds and nations, and amongst people of all professions whatsoever. This, in the universal spirit of God's love, is the desire of my soul. From Anguilla we went to Nevis, and to Antigua; and notwithstanding our sloop was a dull sailer, yet we were preserved from the enemy, to the admiration of ourselves, friends and others, our course being in the very road of the privateers. Just as we got into the harbour and were landed, a privateer came by with a prize, as we supposed, which excited our thankfulness to the Lord for our preservation. Here we met with the packet-boat bound for Jamaica, and thence for England. We staid a little at the island called St. Christopher's. In our way to Jamaica, we saw a small privateer that gave us chase, and it being calm, she rowed up towards us. The master prepared the vessel to fight, hoisting up his mainsail, and putting out our colours. In the interim some were bold and some sorrowful. One came to me, and asked, "What I thought of it? and of the Quakers' principles now?" I told him I thought I was as willing to go to heaven, as himself; to which he said nothing, but turned away from me. Another asked me, "What I would do now?" I told him, I would pray that they might be made better, and that they might be made fit to die. In the midst of their noise and hurry, I begged in secret of the Almighty, in the name, and for the sake of his dear Son, that he would be pleased to cause a fresh gale of wind to spring up, that we might be delivered from the enemy without shedding blood, well knowing that few of them were fit to die. Whilst I was thus concerned, the Lord answered my desire and prayer, for in a few minutes the wind sprung up, and we soon left them out of sight, our vessel sailing extraordinarily well, and the next day we got to Jamaica, and had meetings at Port-royal, Kingston, Spanish-town, &c. At a meeting at Spanish-town, there were some Jews, to whom my heart was very open, and I felt great love to them, for the sake of their fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; and they were so affected with the meeting, that they sent us some unleavened cakes, made with fine flour and sweet oil, it being a festival time with them. We had a



meeting at Port-royal, in a place where the earthquake had destroyed a large building, in which meeting I had occasion to remind them of the righteous judgments of God, which had been justly inflicted on them for their wickedness. Some wept, and some were rude. The people here, as I was informed, were generally very wicked. After having had divers meetings, the packet in which we had taken our passage, being obliged to stay but ten days, we went off sooner than we otherwise should have done, and solemnly taking leave of those Friends that were there, we went on board our vessel, in order for England, by God's permission. We got readily through the windward passage, which is between the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola; and several times after we left Jamaica, we were chased by ships, but they could not come up with us. One ship of twenty-eight guns gave us chase after a great storm, and was almost up with us before we could well make sail; they being eager of their prey, sent their hands aloft to let their reefs out of the topsails, in order to make more speed, and came running towards us, and gained much upon us. We feared to make sail by reason of the storm, and the sea running very high, and our masts being in danger, we were some time in doubt whether we should escape or not: but whilst we were in this consternation, down came the French ship's three topmasts at once; so we escaped, and left her, and went rejoicing on our way, that we were thus delivered. This was one of the great and remarkable deliverances among many I met with, by the good hand and providence of the Lord, my great and good Master, whom I hope to serve all my days.

After having been at sea about six weeks, we began to look out for land, and in two or three days we sounded, and found ground at about ninety fathoms; after which we saw two French privateers, who gave us chase, and pursued us vigorously; but sailing better than they, we run them out of sight, and in about two hours after, we saw the land of Ireland. It being misty weather, with rain and wind, our master thought it best to lay by and forbear sailing, that coast being rocky and dangerous, by which means the two ships that gave us chase came up with us, and found us not in sailing order, and were within gun-shot of us before we were aware of it. What to do now we could not tell, until they began to fire at us; but in this emergency and strait, our master resolved he would rather run the vessel on shore than they should have her, she being richly laden with indigo, silver and gold, reckoned to the value of fifty thousand pounds. In this strait, we must either fall

into the hands of the French, who were our enemies, or run among the rocks; and we thought it best to fall into the hands of the Almighty, and trust to his providence; so towards the rocks we went, which had a terrible aspect. The native Irish seeing us, came down in great numbers, and ran on the rocks, and called to us, saying, "That if we came any nearer we should be dashed in pieces." Our master ordered the anchor to be let go, which brought the ship up before she struck; and with much ado, he put his boat out into the sea, and put in all the passengers, in order to set them on shore, the waves running very high, so that it looked as if every wave would have swallowed us up; and it was a great favour of Providence that we got to land in safety. The privateers not daring to come so near the shore as we did, after firing at us, went away, and our master carried the ship into the harbour of Kinsale, in Ireland. Thus through many perils and dangers we were preserved, and got safely on the Irish shore, for which, and all other the mercies and favours of the Most High, my soul and spirit did give God glory and praise! In this voyage we were about seven weeks at sea.

When I came from my home at Philadelphia, I intended, the Lord permitting, to visit Friends in Ireland, and being accidentally cast on shore there, I thought it my place first to go through that nation. I had been in Ireland about nine years before, and then being but young, and now being more grown in body, my old acquaintance and friends did not at first know me; but we were kindly and lovingly received by our friends and brethren in that nation, where there is a numerous people that serve and worship the Father in spirit and in truth, and who have good and wholesome order established amongst them, in the unity and fellowship of the gospel. In this nation we had many and large meetings after our landing, visiting Friends' meetings along to the north, many not of our Society coming to them, among whom we often had good service, to our and their satisfaction, as they often declared, Richard Gove being still with me. Friends from their national meeting, certified to our brethren in America, of our service and labour of love among them, after we had travelled several hundred miles, and visited Friends' meetings generally, and some other places where it was not usual. While I was in Ireland, under a concern for the prosperity of truth and religion, I wrote an exhortation to the youth and others, which was afterwards printed there.

We took ship in the north of Ireland, at a town called Donaghadee, being accompanied by divers brethren, who brought us on our



way after a godly sort. We got to Port-Patrick, in Scotland, after about five hours sail, in order to visit the few Friends that were scattered about in that part of the nation. People in those parts looked very shy on us, and did not care to discourse with us on matters civil or religious, which I thought unreasonable. The first town or city we came to, in which we had a meeting, was Glasgow, accounted the second city in North Britain, where, in our meeting for the worship of the Almighty, we were shamefully treated by the people, who threw dirt, stones, coal, &c., amongst us, and by other actions unbecoming men, though heathens or infidels, much more people professing Christianity. I was constrained to tell them, that though I had preached the gospel to many heathens, and to divers Jews, as also to Indians and Negroes, and had travelled in many countries and nations in the world, in several quarters thereof, and many thousands of miles, yet I never met with the like incivilities and such scurrilous treatment, not in all my travels. I also told them, that I had preached the gospel of Christ among their brethren in New-England, and in Boston, where they formerly hanged the Quakers, and cruelly persecuted them for their religion, and yet they did not treat us so brutally even there. And further I told them that I lived in those parts of America, and what account I should have to carry home to their aforesaid brethren, of our treatment in Glasgow, the second city in Scotland. I desired them to consider of it, and be ashamed, if they had any shame. This a little abashed them for the present, but afterwards they were as bad as ever. There were at this meeting some collegians, who were very rude. I asked if that was their way of treating strangers? and that I believed their teachers in the university did not allow of such ill manners, by which they scandalized themselves, their city and country. From this city we went to Hamilton and Gersshore, where they were more civil. At Gersshore a man of letters and sober conversation, begged that I would pray to the Almighty, that he would establish him in the doctrine which he had heard that day. This being rare in those parts, I minute it here. We went on towards the north of Scotland, to Aberdeen, and thereabouts, where there is a tender hearted people, among whom we had several large gatherings, and some that were not of us, expressed their satisfaction. In the north I met with a gentleman, who coming from a nobleman's house, joined me, and asked me, "If I knew Robert Barclay?" I said, not personally, but by his writings I knew him well. He told me, "That he (Barclay) had not left his fellow in Scotland."

We afterwards travelled southward, where there were but few Friends and small meetings; yet we may say, that the goodness, love, and presence of Him, who said, where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them, was oftentimes witnessed to be with us, blessed be his holy name. Oh! that the children of men would praise him in thought, word, and deed, for he is worthy. In great reverence and holy fear, we travelled along towards South Britain, had several meetings at Edinburgh, and divers other places; also at Berwick upon Tweed, where there were many soldiers, who were very rude. The devil hath had many battles with us, ever since we were a people, in order to hinder us in our worship, but we generally came off with victory, as we did here also, through faith in his name who hath loved us, and manifested himself to us. Those rude soldiers threw their hats into the congregation, in order to disturb us, and hinder us in our service, but were at last ashamed and disappointed.

At this place my dear friend and fellow-traveller, Richard Gove, and I parted. I was going by the east sea-coast up to London, and he inclined towards Cumberland. We had travelled about a year in the work of the ministry, in great love and true friendship, in which work we were true helpers one of another; and as we had laboured together in the work of Christ, so we parted in his love. From Berwick I travelled to Newcastle; had one meeting by the way, and good meetings at Newcastle, Sunderland, Shoten, and Durham, and several other places in the bishoprick of Durham. The winter coming on apace, it began to be bad travelling; and I being already much spent by it, designed to go speedily up to London; and taking some meetings in my way, as at Stockton, Whitby, Scarborough, Burlington, Hull, and Brigg, and so on through Lincolnshire, where I went to visit a Friend who was prisoner in the castle of Lincoln, because for conscience-sake, he could not pay an ungodly priest the tithes of his labour. From Lincoln I proceeded to Huntingdon, about which place we had several large meetings, then to Baldock, where I met with my father and John Gopsil, who came from London to meet me, which was a joyful meeting, for I had not seen my father for about nine years. The love and tenderness between us, and our gladness in seeing each other again, cannot well be expressed, but I believe it was somewhat like Jacob and Joseph's meeting in Egypt; it was affecting and melting; blessed be the Almighty that gave me once more to see my tender and aged parent! From Baldock we went to

Hitchin, and had a meeting there, as also at Hertford, from whence, with several Friends, I went to Enfield, where I met with my dear and only brother, George, and several of my relations and our friends; and we were heartily glad to see one another. From Enfield we went to London, and by the way we met with several Friends of the meeting of Horslydown, to which I belonged from my childhood, who came to meet me, and accompanied us to London.

I staid in and about the city most of the winter, visiting meetings when I was in health; for through often changing climates, I got a severe cold, and was ill for several weeks, so that I was not at any meeting, which time was very tedious to me; not so much because of my illness, as that I was deprived of the opportunities and meetings which occur in that city every day of the week, except the last. When I had a little gotten over this illness, I went into Hertfordshire and some parts adjacent, and had meetings at Staines, Langford, Uxbridge, Walford, Hempstead, Bendish, Albans, Market street, Hitchin, Hertford, Hodgdon, and then returned again to London.

After I had been in London a while, I visited several other country meetings, as Winchmore-hill, Tottenham, Wansworth, Plaistow, Deptford and Epping, and then staid about London some weeks, waiting for a passage for Holland, which I intended to visit before I left my own habitation.

On the 14th of the first month, 1708-9, my companion, John Bell, and I, after having acquainted our friends and relations, and having their consent, took our solemn leave of them and went down to Gravesend, where we staid two or three days for a fair wind. We then went on board the ship *Ann*, John Duck, master, bound for Rotterdam, in company with a fleet of vessels waiting for wind, &c. When the wind was fair we sailed for the coast of Holland, and when we arrived, the wind was contrary, and blew very hard, so that some of the ships in company lost their anchors, but in a day or two we all arrived safely at Rotterdam, in Holland; being but two days on the passage. On first-day morning we went to meeting at Rotterdam, where Friends have a meeting house; and we staid at this city seven or eight days, and had six or seven meetings, and were comforted with our brethren and sisters, and greatly refreshed in the Lord Almighty. At this city we spoke without an interpreter, because most in the meeting understood English. From Rotterdam we travelled by the *Trekskuyt*, a boat drawn by horses, which is a pleasant easy way of travelling, to a large town called Harlem, where we had a meeting, and spoke by an interpreter;

to which meeting came divers of those people called Menonists: they were very sober and attentive; staid all the time of the meeting, and spoke well of it. From Harlem we went to Amsterdam, the metropolis of Holland, where Friends have a meeting house. Here we had several meetings, and staid about a week. On the first day we had a large meeting, to which came many people of divers persuasions and religions, as Jews, Papists, and others; and we had a good opportunity among them, and several were tender. A Jew came next day to speak with us, and acknowledged, "That Christ was the minister of that sanctuary and tabernacle that God had pitched, and not man; and that he was sensible of the ministry of Christ in his soul; and, (said he) my heart was broken while that subject was spoken of in the meeting." I was glad to see the man tender and reached; but too generally speaking, the poor Jews, the seed of good Jacob, are very dark and unbelieving. I have met with but very few of them in my travels who have been tender; but I do love them for Abraham's, Isaac's, and Jacob's sake. At this meeting, William Sewel, the author of the *History of the Rise and Progress of the people called Quakers*, a tender spirited, upright man, interpreted for me. From Amsterdam we went to North Holland, and John Claus and Peter Reyard went with us to interpret for us; so by boat we travelled to a town called Twisk, where we had two meetings, Friends having a meeting house there. We went back again to Amsterdam, and had two large meetings on first-day; and on second-day in the evening, we went on ship-board, in order to cross the South Sea to Harlingen, at which place we had two meetings, and we and Friends were glad to see one another; and, indeed, we being as one family all the world over, are generally glad to see each other. From this place we travelled eastward, through East Friesland, and went through several great towns and cities, until we came to Embden, the chief city in East Friesland, where we had a comfortable meeting by the bed-side of one of our friends who lay sick; and several of her neighbours came in and staid till the meeting ended; some of them were very tender and loving, and wished us well, and were well satisfied. After meeting we set forward for Hamburg, it being four days journey by wagon, and passed along through divers towns and cities: we also travelled through the city of Oldenburg, and a place of great commerce called Bremen. A magistrate of this city took notice of us, joined himself to us, and went with us to the inn, and then very lovingly took leave of us, and desired God to bless us. The people at our



inns were generally very loving and kind to us, and some would admire at my coming so far only to visit my friends, without any view of advantage or profit outwardly. When we got to Hamburg we had a meeting at Jacob Hagen's, and those who were there, were well satisfied with the doctrine of truth; blessed be God, who, I may say, was with us at that time and place! At Hamburg there was at meeting one who had preached before the king of Denmark; who, as I understood by our interpreter, was turned out of his place for declaring the same truths that we had preached that day; at which meeting were Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Menonists, Jews, &c. All of them were sober, and generally expressed their satisfaction. I had so much comfort in that meeting, that I thought it was worth my labour in coming from my habitation; the answer of peace was so sweet to my soul, that I greatly rejoiced in my labour in the work of Christ. From hence I travelled to Frederickstadt, it being two days journey, where Friends have a meeting house. We staid about ten days, and had nine meetings in this city. Some of the meetings were very large, and the longer we staid, the larger they were. Frederickstadt is a city in the dominions of the duke of Holstein, and was the furthest place to which we travelled eastward; and from thence I wrote a small piece, called, "A loving invitation unto young and old in Holland and elsewhere;" which was translated into the German and Low Dutch languages: and divers impressions of it were also printed in England.

We travelled in this journey through some parts of the emperor of Germany's dominions, as also of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, and of the duke of Oldenburg, and prince of East Friesland's territories, besides some parts of the seven provinces of the United States. We parted with our friends of Frederickstadt in much love and tenderness, with our hearts full of good will one towards another, and went back to the city of Embden, a nearer way by two days journey, than to go by Hamburg. We crossed the rivers Eider, Elbe, and Weiser; over which last we were rowed by three women. The women in these parts of the world are strong and robust, and used to hard labour. I have seen them do not only the work of men, but of horses; it being common with them to do the most laborious, and the men the lightest and easiest work. I remember that I once saw near Hamburg, a fair, well dressed woman, who, by her dress and appearance, was a woman of some note, and a man whom I took to be her husband, walking by her, and the way difficult, being up a very steep hill,

and he did not so much as offer his hand, or give any assistance to her; which, however it might look to a man of that country, seemed very strange to me, being a Briton. For my part, I thought it unmanly, as well as unmannerly; on which I observe, that I never in any other part of the world, saw women so tenderly dealt by as our English women are, which they ought to prize highly, and therefore to be the more loving and obedient to their husbands; which indulgence I blame not, but commend, so far as it is a motive to stir them up to love and faithfulness.

In this journey between Frederickstadt and Embden, we had four days hard travelling, and were twice overturned out of our wagons, but we received no harm, which was admirable to us; for once we fell, wagon and all, over a great bank, just by the side of a large ditch, and did but just save ourselves out of the ditch. The next time we overset upon stones: we wondered that none of us were hurt, particularly myself, I being much heavier than any of the rest; but through the mercy of God, we got well to Embden the second time, and had a meeting upon a first-day, and immediately after we took ship for Delfzeel, which was from Embden about nine or ten English miles, by water, and with a fair gale of wind, got there in less than two hours. We spoke by interpreters all along, and were divinely helped to preach the gospel to the satisfaction of others, and our own comfort; and the Friend who interpreted for us, was sensible of the same divine assistance, to his admiration, for which we were all truly thankful. But notwithstanding we were so opened, to the satisfaction of ourselves, our friends and the people, yet we were sometimes emptied to exceeding great spiritual poverty, and in the sense of our want and need, we did many times pour out our souls in humble prayer and supplication to the Most High, for his help and strength, that it might be made manifest to us in our weakness; and we found him a God near at hand, and often a present help in the needful time, and had a sweet answer to our prayers. O that my soul, with all the faithful, may dwell near to him, in whom alone is the help and strength of all his faithful servants and ministers! Amen.

From Delfzeel we went to Groeningen, the chief city in Groeningland, and to a town named Goradick, where we had a meeting with a few Friends and some of their neighbours. It was to us a comfortable meeting, and they were glad of it, being but seldom visited by Friends. From this place we travelled by wagon to Hervine, where we lodged that night, and next day went by wagon to Leuwarden. It happened that we had gene-



rally very fine weather while in those open wagons, in which we travelled several hundred miles, so that Jacob Claus, our companion and interpreter, though he had travelled much, said he never had observed the like before; which observation I thought good to make, with thanks to the Almighty.

From the city of Leuwarden, we came by water to Harlingen, where Friends were glad to see us, and we them. We had a good and comfortable meeting in Friends' meeting house, blessed be the Lord for it! From hence we crossed the South Sea, and had a contrary wind, which made our passage long and tedious. We were two days and two nights on this water before we got to Amsterdam, in all which, and the next day, I tasted no food, being three days fasting. I was willing to keep my body under, and found it for my health, neither had I any desire for food in those three days, in which time we had two meetings. We arrived at Amsterdam about the sixth hour on first-day morning, and had two meetings that day, which were quiet, and many people came to one of them: but we could not be clear without going again to North Holland. So from Amsterdam we went to Horn, where we had a meeting in the collegian's meeting house, and it was to satisfaction: the people were very loving, and divers very tender, even more than we have usually seen. They desired another meeting, but our time would not admit of it, we having appointed a meeting at Twisk the next day, which we had in the meeting place, as also another at a Friend's house. Next day we returned to Amsterdam, and had a meeting, which began about the fifth hour, which was the last meeting we had in this city, and I hope it will not easily be forgotten by some. After it we solemnly took our leave of Friends, and departed for Harlem, where we were well refreshed in the love and life of Christ Jesus, our dear Lord and good Master. From Harlem we went with several Friends to Rotterdam, where we had two meetings, and in the evening visited a Friend who was not well, with whom we had an affecting time, and the sick Friend was comforted and refreshed, and said she was much better than before; and we were edified, and the Lord our God praised and magnified over all, who is blessed for ever.

In those parts, viz., Holland, Friesland, Germany, &c., we travelled nine hundred and seventy-two English miles, all in wagons and vessels. We came not on a horse's back all the time. We staid about nine weeks in those countries, travelling and getting meetings where we could, which were to the number of forty-five, thus accounted: at Rotter-

dam, ten; Harlem, three; Amsterdam, ten; Twisk, four; Harlingen, three; Horn, one; Hamburg, one; Embden, two; Frederickstadt, ten; Goradick, one.

All these are large cities, except Twisk and Goradick.

From Rotterdam we took ship for London, and on the 30th of the third month, 1709, sailed down the river Meuse to the Briel, in the ship *Ann*, John Duck, master, but he missing the convoy, we took our passage in the packet; and from Helvoetsluys sailed over to Harwich, and safely arrived in our native land, blessing Almighty God for his many preservations and deliverances by sea and land.

About this time, after a long continuance of war, there was great talking of peace; but the old enemy to peace, truth and righteousness, broke it off by his evil working in man: neither can there be any lasting peace, until the nations come to witness the peaceable government and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, set up and established in themselves. The Lord bring it to pass, if it be his blessed will, with speed, for his holy name's sake! Amen.

As I have had great peace and satisfaction in my travels in Holland and Germany, so, for inciting others under the like exercise, I may truly say, that there is encouragement for faithful ministers to labour in the work of the gospel. I know not that I ever met with more tenderness and openness in people, than in those parts of the world. There is a great people whom they call Menonists, who are very near to truth, and the fields are white unto harvest, among divers of them, spiritually speaking. Oh! that faithful labourers, not a few, might be sent of God Almighty into the great vineyard of the world, is what my spirit breathes to him for.

After lodging one night at Harwich, we came to Ipswich, and from thence to Colchester, where we staid on first-day and had two meetings; and had a meeting at Birch and Coggeshall, and then back to Colchester, where we took coach for London, to the yearly meeting of Friends, which was very large. I gave a short account of my travels to the said meeting, with which Friends were satisfied, and made a minute thereof. I had been about twenty months from my habitation, and from my dear and affectionate wife, and from any trade or business, being all that time wholly given up in my mind to preach the glorious gospel of God our Saviour, without any outward consideration whatever, taking my great Master's counsel; as I had freely received from him, so I freely gave; and had that solid peace in my labours which is of more value than gold, yea, than all the world.

From the yearly meeting I travelled through some parts of most of the counties in England, and also in Wales: in which service I laboured fervently, and often travelled hard, in body and mind, until the next yearly meeting, 1710, having travelled that year about two thousand five hundred miles, and had nearly three hundred public meetings, in many of which there were much people, and oftentimes great openness. Being at so many Friends' houses and meetings, if I was to be particular, it would be too voluminous, for which, and some reason beside, I only give a general account thereof.

In this year, 1710, my dear friend and fellow-traveller, Richard Gove, departed this life at Uxbridge, about fifteen miles from London, at our friend Richard Richardson's house. He died of a consumption. We travelled together in great love and unity, and the Lord blessed his work in our hands. We were in company in the West India islands, Ireland, and North Britain, till we came to Berwick on Tweed. We met together again at London, and he visited some other parts of Britain in the time I was in Holland and Germany. He was an inoffensive, loving Friend, and had a sound testimony, which was serviceable and convincing, and was well beloved in Philadelphia, where he lived. He left a good savour and report behind him, I think, wherever he travelled.

At this general meeting in London, I had a good opportunity to take leave of my dear friends and brethren in my native land, not expecting to see it, or them, any more. Oh! I may truly say, it was a solemn parting! a solemn time to me indeed. After the yearly meeting was over, I took my passage in the Mary Hope, John Annis master, bound for Philadelphia; and on the 29th of the fourth month, 1710, at Gravesend, after having taken a solemn leave of our relations, and several of my dear friends, we set sail and overtook the Russia fleet at Harwich, joined it, and sailed as far as Shetland, which is northward of the isles of Orkney. We were with the fleet about two weeks, and then left it, and sailed to the westward for America. In this time we had rough seas, which made divers of us sea-sick. After we left Shetland, we were seven weeks and four days at sea before we saw the land of America, and glad we were when we got sight thereof. In this time we had divers sweet and solemn meetings, on first-days and fifth-days, wherein we worshipped and praised the great Jehovah, and many things were opened in the spirit of love and truth, to our comfort and edification. We had one meeting with the Germans or Palatines on the ship's deck, and one who under-

stood both languages interpreted for me. The people were tender and wrought upon, behaved soberly, and were well satisfied: and I can truly say, I was well satisfied also.

In this voyage we had our health to admiration; and I shall mention one thing worthy of notice. Some of my loving and good friends in London, fearing a sickness in the ship, as she was but small, and considering there were so many souls on board, being ninety-four in number, for that and other reasons, advised me not to go in her; for they loved me well, and I took it kindly of them. But I could not be easy to take their advice, because I had been long from my habitation and business, and which was yet more, from my dear and loving wife; and notwithstanding the vessel was so full and crowded, and also several of the people taken into the ship in the river Thames, yet they mended on board the vessel apace, and were soon all brave and hearty, being perfectly recovered at sea, and the ship, through the providence of the Almighty, brought them all well to Philadelphia, in the seventh month, 1710. I think I never was in a more healthy vessel, and I thought this a peculiar favour worthy to be recorded by me. We had a very pleasant passage up the river Delaware, to our great satisfaction, the Palatines being wonderfully pleased with the country, greatly admiring the pleasantness and the fertility of it. Divers of our people went on shore and brought fruit on board, which was the largest and finest they had ever seen, as they said, such as apples, peaches, &c.

I was from my family and habitation in this journey and travel, for the space of three years, within a few weeks; in which time, and in my return, I had sweet peace to my soul; glory to God for evermore! I had meetings every day when on land, except second and seventh-days, when in health, and nothing extraordinary hindered, and had travelled by sea and land, fourteen thousand three hundred miles, according to our English account. I was kindly and tenderly received by my friends, who longed to see me, as I did them, and our meeting was comfortable and pleasant.

After this long travel and voyage, I staid at home and looked after the little family which God had given me, and kept duly to meetings, except something extraordinary hindered. Divers people when I came home, raised a false report of me, and said I had brought home a great deal of money and goods, which I got by preaching. This was utterly false and base; for I brought neither money nor goods, so much as to the value of five pounds, except my wearing apparel. My case was so much the reverse, that I borrowed



money at London to pay for my accommodations home, which I faithfully remitted back again to my friend who lent it to me; and if I might have gained a hundred pounds per annum, it would not have tempted me to undertake that, or another such journey. Soon after my return home, I visited a few neighbouring meetings, which were large and edifying, Friends being glad to see me; and I did, as I had reason to do, bless the holy name of the Lord, for his many preservations and deliverances by sea and land.

After some stay at Philadelphia, I went down with my wife and family into Maryland, to a corn-mill and saw-mill, which I had there, in order to live there some time and settle my affairs. While there, my dear wife was taken ill of a sore disease, and I was desirous of getting her up to Philadelphia. She was carried as far as Chester in a horse-litter, where she continued for some months in extreme pain, at the house of our very kind friends, David and Grace Lloyd, whose kindness to us in that trying and exercising time, was great, and is not to be forgotten by me. From Chester we removed her in a litter, accompanied by our friends, to Philadelphia, where she continued very ill all that winter, often thinking that death tarried long, and crying mightily to the Lord, "Oh! come away, come away!" This was her cry day and night, till at last she could speak no more. As we had lived together in great love and unity, being very affectionate one to another; so, being now left alone, I was very solitary, and sometimes sorrowful, and broken into many tears, in the sense of my loss and loneliness. My dear wife was a virtuous young woman, and one who truly feared God, and loved his dear Son; from whom she had received a good gift of the ministry, and was serviceable to many therein. I had five children by her, four sons and one daughter, all of whom I buried before her, under three years old. At the yearly meeting before she died, she was so wonderfully carried forth in her ministry by divine grace, that divers of her friends believed she was near her end, she signifying something to that effect in her testimony, and that she should not live to see another yearly meeting: and so it came to pass; for she died before another yearly meeting, being aged about thirty-five years, and a married woman about thirteen years. Her body was carried to the meeting house in Philadelphia, and buried in Friends' burying-ground, being accompanied by many hundreds of our friends, in a solemn manner: and my heart was greatly broken in consideration of my great loss; and being left alone, as to wife and children, I many times deeply mourned,

though I well knew my loss was her's and their gain!

I now gave up my time mostly to travelling, for about the space of two years, in which I visited the meetings of Friends in the provinces of Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, back to Philadelphia, and then to New-Jersey again: also to Long island, Rhode Island, Conanicut island, Nantucket island, and New-England, and through those parts on my return to Philadelphia. In these journeys I travelled some thousands of miles, and had many large meetings, some in places where there had not been any before, and some were convinced, and many would acknowledge to the testimony of truth, which was declared by the help and grace of Christ; and many times by the assistance of that grace, my heart was wonderfully opened to the people.

In Virginia I had a meeting at James' river, where a priest of the church of England, with some of his hearers, made some opposition after our meeting was over, and were for disputing about religion; and he openly declared, "The spirit was not his guide nor rule; and he hoped, never should be. But, he said, the Scriptures were his rule, and that there was no need of any other; and that they were as plain as Gunter's line, or as one, two, three." I told him the Scriptures were a good secondary rule, and that it were well if men would square their lives according to their directions; which we, as a people, exhorted all to: but that the holy Spirit, from which the holy Scriptures came, must needs be preferable to the letter, that came from it. I also asked him, how he, or any one else, without the light or influence of the holy Spirit, could understand the Scriptures, which were parabolically and allegorically expressed, in many places? And further, to use his own expression, how could any understand Gunter's line, without Gunter's knowledge? or without they were taught by Gunter, or some other? Neither can we be the sons of God, without the spirit of God. Which he answered not, but went away.

In New-England, one Joseph Metcalf, a Presbyterian teacher, at Falmouth, wrote a book, entitled, "Legal forcing a maintenance for a minister of the gospel, warrantable from Scripture, &c." This book, a Friend of Sandwich gave me, and desired I would answer it; and finding some exercise on my mind for the cause of truth, I was willing to undertake it; and accordingly wrote an answer thereto, which I called, "Forcing a maintenance, not warrantable from the holy Scriptures, for a minister of the gospel." I endeavoured to set the texts of Scripture in a true light, which



he had darkened and misrepresented, by his chimerical doctrines.

In this year, 1713, I went from Philadelphia, in the *Hope* galley, John Richmond, master, to South Carolina. We were about a month at sea; and when it pleased God that we arrived at Charleston, in South Carolina, we had a meeting there, and divers others afterwards. There are but few Friends in this province, yet I had several meetings in the country. The people were generally loving, and received me kindly. What I had to declare to them, I always desired to speak to the witness of God in the soul, and according to the pure doctrine of truth in the holy Scriptures; and there was openness in the people in several places. I was several times to visit the governor, who was courteous and civil to me. He said I "deserved encouragement," and spoke to several to be generous, and contribute to my assistance. He meant an outward maintenance; for he would have me encouraged to stay among them. But I told him, that though it might be a practice with them to maintain their ministers, and pay them money for preaching, it was contrary to our principles to be paid for preaching, agreeably to the command of our great master, Christ Jesus, who said to his ministers, "Freely ye have received, freely give:" so that we are limited by his words, whatever others are: and those who take a liberty contrary to his doctrine and command, I think must be antichrists, according to holy Scripture. The longer I staid there, the larger our meetings were; and when I found myself free and clear of those parts, I took my passage for Virginia in a sloop, Henry Tucker, master. I had a comfortable and quick passage to James' river, it being about two hundred leagues. The master of the vessel told me, "That he believed he was blessed for my sake." I wished him to live so as that he might be blessed for Christ's sake. Some reformation was begun on him in our voyage; which was the goodness of God, through Christ, to him, and not to be attributed to me, any further than an instrument in the divine hand; for of ourselves we cannot do any thing that is good, it being by grace, through faith, that we are saved, which is God's gift to the soul.

After I had been some time in Virginia, I got a passage up the bay of Chesapeake, and had several meetings in Maryland, Friends being glad to see me; and we were comforted in Christ our Lord. I made some little stay at a place I had in that province, called Longbridge, and then returned to Philadelphia, where I lodged at the house of my very kind friends Richard and Hannah Hill, and was

oftentimes at divers neighbouring meetings, and sometimes had good service therein.

About this time I had an inclination to alter my condition to a married state; and Martha, the widow of Joseph Brown, appearing to be a suitable person for me, on the 15th of the second month, 1714, we were joined together in marriage, with the unity of Friends in general. We had a large meeting at our marriage, the solemnization thereof being attended with the grace and goodness of God; and for example sake, we made but little provision for our guests: for great entertainments at marriages and funerals began to be a growing thing among us, which was attended with divers inconveniences.

My wife was a sober and religious young woman, and of a quiet natural temper and disposition; which is an excellent ornament to the fair sex; and indeed it is so to both male and female; for, according to the holy Scriptures, "A meek and quiet spirit is with the Lord of great price."

I was at divers yearly meetings in 1715, viz., at Choptank, in Maryland; at Shrewsbury and Salem, in New-Jersey; all which meetings were very large and comfortable; many things being opened therein, tending to convincing and establishing the people in the truth and doctrine of Christ. I was likewise at divers other meetings in those provinces, which were large and satisfactory.

At Salem yearly meeting I was sent for to the prison, where there was a young woman who was to be tried for her life. She desired that I would pray for her, and charged me to warn the young people to be careful not to keep bad company; "for," said she, "it has been my ruin, and brought me to this shame and reproach." She had been tenderly brought up and educated. I knew her when she wore a necklace of gold chains, though now she wore iron ones. Upon which subject I had afterwards a large opportunity to speak to the people in a very moving manner; which seemed very much to affect the youth and others in the meeting, which consisted of many hundreds of people. I saw this young woman afterwards, the jury acquitting her; and I told her that her life was given her for a prey; and reminded her, how it was with her when she was in prison in chains; and I advised her to walk more circumspectly for the future; which she said she hoped she should do.

In the year 1716, I had some concerns which drew me to the island of Bermuda, where I went twice that summer. My family increasing, I traded a little to sea for their support and maintenance: and I can truly say, I carried on my affairs and business in the fear of God, having an eye or regard

therein, more to his glory, than to my own interest. We had a rough passage to this island in the first voyage, and were forced by distress of weather, to cast some of our goods into the sea; and the storm being very violent, some of the seamen thought we should be devoured by the waves. As for me, they had shut me up in the cabin alone, all in darkness, and the water came in so that they were forced to take it out in buckets. When the storm was a little over, the master came to me, and asked "How I did all alone in the dark?" I told him pretty well; and said to him I was very willing to die, if it so pleased God; and indeed I expected no other at that time. After this great storm was over we arrived at Bermuda in a few days; going into the harbour, the bottom of the vessel struck the rocks, but we got well in; for which I was thankful to the Almighty. I staid on the island about a month, and had several meetings; to some of which, many came who were not called Friends. They were all sober, and some well satisfied; and the people of the island generally received me lovingly, and were very kind to me. Our ancients, who bore the burden and heat of the day, met with very different treatment. I tenderly desire that we who come after them, may be truly humble and thankful to the Almighty for all his mercies.

By reason of my outward affairs, I had opportunities with some persons of great note and business on this island; and sometimes opened the principles of Friends to their satisfaction; some of them told me, "They never understood so much concerning our Friends before; and if what I said was true, they had been misinformed." Divers such opportunities I had with several on this island, there being but very few of our Society.

These are called the Summer Islands, or Bermudas, there being many little islands in the midst of the main island, in form like a horse-shoe: they are about two hundred leagues distance from the capes of Delaware. It is rare to see hail, snow, or ice there.

After I had done my business, and had been for some time on the island, I had a ready and comfortable passage home, where I was joyfully received.

After some little stay at home, I went a second time that summer to Bermuda, and then also I had some meetings, and did some business on the island. It was my constant care, that my worldly affairs should not hinder me in my religious concern for the good of souls. It happened at this time there was a mighty hurricane of wind, that blew many houses to the ground, and very many trees up by the roots, and rent rocks asunder, of

which I was an eye-witness: though it is to be observed, that those rocks in the Summer islands, are not so hard as in some other parts of the world, particularly to the northward; for here they saw them with saws, and cut them with axes like wood. I was told there were sixty sail of vessels then at these islands, and all were driven on shore but three, and ours was one of the three that rode out the storm; for which I was truly thankful. In this great storm, or hurricane, several sloops were driven upon dry land, so that after the storm was over, one might go round them at high water, and several were blown off the dry land into the water. One that was ready to be launched, though fastened on the stocks with two cables and anchors put deep in the ground, yet the violence of the wind blew her into the water, and dashed her to pieces.

About this time the Bermuda people had got a vast treasure of silver and gold, out of the Spanish wrecks; and at a meeting which I had on the first-day of the week before the hurricane, or storm of wind, it came weightily on my mind to exhort them not to be lifted up therewith, nor exalted with pride: for I declared to them, that the same hand who took it from the Spaniards, could take it from those who had now got it out of the sea; and if he pleased, by the same way; which was a storm that cast away the ships going from Spain. And indeed so it happened the same week; for it was reckoned by men of experience and judgment, that they lost more by the storm, than they had gained by the wrecks of the Spaniards. A sober old man, not of our profession, told me the next day after the hurricane was over, that what I spoke in the meeting was soon come to pass: and he added, I was a true prophet to them. Many houses that were not blown down were uncovered. My landlord's house being old, several thought it would be down; but by the good providence of God, it was one of those which stood. I was in my store, which stood also, though I expected every minute when it would have been blown down. It was by the mercy of God we were preserved, and not for any merit of ours. I entreated the Lord in the midst of this great wind, that he would please to spare the lives of the people; for many of them being seafaring men, were very unfit to die; at which time I thought I was sensible of the answer of my prayer, and he was pleased to be entreated for them: for, notwithstanding the violence of the storm, and the great destruction it made, yet not one man, woman, child, or creature was lost, that I heard of, in all the island, which was to me very admirable. The Friend of the house came to me after the storm abated, and said, "The Lord



had heard my prayers for them." Although they could not by any outward knowledge, know that I had prayed for them, yet they had a sense given them, that I was concerned for them before the Almighty; which indeed was true. Oh! that we may never forget the merciful visitations of the high and lofty One, who inhabits eternity!

While I was on the island I was invited to, and kindly entertained at the houses of several of the gentry, and at the governor's, who invited me several times to his house. Once I was with him, and some of his chief officers at dinner, with divers of the first rank, where I was treated very kindly; and after dinner the governor's practice was to drink the king's health, and he hoped I would drink it with them. "Yes," said the rest at the table, "Mr. Chalkley, (as they called me,) will surely drink the king's health with us." So they passed the glass, with the king's health, till it came to me; when they all looked steadfastly to see what I would do; and I looked as steadfastly to the Almighty, and said to them, I love king George, and wish him as well as any subject he hath; and it is known to thousands that we pray for him in our meetings for the worship of Almighty God; but as to drinking healths, either the king's, or any man's else, it is against my professed principle, I looking on it to be a vain, idle custom. They replied, "That they wished the king had more such subjects as I was; for I had professed a hearty respect for him:" and the governor and they all were very kind and friendly to me all the time I was on the island.

After I had finished my concerns, I embarked in the sloop *Dove*, for Philadelphia, she being consigned to me in this and the former voyage. It being often calm and small winds, our provisions grew very scanty. We were about twelve persons in the vessel, great and small, and but one piece of beef left in the barrel; and for several days, the wind being contrary, the people began to murmur, and told dismal stories about people eating one another for want of provisions. The wind being still against us, and for aught we could see, likely to continue so, they murmured more and more, and at last, against me in particular, because the vessel and cargo was consigned to me, and was under my care, so that my inward exercise about it was great. Neither myself, nor any in the vessel, imagined that we should be half so long as we were on the voyage; but since it was so, I seriously considered the matter; and to stop their murmuring, I told them they should not need to cast lots, which was usual in such cases, which of us should die first, for I would freely offer up my life to do them good. One said, "God

bless you, I will not eat any of you." Another said, "He would die before he would eat any of me;" and so said several. I can truly say, that at that time my life was not dear to me, and that I was serious and ingenious in my proposition: and as I was leaning over the side of the vessel, thoughtfully considering my proposal to the company, and looking in my mind to him who made me, a very large dolphin came up towards the surface of the water, and looked me in the face. I called the people to put a hook into the sea and take him, for here is one come to redeem me, said I to them; and they put out a hook, and the fish readily took it, and they caught him. I think he was about six feet long, and the largest that ever I saw. This plainly showed us that we ought not to distrust the providence of the Almighty. The people were quieted by this act of providence, and murmured no more. We caught enough to eat plentifully of till we got into the capes of Delaware. Thus I saw it was good to depend upon the Almighty, and rely upon his eternal arm; which, in a particular manner, did preserve us safe to our desired port, blessed be his great and glorious name, through Christ, for ever!

I now staid at and about home for some time; after which I was concerned to visit Friends in several places, and in the adjacent provinces, as Maryland, New-Jersey, &c., and was at many marriages and funerals, at which, many times we had good opportunities to open the way, and also the necessity, to be married to Christ Jesus, the great bridegroom of the soul; and also to exhort the people to consider and prepare for their latter end and final change; which many times was sanctified to divers souls, and the Lord's name was glorified, who is worthy thereof.

In the year 1717, I went into Maryland to look after my affairs in that province; and as I travelled, I had divers meetings at Nottingham, and at Bush-river, about which time, at Bush-river, several were convinced. The meeting I found in a growing condition in that which is good, several persons meeting together in silence to worship God, according to Christ's institution, which was, and is, and ever will be, in spirit and in truth. For the encouragement of all such, Christ hath said, that the Father seeketh such to worship him; and again, "Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." And if Christ be in the midst, there is no absolute need of vocal teaching, except it be the will of the Lord to call any to it. Let the spiritual Christian read and judge.

After my return I had several meetings in the country, near Philadelphia; and about the



latter end of the eighth month I was at several marriages, one of which was on the third-day of the week, about fifteen miles above Philadelphia, over Delaware river; the next was over the river again, about twenty miles below the city; and the third was about twenty miles further down the river, and on the opposite side at Salem, on the following days; so that I crossed the Delaware river three times in three days, and rode about one hundred miles. The meetings were all large, and matter suitable to the occasion freely opened to the people. These remarks are not intended to set up man, or exalt flesh, but to stir up others to come up to the work of Christ in their generation. All the glory and goodness of man is but as the grass, which soon withers, without we dwell in the root of true religion, and in the holy life of Christ. That God may have the glory of all his works, is the end of all the labours and travels of the servants and faithful ministers of Christ.

In the tenth month, 1717, divers considerations moving me thereto, I took a voyage to Barbadoes, in the *Snow Hope*, J. Curtis, master, and from thence to Great Britain and London; partly on account of business, and hoping once more, if it pleased God, to see my aged father, my brother, relations and friends; which voyage I undertook in the solid fear of God. I desired the concurrence of my wife, and my friends and brethren of the meeting to which I did belong, in this undertaking, the which I had in a general way, and the good wishes and prayers of many particulars, with a certificate from our monthly meeting, signifying their unity with my conversation and ministry, and present undertaking. I felt the love and goodness of God therein, but in many respects it was a great cross to me, especially leaving my beloved wife and children, and many of my dear friends, whom I loved well in Christ; and crossing the seas was always troublesome to me, being sickly, especially in windy or stormy weather. The confinement was worse to me for the time than a prison; for it would be much easier to me to be in prison on land, upon a good account, than in prison at sea, I always looking on a ship to be a perilous prison, though it was my lot to be much therein. As for my natural life, I always gave it up whenever I went to sea; and I thought that was the least part of the hardship, never putting much value thereon. But to sea I went, for the reasons mentioned, and got from Philadelphia to Newcastle the first night in said vessel, and to Elsingburgh next day, where we lay for a fair wind about two days, then sailed to Bombay-hook, where we met with two other vessels bound to sea, who

waited also for the wind. We lay there two nights, and on a first-day morning set sail, the weather being very cold, and the ice thick on the sides of our vessel, and on our ropes. The day that we left Bombay-hook we got out to sea, took in our boat and went on our way; and in four or five days we got into warmer weather.

In this voyage I wrote something on the common prayer, used by some of the church of England whose conversations were very loose and corrupt, which I entitled, "A truly tender scruple of conscience, about that form of prayer, called the common prayer, used by the church of England and her members," &c.

In this voyage we saw several ships, but spoke with none; and in twenty-seven days from our capes we arrived at Barbadoes, and came to anchor in Carlisle bay.

I had been twice in Barbadoes before, but this was the quickest passage by one day. Here I was lovingly and tenderly received by my friends. I took my good friend Joseph Gamble's house for my quarters, most of the time whilst I staid on the island, and visited Friends' meetings several times over, there being five of Friends' meeting houses in the island, and our meetings were sometimes large and open.

Our stay was longer than we at first expected, by reason of a great drought, they having no rain for more than a quarter of a year, which was a great hindrance to trade on the island. While I was here, our ancient Friend, George Gray, died. I was at his funeral, at which there were many people; and on this occasion we had a large meeting at our meeting house at Speights-town, where I had a seasonable opportunity with the people, opening to them the necessity of thinking of, and preparing for, their latter end; and pressed them earnestly thereto. They were generally attentive and sober, and some were broken into tenderness. While we were burying the Friend, there appeared a dismal cloud hanging over the island, such an one as I never saw before. I thought it was of the colour of the flame of brimstone; and expected there would have been a great storm, or gust, and much rain, they having had very little for many weeks, or some months; but it went over, and there was no rain or wind as I remember. Soon after, some people came in from sea, and said it rained ashes from that cloud; and they brought some to the island, some of which ashes I now have before me: the taste of them seems to me to be a little sulphurous, and they have some glittering particles in them; in colour and smell I think they differed little from common

ashes. Herein the Almighty and Infinite Being signally showed his mercy and favour to poor mortals; for had not his mercy prevented, he could as easily have rained down the fire as the ashes. He rained fire and brimstone on the cities and inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, for their pride and idleness, much of which abounds among the inhabitants of Barbadoes, the people being very luxurious. Oh! may the inhabitants of that isle, and all others, consider their ways and doings, and not provoke the great Lord, the Sovereign of heaven and earth, as many of them do by their evil lives and voluptuous conversations. May they kiss the Son, though not with a Judas kiss of profession, or speaking well or fairly of him only, but with divine love manifested through obedience, while his wrath is but a little kindled against them, and before it break out into a flame.

After this funeral I was sent for to Bridgetown, to the burial of a master of a ship, a young man, who was very fresh and well a few days before. There was a great appearance of people, and I was pretty largely opened in the meeting, on the words of the prophet, where he says, "All flesh is grass, and all the goodness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people are grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand forever." I treated of this Word, its wonderfulness, its duration, and its work in man; also of the fading constitution of mortal man, though young and strong, as that young man was a few days before, whose corpse was then before us.

I was at several other burials on this island, which proves a grave to many new-comers, it being a hot climate, and those who are not accustomed to it being very thirsty, and it is not easy to quench their thirst; so that what is called moderate drinking, throws many strangers into a violent fever, and oftentimes is the cause of their death. I note this as a caution to those who may transport themselves there, that they may shun that danger; which might be avoided by drinking cool drinks, of which they have many sorts very pleasant, viz., cane, sugar-reed, and white sorrel, pine, orange, and divers others. I advise such, as they love their health, to refrain from drinking much hot drink or spirits.

I saw several natural curiosities on this island, which among the great numbers of the works of God, do show forth his praise and glory. One to the leeward part of this island, which is called the spout, sends up a vast body of water into the air, occasioned by a great cavity in the rocks under the water, which

may be seen in calm weather, when the sea is low. When the wind blows, a great body of water being pent in a large hollow place, it forces it up into the air, sometimes ten, fifteen, or twenty yards high, according as the strength of the wind is, and makes a report like a cannon, or thunder, a great way off. I believe I have seen it ten or twelve miles out at sea. I was also at a place called Oliver's cave, which we got to with some difficulty, in going down the steep and craggy rocks. There is on the outward part next the sea, a very large vaulted place, in the form of a half circle, about one hundred feet high, as near as I could guess. In this large vault, behind a rock, is the mouth of the cave, not the height of a man at the first entrance; after going in a few yards, one may walk upright comfortably, the bottom being pretty plain and smooth for about a hundred yards, and then we come into a large cave which is formed archwise, and about ten or fifteen yards high, as we thought, being much higher in the middle than at the sides, but almost as regular as if it had been done by art, which we beheld with admiration, by the help of wax candles and other lights, that we made and carried for that purpose.

When I had done my business in Barbadoes, having been there about thirteen weeks and loaded our vessel, we sailed the 10th of the second month, 1718, for London.

We had a good passage, being five weeks and two days from Barbadoes to Great Britain, in which we saw several vessels at sea, but spoke with none. After sight of the land, we got in two days to Beachy-head, which is about fifteen leagues from the Downs or Deal. We sailed along the shore by Folkstone, where we took in a pilot, and had a comfortable passage through the Downs, and up the river Thames to London, where I met with my dear and aged father, and loving brother, sister and cousins, and many others of my near and dear relations and friends.

In this voyage I wrote some things which opened in my mind at sea, upon that excellent sermon of Christ's upon the mount, as it is recorded in the holy Scriptures of the New Testament, in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of the evangelist Matthew, but have since heard that the same is better done by an abler hand; and therefore it may suffice here to repeat the advice, which in the course of my travels I have often had occasion to give, viz., that the professors of Christianity should frequently read this sermon, and be careful to practice the same; that they may not only be Christians in name, but in deed, and in truth.

After visiting my relations and some meet-



ings of Friends in and about London, having finished my business, and being ready to return homeward, divers Friends accompanied us from London to Gravesend; and the wind not being fair, we went to Rochester, and had a meeting there, then back again to Gravesend, and there took a solemn farewell of our Friends, recommending one another to the grace of Christ, having this time made but little stay in Britain.

In the fifth month, 1718, we sailed from the Downs in the aforesaid *Snow Hope*, divers Friends, viz., John Danson, Isaac Hadwin, John Oxley, Lydia Lancaster, Elizabeth Rawlinson and Rebecca Turner, being in company with us. After about nine weeks passage from land to land, having had meetings on first and fifth-days on board, during the voyage, we came all safe and well to Philadelphia, through the blessing of God, where I staid with my family a few months, and took another voyage for Barbadoes and Britain. I was under more than ordinary concern for the support and accommodation of my family, the circumstances thereof being a little changed by the increase of children, remembering the words of the apostle, that those who had not this care and concern, were worse than infidels; my Lord Jesus, whose servant I profess myself to be, also saying, "It is better to give than to receive." An opportunity offering of the consignment of a vessel and cargo, the *Snow Hope*, Warner Holt, master, to Barbadoes, and from thence to London, and so to make returns home again, for Philadelphia, I embraced it; though with reluctance to leave my very loving wife, children and friends, all of whom I tenderly loved and respected. I also had in my eye an hope, through the blessing of God, to obtain wherewith to accommodate my friends, who were strangers and pilgrims in this world for Jesus' sake, as I also had been myself; and that they might find a place or home, and refreshment under my roof; not to excess, but to comfort and edification; which in sincerity, is all the grandeur I covet or desire in this world. After due consideration, on the 2nd day of the eleventh month, 1718, we set sail from Philadelphia, many Friends taking their farewell of us for that voyage. Thus with hearts full of love and good will, we parted with our friends, and went down the river about five miles, where we ran aground, but got off next tide, and next day came to an anchor at Chester. On the 4th day of the month we set sail, and got to Newcastle about the eleventh hour; it being meeting day, we went to meeting, where our great Lord was pleased in some good measure to own us with his living presence, and comfort us with his love; blessed be his

holy name! In the morning we sailed to Reedy island, where we staid for the tide, and in the night our cable parted, which we knew not of until morning, and then we had gone from the place where we anchored, about a league: but though the vessel drove about the river, yet she did not go aground. We dropped our other anchor, and sent the boat to seek for that which was parted from us, but could not find it until the next tide, and then could not get it up, and were unwilling to go to sea without it; which occasioned us to stay several tides before we could get it up; at last with much difficulty we weighed it, our men's clothes being much frozen; for it was very cold, and froze extremely hard. After this we went down to Bombay-hook, where was another vessel going out to sea. Next day the wind was against us, and it snowed much, and froze hard; and that night the river and bay were filled with ice as far as we could see, and it drove very hard against our vessel, so that we wished for day: for we thought sometimes it would have torn her bows into pieces; but our anchor and cable held us, we thought, to a miracle, for which we were thankful to the great Keeper of all those who put their trust in him. When the tide turned for us we got up the anchor, and so let her drive with the ice down the bay: the other vessel did the same.

~It was now dangerous moving, go which way we would. The vessel in company with us attempted to go back again, but seeing that we did not, as we supposed, came to anchor again, and we both went down the bay together; and the wind springing up fair, we got clear of the ice in a few hours time. By this hindrance we could not get to sea that day, but were obliged to come to anchor near the middle of the great bay of Delaware, and the night being fair and calm, we rode it out safely, which if it had been windy weather, would have been dangerous. Early in the morning of the 9th of the month, we got to sea, and soon lost sight of the land. Next day the wind was high, and the weather proved stormy for several days, insomuch that our main-deck was under water most of the time, so that we were forced to go before the wind for several days together. We also shut up our cabin windows, and were tossed exceedingly, and I was very sea-sick: and we began in this storm to fear falling on the rocks of Bermuda, which we were near, as we imagined, and the wind set right on the island. When we had passed the latitude of Bermuda, we met with fair weather and winds, and all the remaining part of our passage was pleasant and comfortable. Thus I was led to consider the vicissitudes which mortals may

expect while in this unstable life, which is full of changes; and I strongly desired to be rightly prepared for that world which is eternal, and its joy and felicity permanent; at which blessed port, I hope in God's time, through his grace, safely to arrive. Through storms, tempests, ice and snow, we left those frozen climes, and crossed the tropic of Cancer, between which, and that of Capricorn, there is neither frost nor snow at sea, at any time of the year, and the wind always nearly one way, viz., easterly, except in hurricanes and violent storms, which sometimes occur in those parts of the world. We arrived at Bridgetown, in Barbadoes, in twenty-one days, which was the quickest passage I ever had, this being the fourth time of my coming hither, where I was always kindly received by my friends.

About this time war being declared against Spain by the king of Great Britain, proclamation thereof was made in Bridgetown, which put such a damp on trade, that there was little business, and the markets low and dull, which made my stay longer than I would have chosen. But my friends, among whom I had many opportunities, seemed rather pleased than otherwise; telling me, "That they did not care if I was to stay there always if it were my place:" and when I left Barbadoes, they gave me better credentials than I thought I deserved. A friend of mine giving me intelligence that the market was better at Antigua than at Barbadoes, I despatched my affairs and took part of our cargo there, and was kindly received by our friends. We were about three days on our passage, and had fine weather. At Antigua I had several meetings: my business at no time hindered me in my more weighty service; for I always, through divine help, made that give way to my religious duty, in which I ever found peace and inward satisfaction. In about five weeks I finished my business in this island, having no small satisfaction in coming to it; and our vessel being now loaded, we took our solemn leave, and with the good wishes of many, departed for England.

Our friends there signified to their brethren, that they were glad of my company, and that I was serviceable to them, though I came upon business. My hand, when need required, was to my business, but my heart was, and I hope is, and ever shall be, freely given up to serve the Lord, in that work whereunto I believe he has called me. We have liberty from God and his dear Son, lawfully, and for accommodation's sake, to work or seek for food and raiment; though that ought to be a work of indifferency, compared to the great work of salvation. Our Saviour saith, Labour not

for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth for ever, or to eternal life: by which we do not understand, that Christians must neglect their necessary occasions, and their outward trades and callings; but that their chief labour and greatest concern, ought to be for their future well-being in his glorious kingdom. Why did our Lord say to his disciples, Children, have you any meat? and when they answered, no, bid them cast their nets into the sea, and they drew to land a net full of great fishes? Fishing being their trade, no doubt but they sold them, for it was not likely that they could eat them all themselves. Also the apostle of Christ says, He that doth not take care of his family, is worse than an infidel: and the apostle Paul, the great apostle of the gentiles, wrought with his hands, even while he was on his travels in the work of the gospel; and others tasted of the benefit of his labour naturally, as well as spiritually. It is also written, he that will not work, shall not eat. By this, and much more, which might be noted, it appears that we not only have liberty to labour in moderation, but we are given to understand, that it is our duty so to do. The farmer, the tradesman, and the merchant, do not understand by our Lord's doctrine, that they must neglect their calling, or grow idle in their business, but must certainly work, and be industrious in their callings. We all ought to understand, that our hearts and minds ought to be out of the world, or above the nature and spirit of it. It is good and profitable for both soul and body, rightly to distinguish between earthly and heavenly things, and to be careful how we mix the one with the other; for it is an eternal truth, that God and mammon cannot dwell together, or join together in the heart. If our love is more to God than the creature, or to heaven than earth, then will he dwell in us, and with us: but if our love is more to the creature than to Christ, or to earth than heaven, then will he not dwell with us, but will leave us to ourselves; for the Lord Omnipotent will not admit of any rival.

On the 11th of the fourth month, 1719, we left Antigua, stood close to the wind till we again crossed the tropic, and got into those latitudes where the winds are variable. Sailing in the great deep, we saw the wonders of the Lord, particularly in divers kinds of fish, they living upon one another in the sea, the great fishes on the small ones; and mankind too much resemble them in that respect. About the latitude of thirty-three degrees north, our master, Warner Holt, seeing a school of porpoises about the ship, took his harping-iron and struck one of them, out of which we got eleven quart bottles of oil; and most of us



eat heartily of this fish, which agreed with our people very well. They fried the liver for our mess, of which I eat, it was well tasted, and more like fresh beef than fish. I make this memorandum, that if any should take them when their provisions are scarce, they may eat freely without danger, according to our experience. When we had been at sea about three weeks, being near the latitude of forty degrees north, and about the longitude of forty-two, though it was in the midst of summer, we saw an island of ice, at which we all marvelled, and judged that there had been a severely cold winter in those latitudes on the land of America. When we saw this island of ice we judged ourselves not far from the banks of Newfoundland. Hitherto we had easy gales of wind and many calms, which made our passage seem long to us. We saw two sail of ships about those latitudes, but spoke with neither, being willing to shun them, as it was war time.

We had in this voyage, weekly meetings for worshipping the Almighty, in which the great Lord both of sea and land, was pleased to manifest his name and truth amongst us, for which my soul often secretly and openly blessed and praised his divine and glorious name and truth; for he bore up my drooping spirit, so that I could truly say with the royal psalmist, not because he spoke it only, but also from being an experimental witness thereof; "The floods have lifted up, Oh! Lord, the floods have lifted up their voice: the floods lift up their waves. The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea." This the king wrote of his own experience in a spiritual sense; but I may say, without boasting, I have witnessed the rage and noise of mighty waves and waters, both natural and spiritual; the one, as though it would swallow up my reputation among men, and the other, as though it would swallow up my person in this voyage; but blessed be the name of Him who is holy and eternal, who indeed is stronger than the noise of many waters, or than the mighty waves of the sea, either inwardly or outwardly, I will through his strength, magnify his name, because he is worthy: and may I do it for ever!

About the 11th of the fifth month, we saw great flocks of birds, which we judged came from the Azores, or Western Islands, near which we reckoned ourselves to be. The 21st day we saw, and came up with a French ship, which had been fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and was bound for Havre-de-Grace, in France, the master of which came on board of us, and our captain went on board of them. We exchanged some rum

and sugars, of our sea-stores, for French wine and cider, and some of our provisions for their fish. The captain was a Protestant, and very courteous to us: the regent of France at this time being kind to the Protestants, so that they increased much in that kingdom. The Frenchman seeming desirous to know what religion I was of, I told him by an interpreter, that I was one called a Quaker, or trembler, and that our principle was to do good to all men, and not to hurt any man, according to Christ's doctrine, not to render evil for evil, but to overcome evil with good. When they went away and took leave of us, they desired me to pray for them, the which I remembered with tenderness of spirit. Having but little wind, we kept company for several days; but the wind springing fair, we wished them well, and went on our way, our vessel out-sailing most we met with; and a few days after we met with a New-England ship, which came out six days before us from Antigua. We were then in latitude about fifty degrees north, and twenty-nine and a half longitude from the Land's-end of Great Britain. The 30th day of the fifth month, we sounded, and found ground at twenty-eight fathom, and on the 1st day of the sixth month, we saw the Land's-end of England, all our company being in health, and well; for which my heart was truly thankful, to that great and infinite Being, whose providence is over us poor mortals in all parts of the world, and who reigns over sea and land, and is worthy of adoration, worship, service, and living praise for ever!

In a few days we came into the English channel, and while going up, there came one of the king's yachts, and pressed most of our men; taking from us our best hands and carrying them on board a man of war; after which we came to anchor at Folkstone, where I left the vessel, and got a horse to Dover, and there took coach to London. In the coach were some persons who began to talk about the Quakers, and spoke against their plain way of living and clothing, and said, "they did not understand their unfashionable way of conversation; neither was it the way to gain proselytes." Upon which I asked them, whether they understood Paul, the great apostle of the gentiles, who said, Be ye not conformed to this world, i. e., the fashions of it, for this reason, the world and the fashions thereof, pass away; which is a great truth. We plainly see how fickle and changeable the world is in its vain fashions and customs, and to follow it in all its foolish cuts and turns, or changes, must make a man or woman very foppish and apish. I told them that our religion was agreeable to the holy Scriptures, which, if they did not understand, neither

could they understand us ; for the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, was generally very plain therein ; and the doctrine in Christ's excellent sermon on the mount, is clear to very low or mean capacities. They discoursed no more of religion till we came to London. Here I met once more my loving and aged father, a man fearing God, and having a gift of the ministry of the gospel of Christ, and well beloved of his friends and neighbours, who, with others of my near and dear relations and friends, received me gladly.

After some months stay among my relations and friends in London, we sold our vessel, the *Snow Hope*, and bought a ship, which we called the *Trine Hope*, Warner Holt, master ; and when I had done my business, I sailed in her for Pennsylvania. We had meetings on board the vessel twice a week, in which the Almighty was pleased to favour us with his good presence. Sobriety, and the fear of God, and faith in his beloved Son, Christ, were often recommended to the youth on board the vessel with us, of whom there were several going to America, in order to settle there. At one meeting I was tenderly concerned to remind them of Jacob, who in his youth, left his country and relations to sojourn in a strange land, and how in that undertaking, he sought the Lord and his blessing, more than any outward thing ; and that he was greatly blessed with many favours from heaven above, and also of the earth beneath, and they were advised to take him for their example. Many other things were tenderly opened to them in the love of God, and in his fear and counsel they were exhorted from time to time.

It being winter time, we sailed to the southward, and got into warm weather, and were on our passage seven weeks and some days, in which time we saw several vessels, and spoke one, whose people said they were chased by a Turk, but got from him, at which they greatly rejoiced. We apprehended it was our ship that they saw over night, for we saw a sail that crowded from us as fast as she could, and it being near night, we shortened sail, and she left us. In the morning we came up with her, and being pretty near, they and we put out our colours, and being both Englishmen, we spoke to each other, and were glad to meet with some of our own nation upon the great ocean ; but our vessel sailing best, we took our leave of them, wishing them a good voyage. We met with rough seas and high winds in the latter part of our passage, till we came to the capes of Delaware, which we all rejoiced to see ; and had a pleasant passage up the bay and river to Philadelphia, where I had once more a comfortable meeting with my

dear wife and family, which I gratefully acknowledged as a high favour from the hand of the Almighty.

We arrived at Philadelphia the 1st of the second month, 1720 ; after which I staid about home for some time, and was not idle, but kept to my business, and to meetings, and having a desire to see Friends in the province of Maryland, at their general meeting at West river, I was accompanied by Isaac Norris and Thomas Masters, both sober young men. It had been a time of much rain, and the waters being high, going over a ford of Brandywine, my mare got among the rocks, it being a very rocky creek, and fell down. The stream being very strong, she rolled upon me, and being entangled with the stirrup, I could not easily clear myself, but I gave a spring, and swam from her. When I was clear I got to her again, and laid hold of her mane, and through the good providence of God, got well out on dry land, which was a remarkable deliverance. In three days we got to West river, to the yearly meeting, which was large, and Friends were glad to see me, I having not been there for several years. I was out on this journey about two weeks, and rode about three hundred miles : and after coming home, I travelled much in the provinces of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey.

In the year 1721, Thomas Lightfoot and I, with William Brown, went to a meeting at Bush river, and going over Susquehanna ferry, the people were fiddling and dancing. When the dance was over, I asked them, believing them to be Protestants, if they thought Luther to be a good man ? They replied, "Yes, there was no doubt of it." Well, said I, and so do I ; and I will tell you what he says concerning dancing, "That as many paces as a man takes in his dance, so many steps he takes towards hell ;" which spoiled their sport, and they went away, and we went on ours towards the meeting ; and a good meeting it was. After it we returned by way of Nottingham, and had a meeting there, and one at New-Garden, and so on to Philadelphia. I was from home about a week, and travelled in this journey about one hundred and fifty miles, and was well satisfied therein.

From Philadelphia I went to the general meeting at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, where I heard of J. G.'s being wounded by a young man, with a sword, of which he died, lamenting that he did not take the counsel of his friends ; as young men who slight the counsel of those that wish them well, commonly do, either sooner or later, if the day of their visitation be not over. Some few days after this meeting at Shrewsbury, I visited Friends on Long island, and returned home again, having



travelled about three hundred miles. During my stay at and about home, I wrote something concerning Perfection, in answer to a nameless author; also something concerning Predestination, or Election and Reprobation.

In the year 1722, I went back in the woods to Buckingham, the Great Swamp, Perkio-ming, Manatawny, and Oley, where I had meetings, travelling over mountains, from which we could see many miles. After staying some time at home and visiting neighbouring meetings, I went to the yearly meeting of Friends on Long island, which was very large, many people, not of our persuasion, being there, who were very sober. Many things were opened in the love of Christ, and his great love was largely declared to the congregation. The parable concerning the prodigal son, came before me to speak of in a very moving manner, and strongly to invite the youth to lay hold of the love of the Father in his Son, to poor souls: and indeed it is a wonderful parable, setting forth the infinite love of the great Lord of all, to his poor creatures. Many were affected and reached at this meeting, and the Almighty was praised and glorified, who alone is worthy.

I had a meeting at New-York, and then set forward to Woodbridge, where we had a comfortable meeting. Naaman, the Assyrian, was the subject of that day's work; and that any thing, loved and esteemed more than Christ, whatever it be, is to be avoided, and the people were warned to be careful to keep close to the God of spiritual Israel, and to give up all which is contrary to his nature, and to take up Christ's cross, and follow him; for it is those who follow him in the regeneration, that are to be heirs of his kingdom.

In this year I was at the burial of our friend Jonathan Dickinson, at which we had a very large meeting; he being a man generally well beloved by his friends and neighbours. In the meeting held on the occasion, a passage which he had often told me in his health, was brought to my remembrance, and I think it worthy to be recorded, which is as follows: "It happened at Port Royal, in Jamaica, that two young men were at dinner with Jonathan, and several other people of account in the world, and they were speaking about earthquakes, there having been one in that place formerly, which was very dreadful, and destroyed many houses and families. These two young men argued that earthquakes and all other things, came by nature, and denied a supernatural power, or deity, insomuch that some persons, surprised at such wicked discourse, and ashamed of their company, left it. At the same time the earth shook and

trembled exceedingly, as though astonished at such treason against its Sovereign and Creator, whose footstool it is. When the earth thus moved, the company which remained were so astonished, that some run one way and some another, but these two atheistical young men staid in the room, and Jonathan with them, he believing that the providence of Almighty God could preserve him there, if he pleased, and if not, that it was in vain to fly. But the hand of God smote these two young men, so that they fell down; and as Jonathan told me, he laid one on a bed, and the other on a couch, and they never spoke more, but died soon after. This was the amazing end of these young men." A dreadful example to all atheists, and dissolute and wicked livers. Oh! that young people might be warned, that the hand of God might be upon them for good, and that they would be tenderly concerned for their salvation!

On the 30th of the fourth month, 1723, my tenth child, named Thomas, died about midnight, having before buried nine. It was some exercise to me thus to bury my children one after another; but this reflection a little mitigated my sorrow, viz., I knew that if I could have all things relating to them according to my desire, could I see them grow up to be sober men and women, well married, have a competency in the world, &c., yet it was safer and better for them, and they more out of danger, to be taken away in their infancy and innocency. I fervently begged the Almighty, that he would be pleased to take them away while innocent, rather than that they should live to be vicious or unrighteous men and women, and to bring scandal on the holy name of Christ, and upon our Christian profession; which considerations tended to settle and quiet my mind in my sorrowful exercise. The great Lord of all sanctify the sorrows and afflictions of his people and children, and grant them the fulfilling of that blessed portion of holy Scripture, that all things shall work together for the good of them that love and fear him: even so be it, saith my soul.

In the sixth month of this year I removed from the city into the country, to a small plantation I had at Frankford, in order to be more retired, and for health's sake, &c., finding some decline in my bodily strength, which I take to be very much owing to the severe colds and hardships I have sustained in my long and hard travels, especially in the wilderness of America. Without vanity I may say, that I always loved temperance, and have been sometimes zealously concerned to preach against intemperance; and though I cannot now take as long journeys as formerly, my

spirit earnestly travels for the welfare of Zion, and the peace and prosperity of all those who love, fear, and serve God, and believe in his Son.

On the 6th day of the eighth month, it pleased God to give me another son, whom I named George, after my father, brother, nephew, and king; and though this name is now a great name among men, I considered that no name can preserve life, so I gave him up to the will of Him who gave him to me, and desire, if I have no name through children to posterity, I may have a name in the Lamb's book of life, which I have ever esteemed far above a name amongst men.

After my removal to this place I was not idle, but visited neighbouring meetings, and in the eighth month I went to Shrewsbury general meeting, where there were many hundreds of people, and the truth declared had good impression upon the minds of many; some after meeting, who were not of our Society, acknowledged to it, and that they were glad they were there. In this meeting I was concerned for the welfare of mankind, and the exaltation of the holy name of the Almighty, to declare the universal love of God to man, from several texts of holy Scripture, as that passage of Jacob and Esau, and Peter and Cornelius, and something concerning the objection made against us, the people called Quakers, that we do not acknowledge the holy Scriptures to be the word of God; for though we believe that the Scriptures came by divine inspiration, yet we are clearly convinced by their testimony, and by the spirit of truth in our hearts, that Christ is the eternal Word of God, by whom all things were made and created, and do still exist.

From Shrewsbury, with divers other Friends, I rode to Crosswicks, where, on the fifth-day, we had a very comfortable meeting, in which the ancient love and goodness of our heavenly Father was with us, tendering our hearts into tears of joy, some of us being likewise affected in remembrance of the goodness of the Almighty to us, in the meeting we had in this place under the trees, about twenty-five years since. The great subject of faith and works was spoken to; as, that the Roman Catholics seemed to lay too much stress on works, and the Lutherans, Calvinists, and others, too little: but our principles led us to join both together; the Almighty having joined them together, none ought to separate them. This subject of faith and works having been much in debate amongst professed Christians, it is on my mind here to mention a few things deduced from the best authority:

The first is, "Without faith, it is impossible to please God."

Second, "Faith is the gift of God."

Third, "Faith works by love."

Fourth, "Faith is the evidence of things not seen, and the substance of things hoped for."

Fifth, "Faith without works is dead."

Sixth, "The just live by faith."

Seventh, "Ye believe" or have faith "in God, believe also in me."

The author to the Hebrews speaks excellently concerning the power of faith, and the mighty wonders wrought by it. This living, saving, true and divine faith, must be in the heart, through and in Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, who is, and always will be, the author and finisher of it in every true believer.

After I came from Shrewsbury, I visited neighbouring meetings, and in Chester county, where I had meetings for nine days successively, some of which were very large, particularly at Providence and Goshen; in which I was opened to exhort them to keep to that plain, honest way of life and conversation which our fathers and elders were found in, and to remind them of the sufferings they endured for their testimony to the blessed truth, in the first breaking forth thereof in the last age. I was also concerned to show them, that the Almighty, who had blessed us with plenty of temporal blessings, would continue the same to us, if we were careful to live in his fear; but that otherwise, we might expect his judgments for disobedience.

And after my return, I continued about home for some time, it being the winter season and bad travelling, and I not so capable of travelling as formerly; but I had great peace and tranquillity of mind, in that I had freely given up my youthful days to serve my Creator, and the same love and zeal was yet fresh and warm in my heart, for the glory of his great name; and I still have a full resolution through his strength and grace to serve him, the great Lord of all, during the remainder of my days, according to the light and strength given to me.

Our yearly meeting at Philadelphia this year, was large, in which our friend Benjamin Kid, from England, being with us, had good service. I cannot forget a concern which was upon me at this meeting, that the universal love of God, through Christ, might prevail amongst mankind, and to press Friends to manifest to all people the influence thereof, by their exemplary lives and conversation.

In the second month, 1724, I went into New-Jersey, as far as Shrewsbury, where, on a first-day, we had a large meeting to general satisfaction; and the next day we had another, wherein the love and good will of God, through Christ, was opened freely to the



people, and our duty to forgive one another, was largely treated of; and it was plainly shown, that without forgiving others, we could not be forgiven of God, as Christ saith, "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses." Much more was said to the same effect on that subject; as also Christ's answer to Peter, who asked, how often a man should forgive his brother if he trespassed against him? Peter says, till seven times: our Lord Jesus answers, "I say not unto thee, until seven times, but until seventy times seven." And again, Christ says, "If thy brother trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again unto thee, saying, I repent, thou shalt forgive him." Which hard hearted people think a great hardship, but Christ's cross must be taken up and borne daily, if we will be his disciples and followers in deed and in truth, as well as in profession.

After we had reconciled some differences at Shrewsbury, we went to a place called Manesquan, and had a good, open meeting, and most of the people of that place were there. It was a good time, and I hope the opportunity will not soon be forgotten by divers. From this place we travelled to Crosswicks, and had a good meeting, after which, a Friend told me some would say, "I spoke by information, because I had opened some matters which were exactly to the state of some there." But I knew nothing of their condition, otherwise than as it was then immediately opened in my mind; neither had I been told any thing concerning them directly or indirectly. From thence we travelled to Burlington, where the monthly meeting of Friends had desired that I would assist in ending a difference which had happened through mistake, and continued for about seven years. Through divine assistance, our hearts being filled with the love of Christ, we so prevailed upon the differing persons, that they gave each other satisfaction, with hopes that they should live in love for the future; and Friends of the place greatly rejoiced at the end of that difference. As I went along this town, some Friends told me of a religious people a few miles distant, with whom they desired I would have a meeting. I requested them to see if it would be granted, and let me know; which was done, and we had a meeting, and were kindly received, and the divine nature of the gospel of Christ was freely opened to them, and in great love we parted from one another. I travelled in this journey, about two hundred miles; and when I came home, my dear wife and family gladly received me with hearts full of love.

And this testimony I think proper, for several solid reasons, to leave behind me, of my virtuous and loving wife, that since we were married, she never hindered me in the service my great Master called me to, in all the time of our living together; we always parted for the sake of the gospel of Christ, in pure love, and in the same love met again.

Soon after this time I met with several great losses by sea and land, and myself and my daughter were dangerously sick, so that our recovery seemed doubtful; yet, through the mercy of God, we both recovered, for which I praise his name.

After some stay at home, I was moved in the love of Christ, to visit the general meetings of Duck creek and Salem. At Duck creek we had a large and satisfactory meeting, and I appointed one at George's creek, which was a good meeting. The next morning we went over to Elsinburgh, and so on to Cohansie, where I met with two of my fellow labourers in the work of Christ, Thomas Lightfoot and Benjamin Kid. We had a meeting together at Cohansie, in which the people were exhorted to sobriety and just dealing. The contrary of both is too obvious at such times as fairs; there being divers people there from the fair, as well as others: the nature of Christ's work in the heart was somewhat spoken to, but it was not so open a meeting as some others, the people thereaway being too slack and dull as to religion. Next day we had a meeting at Alloway's creek, where we all three had some pretty close work; and from thence we went to the general meeting at Salem, which was larger than common, on account of the said Friend Benjamin Kid being there: who, in the love of Christ, came from England to visit the churches in this part of the world. There were so many Friends and others here at this time, that some houses were so filled, there was not room for all who came to lodge. After this meeting I returned home, and in a few days went into Chester county, and travelled about a hundred miles; and when I came home, I understood that some for want of a true sense of the work of Christ, had been censuring me for my much travelling and hard labour in the work of the ministry of the gospel of Christ; though by the same rule of judging, the apostles of Christ and our ancient Friends, who travelled much, cannot escape their censure; for in all my travels, I have had an especial regard to the unity of the brethren, and never knowingly went abroad without it. Let this caution be recorded for the instruction of all such forward judges; let them be careful of judging Christ's servants, lest their words become their burden: "Judge

not that ye be not judged," saith our great Lord, for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged."

Soon after my return from Chester county, I was at a marriage at Abington, which was one of the most solemn I have been at; and on the 15th of the third month, attended the youths' meeting at Germantown, to my great satisfaction. On the 23d of the same month, I went to the general meeting of ministers and elders at Burlington; at which meeting several things relating to the gospel ministry were declared; as its being a free, a clear, and a powerful ministry, reaching to the conscience, and convincing of the danger of continuing in sin: and divine charity was much recommended, without which, all ministry is but as sounding brass, &c. From this meeting I went with Walter Herbert into Bucks county, and at Neshaminy we had an open, tender meeting. From thence I went to Buckingham, and was at a marriage of a son and daughter-in-law of Thomas Canby. The meeting was large, and Friends well satisfied; and it was observable, though I was very hoarse, through a cold I had taken, and could hardly speak in common conversation, yet it was much taken away in my ministry, so that I was carried through the service to our admiration, for which I was truly thankful. After this meeting I returned home with true satisfaction, such as is much more valuable than silver and gold, two mighty idols in the world.

After a little stay at home I went on a first-day to North Wales, or Gwynnedd, where was a pretty large meeting and many young people, to whom I was concerned to show that Christ is the way by which we must come into the true church, through regeneration, and that all who invent other ways, are thieves and robbers. I rode twenty-five miles that day, and the next day came to Frankford, and was at the burial of an ancient Friend, Joan Orpwood, at which was our friend John Salkeld, with whom I was the next day at Philadelphia, at our third-day meeting, which was a good one.

On the 4th day of the fourth month, intending soon to take a journey to Long island, and considering the uncertainty of life, I thought it a proper time to alter my will, as I had kept one by me for divers years before. On the 5th of the fourth month, I went to Merion to visit an ancient Friend, John Roberts, who was sick near unto death, where I again met with John Salkeld. The Friend expressed his satisfaction in this visit, and we had a reward of peace in the exercise of that Christian duty of visiting the sick, which is recommended by the apostle to the primitive churches

of Christ. After we had been some time with our said sick friend, we went to a meeting appointed for us several days before, which was large and satisfactory, for which favourable visitation we blessed the great name of the Almighty, and parted tenderly in Christian love and good will. The Friend we went to visit, died the next day. He was a helper of the poor, and a maker of peace in the neighbourhood; of such, Christ said, "Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

On the 10th of the fourth month, 1724, I had a concern to write the following epistle to Friends in the island of Barbadoes.

"Frankford, 10th of Fourth month, 1724.

"Dear Friends,

"In the tender love of God, our heavenly Father, and of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, do I, your brother, at this time greet you, and wish you health and salvation. Understanding by a concerned Friend, that of late, several of our friends are taken away from you by death, a concern came on me to put you in remembrance of your latter end, and of the cause of Christ; and also of the prosperity of his blessed light and truth in your (in that respect poor, though in some others, rich and luxurious) island. The posterity of many who have been taken away there, as well as in divers other places, having gone astray; let a weighty concern come upon you, that it may not be so with those who are left behind. Oh! dear Friends! let your practices and expressions manifest to the rising generation, that the welfare of their souls, more than of their bodies, is at heart with you; and do not indulge them in that which you were convinced to be of an evil tendency, when your hearts were first reached by the power of truth. How many youths have been lost, through the looseness of the example of their elders, and through an undue indulgence of them in vanity, folly, pride, and idleness! woful experience doth but too much declare that they are many. Oh! they are many indeed, who have been lost by so doing! wherefore, dear Friends, clear yourselves of your children; and if they will obstinately go astray, faithfully bear your testimony against them, in life, doctrine, expressions and conversation, which will witness for you when you are dead and gone, and your heads laid in the silent grave. Thus will your youth, through the blessing of God and your endeavours, come up in your places, or at least you will be clear, and their blood will be upon their own heads. A pure, strict watch is required of you in conversation, in all those relations. First, that God may be glorified. Secondly,



that your children may be exampled. Thirdly, that your neighbours may be edified, or built up in pure religion. And fourthly, that you may die in peace with Him that created you and died for you; remembering the blessed doctrine of Christ Jesus, 'Let your light so shine before men, that others seeing your good works, may glorify your Father which is in heaven.' And again; 'Ye are as a city set on a hill, which cannot be hid.' As you thus train up your children in the way which they should go, when they are young, you may have reason to hope they will not depart from it when they are old; for many have been convinced of the truth, as it is in Jesus Christ, through the good conversation of his followers. And how can we expect to die well, if we do not live well? Or can we expect the answer of 'Well done,' if we are not in the practice of doing well?

"I do desire and earnestly exhort Friends to read the holy Scriptures, and wait to feel the power from which they sprung, through the holy writers; and also to teach them to their children. And dear Friends, let me prevail with you in the love of God, and his dear Son, to keep close to your meetings for the worship of Almighty God, and for the well ordering of your Society; and do it in the meek spirit, for that is of great price with the Lord; and when in your meetings, get into a religious exercise and lively concern for God's glory, and your soul's peace and prosperity. I pray the holy Lord of sabbath, to open your hearts to him in the reading of this epistle, as mine is open to you, my beloved friends, that you and I may be edified, though outwardly separated, as we were when together; and if we should never meet more in this world, that we may meet in the kingdom of God, where we may never part more. Amen. Hallelujah, saith my soul!

"I desire this may be copied and read at the close of one of each of your particular meetings, and if it could be readily, in every family of Friends; to all of whom is my very dear love in Jesus Christ, whose servant I am, and hope to be to the end, and I am an entire lover of souls, and a well wisher of Zion's prosperity.

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

On the 11th of the fourth month, I left home on a journey to Long island, in order to visit Friends' meetings, and also to negotiate some business I had there. The first meeting I had was at Burlington, where I had occasion to advise them to keep in remembrance that ancient love which first united our Society together, and in which, in times of cruel persecution, some freely offered to suffer the

imprisonment of their bodies, to obtain the liberty of their friends in confinement. From thence we travelled to Amboy, and over to Staten island. The day being very hot, and the evening cold, I got a severe cold, which I did not get clear of for about two weeks, notwithstanding which, I went to meetings, though ill in body. The first meeting I had on Long island, was at Flushing, on a first-day, and a comfortable meeting it was; in which was closely pressed, the taking up the cross of Christ, by all who desire to be his disciples, and that without it we could not be true Christians. From Flushing we went to Mosquetto cove, and had a meeting there on third-day, which was large, and to general satisfaction, and some were there who were newly convinced. I seeing the openness of the meeting, advised Friends to build a meeting house there, of which they approved. On fourth-day we had a meeting at Westbury, and fifth-day, at Cow-neck. From Cow-neck I went to the south side of the island, and had a meeting at Captain Hicks'. The neighbours who were not of our Society came generally to this meeting, and were pressingly exhorted to come to Christ, and the way opened unto them. It was a good time, and I thought a day of love to us all. Before the meeting I was exceedingly shut up in myself, so that it was very beneficial to me, among the rest, to see how the Lord could work by his power, and unlock his treasury, as in a moment, as he did for my poor soul at times. Oh! may I, with Christ's followers and ministers, ever depend upon him, is my petition! From Rock-away, for so is the place called, we went to Westbury, and had a very large meeting on a first-day; and, as I was informed, some were convinced. From hence I went to a place called Foster's Meadows, where we had a large meeting in a barn. After this I went over to the main land, and had a meeting at a place called Westchester. From thence we went to Flushing, and had a large meeting on a fifth-day of the week, in which the right training up of children, and careful education of youth, was zealously recommended. From Flushing I went to Huntington, where some were lately convinced of the principle of truth as it is in Christ Jesus, some of whom were excommunicated by the Presbyterians, with whom they had formerly joined. We had a pretty large meeting in a Friend's barn, where a priest opposed me, as he also had my friend Benjamin Kid, some time before, of which I gave an account by letter, to my dear friends Thomas Lightfoot and Benjamin Kid, desiring them, in their return from New-England, to have an evening meeting there. The ground of this priest's cavilling,

or dispute, was my declaring, that it is the light of Christ, or his spirit, which convinceth the world of sin, and not a natural light, or the light of a natural conscience; from whence he took occasion to charge me with denying a natural conscience, the falsehood of which I charged upon him before the auditory, and desired him, if he had any thing on his mind, to write to me, to which I promised to return him an answer.

From Huntington I went to the general meeting of Friends held at Newtown, which was so large that the meeting house could not contain the people, and the weather being extremely hot, some of the people without doors were uneasy, and went to and fro; but those that were in the house, and so near that they could hear, were very attentive, and as far as I could learn, generally satisfied. Our next meeting was at New-York, which was the quietest meeting I ever had there; and the few Friends at New-York, and some that were there from Long island, parted with us in the love of Christ, and in the fellowship of his blessed gospel. I travelled homewards, having good satisfaction in visiting my friends; and when I came there, found my dear wife and children in health, for which I bless God.

After this journey I kept to meetings at and about home as usual, and was at the fifth-day meeting in Philadelphia, when Samuel Preston was married to Margaret Langdale, the widow of my dear friend and fellow traveller, Josiah Langdale. The meeting was large, and the parable of the virgins and the bridegroom coming at midnight, was opened, with an exhortation to the people to be ready against that hour, and that they should take care to have the holy oil of divine grace in their hearts.

After this meeting I had some affairs which called me into Chester county, and on the road my horse gave a sudden and violent start out of the path, and threw me down, and before I could get up again, he struck my face, and trod on my right eye with his foot, being newly shod, which stunned me for the present. As soon as I opened the eye which was unhurt, I perceived that I lay on my back, under my horse's belly, with my head between his fore feet. He stood still, and I got on my hands and knees, the blood streaming out of my nose and right eye, and while I was bleeding, a man and woman came by, and staid till I was done bleeding, and saw me mounted on my horse again. I went forward about two miles, to the house I intended to go to, and after riding about a mile, I met with a Friend who knew me, and was surprised to see me so bloody, and went with me to Randal Malin's, a faithful, honest Friend,

who was upwards of eighty years of age, and had suffered much for his profession of the truth in his younger years, where they dressed my wounded eye. I was truly thankful to the Lord for his providence towards me in this deliverance, among many others, which he in his goodness hath vouchsafed to me. I staid at the Friend's house three nights and mended apace, and he accompanied me to my house at Frankford, where my loving wife, with some surprise, received me very affectionately; and through her care, I recovered so that I could see pretty well with spectacles, which I was obliged to use for some months. Such accidents plainly show us the necessity of preparing for sudden death, as we know not when, or how, we may go off the stage of this life.

On the 25th of the fifth month, I received a letter from a person in the county of Burlington, relating to water baptism, to which I made answer as follows:

"Thy lines I received last night, in perusing of which, there was a Christian love in my heart towards thee, though unknown by face, and I have much freedom of mind to answer thine, according to thy request, and my small ability.

"First, then, we are near in sentiment to each other, in the grand Christian principle of saving religion, which is the work of the holy Spirit of Christ upon the soul, for that is the baptism which is Christ's, and is truly saving, and absolutely necessary to salvation. Christ's baptism is but one, which is with the Holy Ghost, and with spiritual fire or water; John's being the element, or figure; and Christ's being the spirit, power, and divine substance, is to be with the church of Christ, and with his true ministers, to the end of the world.

"Secondly, in answer to thy query, Was not water baptism, that is, the element, commanded by Christ himself, in Mat. xxviii. 19? I answer, I believe not. My reason is this, because the Holy Ghost, or spirit, is mentioned in the text, in express words, and water is not; and therefore we omit going into outward water, and for other reasons as follow:

"Thirdly, that water baptism, which was John's, was practised by the apostles, is true; but it was not practised by Christ, who, no doubt, would have done it, if it had been absolutely necessary; for he disdained not to wash his disciples feet, a much more despicable office, than that of the baptismal ceremony: so because Christ did not himself practise it, nor, as we conceive, commanded us to go into material water, we therefore, forbear it.

"Fourthly, that the apostles did baptize



with water, we deny not; and that they were circumcised, and did circumcise, is also undeniable. Now, must we circumcise because the apostles did, and were themselves circumcised? Consider this carefully, and I hope that will give thee some sight or light, concerning the dispensation of water baptism, which was John's baptism, and was glorious in its day and dispensation, in pointing at Christ's baptism, until it came, which was the substance, and was with spiritual fire, and spiritual water, and will continue for ever. To Christ and his baptism, I heartily direct thee for further instruction, in whom is life, and that life is the light of men.

"I would write a little further concerning water baptism, on some texts of Scripture, being Christ's own words, viz: 'He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that believeth not, shall be damned, or condemned.'" This must needs be understood of the spirit's baptism; for it would be absurd to say, or believe, that all who are baptized with water, are saved, or that all who are not baptized with water, are damned; therefore it is the spirit's baptism, that all professing Christianity ought to come unto, in order to witness salvation. Again, Christ says, 'Except a man be born of water, and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Some will have this to be a mixture of the element water, and of the spirit; but Christ says, 'It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.' 'That which is born of the flesh, is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit, is spirit.' According to which doctrine, I have faith to believe, that outward, fleshly, or elementary water baptism, profits little or nothing to the soul. Again, why should water in that place be understood of the element, any more than fire in the other, viz: To be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, since Christ said, 'My words they are spirit and life.' Remember the well of water that springs up to eternal life in the believers, and the water that Christ gave, whosoever drank of which, was never to thirst more. This is all spiritual, which the carnal mind cannot comprehend or enjoy, but is witnessed by the spiritual man. And further, if we consider what confusion there is in the world about water baptism, it may well put a tender seeking soul upon further search into the nature of holy, saving baptism. The Papists have one way; the Lutherans and Calvinists another; and the Baptists have another; and all differ so widely, that generally speaking, they will not worship together; neither are they ever likely to be reconciled, except they come to the holy Spirit

and divine power of Jesus, the good Saviour and precious guide of souls. That saying of his has often been a comfort to me in deep exercises and distresses of mind, when he said to his disciples, 'It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.' I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever, even the Spirit of Truth. And when he is come, he shall guide you into all truth; he shall take of mine, and show it unto you, and shall bring all things to your remembrance, that I have spoken unto you. He was to convince the world of sin, and to abide with Christ's disciples for ever. May the precious gift of the spirit be given to thee, and to all true seekers of God, his Christ and kingdom, is my real desire and humble prayer to the Most High. [See the four Evangelists for this promise, they not wording it alike.]

"Having answered most parts of thy letter, I would add a few lines more, viz: I have known some who could not be satisfied with words about this point of baptism with water, until Christ had by his spirit given them satisfaction in themselves; and as thou comes more and more into close communion with his grace and spirit in thy own soul, I hope thou also wilt have better satisfaction than that of words only. I have known some of the people called Baptists, who have been convinced of the truth, according to our way and principle, to whom all the writing and disputing, and reading, and preaching about this point, could never give full satisfaction, until they had it inwardly and immediately from Christ, manifested to them by his holy Spirit in their hearts, as aforesaid. I would not, however, be understood to be against satisfying one another as much as lieth in our power, and as we find openness in the love of God and Christ. And further, I never understood that our Society were absolutely against those persons practising it, who could see no further, or did really think in their conscience, that it was their duty so to do; but we believe, that we see beyond the figure or shadow, and are come to the substance, for the reasons mentioned, and many more which might be given. Several treatises have been published upon this subject, one of which is very full, written before we were a people, by William Dell, a wise and learned man, and one who had a large sense of the power of God: and among us, Barclay's Apology, and a treatise by John Gratton, who had been a Baptist preacher, and one by Joseph Pike. There is also a little book of Thomas Upsher's, who was a Baptist preacher before he came to join with

us, which I send thee, with whom I was well acquainted, as also with those men who subscribed it. If thou applies thyself to Richard Smith, of Burlington, he is as likely as any person I know, to help thee to those books, all which are larger on the subject, and have given satisfaction to thousands about it; though some, as I have said, could never be satisfied with words. In reading the latter part of thy letter I was tenderly affected, and my prayers to the Almighty were, that he would please to direct thee by his power and spirit, and the grace of his dear Son, who hath said, 'He that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast off.' Now, tender friend, Christ is the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, by which light thou must walk to the kingdom and city of God. He is the door into the true sheep-fold: he is the truth, in whom thou must believe: he is the divine life and light of the soul: he is the true Christian's all in all. And as the kingdom is within, as said Christ, so the king is within, and without also. He is God, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, the immortal Jehovah, and is God over all, blessed for ever. And, as a servant of his, I recommend thee, with my own soul, unto him for preservation and direction; for it is the great work of Christ's true ministers and servants, to direct the seeking, travelling souls to him; to whom with the Father, and the eternal spirit, be glory, now and evermore. Amen.

"From thy assured friend in Christ,

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

The person to whom I wrote this letter, some time after informed me, that it gave him great satisfaction.

After I had staid at home some time, and pretty well recovered of the hurt I received by my fall, I visited some meetings about home, as Philadelphia, Abington, and Germantown. In several of those meetings I was concerned to exhort Friends, as our meetings and worship in this province of Pennsylvania, were a kind of national worship, to beware that they did not indulge themselves in the sins of the nations, but to be careful to keep to the holy, self-denying life of Jesus.

On the 5th of the sixth month, between the hours of nine and ten at night, there was an earthquake, of which many people were sensible; and about this time many were taken off with a violent fever. I was concerned in several meetings to put the people in mind of their mortality, and the shortness and uncertainty of time; and of the necessity of speedy preparation for their final change and future well-being. In the aforesaid month I was at

our youths' meeting in Philadelphia, where I was concerned to advise parents to do justly to their children, in the divers relations of a child's state; to be just in correction, and to be sure to give them learning, and train them up in reading the holy Scriptures, they being able, through faith in Christ, to make us wise unto salvation. I also was earnest in exhortation to the youth, to obey and honour their parents, and to have a care not to be disobedient to their fathers and mothers. I had a concern also to remind that large congregation, that the Almighty had stretched out his arm, with his rod, and had given the people of this land three strokes therewith, as a gentle admonition towards heart preparation to meet him, and to be ready for their latter end: which were first, a sickness, or pestilential fever, which carried off many of the people. Secondly, an earthquake, of which divers in town and country were sensible. Thirdly, a terrible whirlwind, such as we never before heard of in this land, that I remember. They were admonished to take particular and special notice of these gentle strokes of the divine hand, for if he pleased, he could as soon take away many by sickness, as a few, and could make us a desolation, as well as the country about mount Ætna, or Port Royal, in Jamaica, not very far from us; and he could also blow us away with the whirlwind of his wrath, and could as easily have blown down all our city, as those few houses in the country.

Next day after this meeting I went with John Rodman to the quarterly general meeting of worship in the county of Chester, which was large and satisfactory.

The 25th of the sixth month I was at the burial of the wife of Richard Wain, a virtuous and good woman. Some of her last words were, "Some men's sins go beforehand to judgment, and some follow after them; and that her sins were gone before, which was a great comfort to her, now she was going to leave the world." It was a large meeting, and a seasonable opportunity at the funeral. The people were called upon to work while it is called to-day, because, as our Saviour said, the night cometh, wherein no man can work.

In this and the foregoing year, I met with various trials and exercises; as first, great inward poverty and want. Secondly, great losses in outward affairs. And thirdly, the evil spirits of some were stirred up against me, to report falsehoods concerning me, with many other sore exercises, both inward and outward. As to the first, I had often been tried that way, and found by experience, that I must wait upon God my Saviour, for fresh and renewed visitations from above; in which



exercise, I had always, in the Lord's time, received comfort from him, and by the same exercise I had now the same comfort also; but I thought it very long, and the enemy did now greatly endeavour to break in upon my patience more than usual: but my heart still depended in faith and hope upon the Lord, my Redeemer and Saviour, and in his time he was pleased to help me, blessed be his holy arm and power for ever! Many blessed saints and servants of Jesus were brought to my mind, who were in the like condition, so that I had a secret joy in their company, who met with the like in their travels to the holy city.

Secondly, as to my outward losses, I thought with myself, peradventure it might be best for me: and I remembered that many, through the increase of outward riches, were exceedingly hurt as to their inward state; and though I, or any good man, might be concerned for our children, to get and leave something for them, yet I plainly saw, that generally speaking, much riches does much hurt to youth. This was a melancholy observation that I had made in my life and travels, and I see at this day, that it is an universal distemper, a very few excepted; wherefore I cried mightily to God that he would give to me and mine, the gift of his grace and holy Spirit, whatever our circumstances might be in the world. In this also I saw that patience was an excellent virtue, and that the meek had the best inheritance of the earth, if they had ever so little of it; and that true happiness did not consist in earthly things, which my experience had largely taught me.

And thirdly, as to the base and evil treatment I met with, which was more than I had ever met with in all my life before, great endeavours were used to lessen my reputation, as a man and a Christian; all which proved false and fruitless, and in due time my innocence was made manifest. I considered that they could not use me worse than they had done my Lord and Master, and that the devil was angry with any who endeavoured to dethrone him and pull down his kingdom, at the foundation of which, through the help of my Master, I had made many a stroke, with such weapons as he was pleased to furnish me withal.

The last of the sixth month, and the 1st of the seventh month, was the quarterly and youths' meeting at Burlington, at both of which I was present. At the quarterly meeting I was concerned to open how the church of God was governed by his spirit, in the time of the law, and Moses was an instrument therein; and that when it was too hard, and too much work for Moses, he was advised to

get the assistance of the elders; and that the same power and spirit of God which was with Moses, was upon the elders who assisted him in the affairs of the church and congregation of the Lord's people; so that it was governed by God's spirit, and is to be governed by the same still, and not by the will of man, nor according to the will of man, in his corrupt nature. And when Israel went from God's power and spirit, the Lord left them, but at last sent to them his only begotten Son, our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and he was, and ever is, to be governor of his church, through his holy Spirit, of which he told his disciples, that he would pray the Father, and he should send unto them the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, or holy Spirit, the spirit of truth, and that he should abide with them for ever, and should lead and guide them into all truth; which sweet and precious promises, the true believers do witness to be fulfilled at this day. Glory to his name for ever, he is the wonderful Counsellor, mighty Saviour, and Prince of peace! of whose peace and government there shall never be an end, and upon whose shoulder the government is to be for ever. Friends were exhorted to pray and wait for his holy power and spirit, and to be sensible of it in the discipline and government of the church now in this gospel day, in which is a brighter manifestation of God's love, through his Son, than in the time of the law. The youths' meeting was also large, and divers testimonies were borne, by way of exhortation and counsel to the youth. They were with much tenderness advised to take counsel of their elders, and were shown how it fared with some young men, who slighted the advice and counsel of the elders; and that one, when on a dying bed, cried out in the bitterness and agonies of his spirit, "Oh! that I had taken the counsel and advice of my friends, for then I had not been here, nor in this condition." They were advised to beware of keeping bad company, and spending their precious time in taverns, which hath undone many fair and promising youths: and it was shown how a young man might cleanse his ways, by taking heed thereto, according to the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever, and which the holy Scriptures proceeded from; and they were earnestly exhorted to read and practise what was written therein. A very tender time we had in prayer to God, through his dear Son, to preserve us all in his fear, both youth and aged; and so our meeting broke up, and we parted in the sweet love of God, and his Christ, our holy Saviour.

My troubles in the world, and in the things of it, being many, and my outward losses

great; as also was my inward poverty of spirit, I took my pen, and wrote one day as follows: "Oh! if it be right in the sight of God, how do I long to be unclothed of this frail, mortal body, that my soul might mount up to the ethereal plains, and repose itself in the arms of its Maker and most sweet Saviour for ever."

Being at and near home some time after I came from Burlington, I visited the meetings of Germantown and Philadelphia, which were large, and some sense of truth was in the hearts of divers. I was concerned at that meeting at Philadelphia, to let the people know, that as God had blessed the people of that city, and the province, with spiritual and temporal blessings, and made the land fruitful, enriching many of the inhabitants, he now expected from them fruits of piety and virtue; and that if there was not a stricter walking with God in Christ Jesus, they might expect his divine hand, which had visited them with favours from heaven above, and from the earth beneath, would visit them with a rod, with which he had already given them some gentle strokes.

Our yearly meeting was this year at Burlington, for the provinces of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, to attend the service of which, our quarterly meeting appointed me, with divers others. It was a large and comfortable meeting, and many went home thankful to the holy name of God and Christ, that they were there.

I shall here transcribe part of a letter which my dear father wrote to me, when above eighty years of age, he having been a minister of Christ above forty years; viz:

"Loving son, Thomas Chalkley,

"Thine dated the 11th of the tenth month, 1723, I received, and was very glad to hear of your welfare, and that the Lord hath given you children: and I pray the Almighty God, that he may preserve them with you, that they may be a comfort to you in your latter days; and that if the Lord may be pleased to continue them with you, they may, as they grow in days, grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and that the Lord may be pleased to preserve us all to the end of those few days we may have in this world, that we may lay down our heads in peace, and in the full assurance of everlasting blessedness, for ever and evermore.

"I bless the Lord that he hath preserved me sensible of his blessed and holy Spirit, whereby my understanding is clear and well, considering my age; and the Lord in his great loving kindness, I do feel to help me to my

great satisfaction, in my little service for him.

"With repeated love to you all, I rest thy aged, and thereby, through pain, afflicted father,

"GEORGE CHALKLEY.

"Southwark, London, 5th of Sixth month, 1724."

To see my dear father's hand-writing, now he was above four-score years of age, was very affecting to me; and the more, because I expected it might be his last, which it was. The answer I sent to my dear father's letter, is as followeth:

"Frankford, 22nd of Eighth month, 1724.

"My dear father,

"Thine, per James Wilkins, I received with joy, and was greatly comforted to hear that thou wast yet alive; and especially that thou art favoured, now in thy old age, with a sense of the gift of God, through the holy Spirit of his dear Son, our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

"The reading of thine, did refresh and tender my heart, not expecting many more such epistles from thee, by reason of thy great age. But, my very dear and truly honoured father, if we should never hear from, nor see one another more in mutability, yet are we, while here on earth, as living epistles in one another's hearts, written by the finger of God. I have hope also, that we shall meet where we shall never part more, in the glorious kingdom of God and his Christ.

"With unspeakable love from self and wife, to thee, my dear and aged father, and all relations and friends,

"I remain thy loving and dutiful son,

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

In this year, 1724, I met with various trials, afflictions and tribulations; and had not the secret hand of the Lord, which I felt underneath, borne up my spirit from sinking, I think I could not have waded through them.

I was now removed, as already related, into the country, for retirement, which I greatly loved and delighted in; but as soon as I was a little settled there, the enemy of all good endeavoured to disquiet my repose, by stirring up some bad people against me, who lived near, and in time past had fawned upon me. To add to my afflictions, I lost a vessel, in which, I suppose, I had upwards of five hundred pounds; another vessel came in almost a wreck, in which I suffered in my interest several hundreds more, and a third I heard of, in which I had the like loss; and about the same time I had also a good new



barn burned to the ground in a few minutes, so that I was exceedingly stripped that way. To add yet more to my exercise, I was sorely afflicted with sickness, having a swelling in my jaws, mouth, and throat, that I could neither speak nor swallow for some time, nor eat nor sleep, for about seven days, as I remember, without great difficulty. What the distemper was, we could not be certain. Some supposed it to be the quinsy, others an imposthume; also my only daughter at the same time was likely to die; and as for my own part, I was very willing to go, if it so pleased God; for I saw through the deceit of the world, and that the friendship of it was not permanent. And in my sore afflictions of body, mind, and interest, it fared with me as with Job, for divers of my pretended friends added to my afflictions by undue reflections; whom I pray the Lord to forgive for his Son's sake! At these times, the remembrance of that saying of Christ, that the very hairs of your head are numbered, supported me in hope that all would work together for good.

When I got better, so that I could go to meetings, I went to Germantown, Abington, Philadelphia, and Darby. My first going abroad was to Philadelphia, where, on a first-day, we had a large meeting, and divers things were opened in my mind. I told them they had Moses and the prophets, and Jesus Christ, who has arisen from the dead; for neither death, hell, nor the grave could detain the Lord of life and glory. And I was opened to declare to them, that they had a great advantage of the coming of Christ, not only in his appearance at Jerusalem, but as he came to, and spoke in the heart, by his inward and spiritual appearance; and that this gospel dispensation was, by his coming, made more conspicuous, bright, and glorious, than that which went before. Friends were very glad to see me abroad again, they having expected daily to hear I was dead, and there was tenderness over the meeting, and God over all, through his dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, was praised and glorified, who is worthy for ever.

In this year two sober young women, Elizabeth Levis and Jane Fenn, were concerned to visit Friends in the island of Barbadoes, and they meeting with some discouragement, in Christian love, I wrote them the following letter to encourage them in the work of Christ.

“Frankford, 1st of Twelfth month, 1724-5.

“My dear friends,

“Elizabeth Levis and Jane Fenn,

“Understanding by our friend, Grace Lloyd, that you have proposed your intention of visiting the few Friends in the island of Barba-

does, and that you meet with some discouragement inwardly and outwardly, it is in my mind to comfort and strengthen you in so great and good an undertaking, and honourable work, as is the cause of Christ, who, for our sakes, crossed himself abundantly beyond expression, more than is possible for us to do for his sake, or the sake of his people, whom we may so entirely love, as to lay down our lives for his and their sakes. But what are our lives to the life of the only begotten Son of God? And truly, we must give them up often, if we have the cause of souls at heart; and then he often gives them to us again, glory to his holy name for ever! As Christ said, ‘He that will save his life, shall lose it, and he that will lay down his life for my sake and the gospel, shall find it; which reacheth your case in this undertaking. And indeed, some of our lives, in our own sense, are hardly worth mentioning, considering the cause of Christ.

“And, dear children of our heavenly Father, I may, through some good experience, truly inform you, that there is much openness in many people on that island, and good encouragement I have had from above, in my visiting the people there; though, true it is, the inhabitants too generally, are luxurious, and much given to vanity; yet I have this seal in my heart, that the Lord hath a seed in that place who desire to serve him, and that seed will surely join with you in your exercise, and you will be comforted one in another, and in the Lord. And that there are differences among them, is also true; but they have the more need of being visited by such, who are, through their wise conduct and restoring disposition, likely to heal those breaches which are, or may be among them. Some, indeed, have gone among them, and have done hurt, by a rash and turbulent management, and by so doing, have rather made the breaches wider, than by a meek and loving, as well as lowly disposition, lessened their differences and healed them.

“And, tender friends, though it may seem hard for you in several considerations, to give up to go to sea, and also to divers who love you, and are nearly related to you, know ye, and such so concerned, that the Lord is stronger than the noise of many waters, and than the mighty waves of the sea. And I really believe that you, as well as my soul, with all the servants of Christ, will experience it to be so, as David did, whose words they are.

“I remember the words of our great Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, when he sent forth his servants to preach his gospel; ‘I send you forth as lambs among wolves.’ No question but you, like innocent lambs, before your

return, if it please God to give you to us again, may meet with the wolf's spirit, or the spirit of the beast, in some among whom you may travel; then will the counsel of Christ, added to his commission, be good for you to keep close to; 'Be ye wise as serpents, but innocent or harmless as doves.'

"And, dear maidens, as your cross is great, you being two innocent young women, in giving up your names to cross the sea, which I know is a great trial, the seamen too generally, being rude, dissolute people; so your crown will be great also. I have known that by keeping near to Christ, and his truth and power, there hath been a wonderful reformation sometimes in several of those rude seamen; and some have been so far convinced, as to be exceedingly kind, and to speak well of Friends and their conversation, when it has been coupled with the fear and wisdom of God. When I have gone to sea, I always found a religious and Christian concern upon me, for the poor sailors, the good effects of which have been much more than I may speak of; but give this little hint for your encouragement and information.

"Well, dear souls, if you go, I believe the Lord will go with you; and sure I am, that my spirit will also go along with you, which will not hurt you, if it do you no good. And although my exercises and tribulations of late have been very great, both spiritual and natural, yet my very heart within me affects the cause of Christ, according to the best of my understanding: and I heartily wish well to all my fellow labourers, who are faithful, painful servants of Christ, and disinterested, except as to the interest which they desire in Christ and his kingdom, for the sake of which, they love not their lives unto death.

"I must now take leave, after putting you in mind to remember your poor friend and brother, when before the throne you are supplicating the Father of mercies in secret, even as my heart is tenderly bowed and broken into tears on your behalf at this time. The Lord be with you, and sanctify the present exercise and concern that is upon you, and you to himself, with all the faithful lovers and followers of the Lamb, 'through his word, whose word is truth.' I am your friend and brother, in the fellowship of the gospel of Christ Jesus, our great Lord and good Master; and blessed are all those, who, by their fearing to offend him, manifest him to be their Master, and by their honouring him, manifest him to be their Lord.

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

In the twelfth month I went to the quarterly meeting of Friends, held at Providence, in

Chester county, for discipline and worship. It was large, and a concern came upon Friends to suppress excess in eating and drinking, and great entertainments at marriages and funerals, and spending time idly in tippling houses; also in several other things for the well ordering our Society, in which there appeared great love and unanimity. The people were reminded of God's love to them, and many favours were recounted to them, which he had showed the inhabitants of the land, which were very singular, and that he expected they should bring forth fruits answerable to the labours of love, which the Lord had bestowed upon them.

About this time I had it in my mind to write to one who was conscientiously concerned to preach the gospel of Christ, but was under great exercise on that occasion.

"Frankford, 24th of Twelfth month, 1724-5.

"My friend,

"Since I last saw thee and conversed with thee, thou hast often been in my mind, and thy exercise has come before me; and not having an opportunity to converse with thee personally, I take this way of communicating my mind, hoping, in Christ, thou wilt reap some satisfaction and advantage thereby. I think I know thou art concerned for Christ's cause, as also was that eminent minister Apolos, who yet was instructed more perfectly by good Aquila and Priscilla. The subject on which I have it in my mind to write to thee, is the ministry of the gospel of Christ Jesus, which I believe to be very different from that which it is taken for in most parts of the world, by many professing Christianity. First, the greatest part of Christendom, so called, calls and elects its ministers, and will not call them unless they have school learning, although Christ called and chose unlearned men, as to that sort of learning, and the apostles were called, 'Not according to the will of man, but by the revelation of Christ Jesus.' Christ thanked his Father that 'He had revealed the mysteries of his kingdom to babes and sucklings.' The wise Jews, the scribes and pharisees, admired at the apostles, who so powerfully preached Christ, and were so wonderfully carried forth in their ministry, and yet few of them were men of learning. The call, election, and wages of Christ's ministers, are spiritual, and not carnal; and therefore, their ministry is with divine life and power, by which they are qualified for this service, without either study or premeditation: though it is not denied that Christ may show a minister beforehand, what he shall, or is to speak, at such a time or place, as he



may see meet. But studying, or writing sermons, and afterwards preaching, or rather reading them to the people, is not the practice of the true minister of Jesus, our great Lord and Master; of which, I do believe thou hast a real sense.

"I shall impart to thee something of my own experience for thy edification in this great work, viz. As in the work of conversion or regeneration, there is a growth and increase from the state of a child to that of a man in Christ, so in the work of the ministry, or preaching the gospel, there is also a growth from a babe to an able minister, in all which the power and grace of the holy Spirit must be our guide, our help and support. Keeping close to this, we shall increase in divine wisdom and sound judgment, and our hearts and understandings will be more and more opened and enlarged. The apostle Paul said, 'When I was a child, I spake as a child, understood as a child, and thought as a child;' and yet he was a child of God and minister of Christ; and as he grew in his gift, and in Christ's grace, he became an eminently serviceable instrument in the hand of God. Now a child's state in the ministry is too much overlooked by many, some thinking to be men as soon as they are brought forth into the ministry; and according to my observation, divers have been at a loss, and some quite lost, for want of a patient continuing in well-doing; and not waiting to feel a growth and increase from above, have gone on in their own strength and will, perhaps against the advice and instruction of a sound and honest Aquila or Priscilla, and have been hurt; and some who had received a gift, have had that same gift taken from them, even by the Lord, who gave it them.

"A true minister of Christ is to take no thought what to say, but in the same hour that which he should speak to the people, will be given him, that is, in a general way, and if it is not given from above, I believe he or she ought to be silent; for they receive freely, if they do receive any thing from Christ, and so they ought freely to administer; and where little is given, little is required, all which is plain from Christ's own words in the New Testament; and Christ's cross is to be taken up by his ministers in their preaching, as well as in their conversation.

"It is a practice with which the holy Scriptures have not acquainted us, that the ministers of Christ should take a verse, or a line, out of the holy Scriptures, and write, or study, beforehand, a discourse on it, and preach it, or rather read it, to the people. The holy men of old, as we read both in the Old and New Testament, spoke as they were moved

by the Holy Ghost, and by it they were gifted for convincing, converting, and reforming the world, and for comforting and edifying the saints, quite contrary to the latter practice of modern reading divines, who dispute, write, and preach, against the immediate revelation of the spirit of Christ, and therefore cannot be his ministers, but must be the ministers of antichrist, and ministers of the letter, and not of the spirit of Christ, or of his gospel. And where the apostle says, 'When I was a child, I spake as a child,' I take him to point at being brought newly into the work of the ministry, as well as the work of conversion, and that he useth those expressions by way of comparison, and therefore I compare it thus: a child when it first begins to speak, speaks but a few words, and those stammeringly sometimes, and its judgment is weak, and he must be put upon speaking by his father over and over, if he be a backward child; otherwise, if he be forward, and speaks too much, he is curbed by a wise father. Thus, according to my observation, it hath pleased our heavenly Father to instruct his children in the ministry, and as a child in Christ, I would speak a little of my experience to the children of God. When I first felt a necessity on me to preach the gospel, I had but a few sentences to deliver, in great fear and tenderness, with some trembling, with which my brethren were generally satisfied and edified. After some time I felt a concern to preach the gospel in other countries, and to other nations, than that in which I was born, which to me was a very great cross; but feeling the woe of the Lord to follow me in not giving up to it, after some time I took that cross up, for Christ's sake and the gospel's; and in taking it up, I experienced the truth of the apostle's doctrine, that 'the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.' Thus, through a continual labour and spiritual travel, I witnessed a growth in experience and an enlargement in expression and heavenly doctrine; and my heart was mightily enlarged to run the ways of God's commandments, and divers were convinced, and some, I hope, thoroughly converted, and many comforted, and God, through the ministry of his dear Son, glorified, who only is thereof worthy for ever.

"In all this I have nothing to boast of or glory in, saving in the cross of Christ; for what is Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, but an instrument? I would not be understood to compare myself with those apostles, but to endeavour to follow them as they followed Christ. Christ is all in all: he is the great Teacher of teachers, and the highest school-master of all: and he says, 'Whosoever doth

not bear his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple."

"We do not find any where in the New Testament, that Christ's ministers or messengers were only to speak or preach to one meeting of people, or that they were called or hired by men; for then it would have been necessary that man should pay them; but Christ says, 'Freely ye have received, freely give; and go forth,' &c.

"And my friend, I find to this day, that it is safe for me when I am ministering to the people; when the spring of divine life and power, from which sound truths and edifying matter spring and flow into the heart, abates, or stops, to stop with it, and sit down, and not to arise, or speak publicly to the people, without some spiritual impulse or moving, and openings.

"I would have this taken no otherwise, but as one friend and brother opening his state and condition to another for edification, and for strengthening each other in Christ. And as I fear lest I should exceed the bounds of a letter, therefore shall conclude thy real friend in Jesus Christ;

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

The 25th of the twelfth month I was at the burial of the wife of Randal Speakman. It being our fifth-day meeting, divers sober people not of our persuasion, were there, and I was drawn to speak of the death of Christ and his merits, and to show them that there is no merit in the works of man, as he is man, or in a formal righteousness or holiness.

In our yearly meeting at Burlington, it was agreed that the families of Friends should be visited, and soon after, our monthly meeting appointed me, with other Friends, to visit the families of our meeting; in which visitation many were comforted and edified, both of the youth and aged; and we could truly say, that the power and grace of God, and the sweet love of Christ, accompanied us from house to house, to our mutual comfort. We were so extraordinarily opened and guided to speak to the states of the people in their families, who were unknown to us, that some of them were ready to think we spoke by information, when in truth we were clear of any such thing, and only spoke from what was immediately given to us, without any information from man or woman; which to us was sometimes very wonderful, and caused us to praise the great name of the Lord.

The general meeting held at Philadelphia in the first month, was a solid good meeting, and ended in a sense of grace and truth, which come by Jesus Christ. Next day being our week-day meeting, our dear friends Elizabeth

Levis and Jane Fenn, took leave of us, they intending for the island of Barbadoes; and it was a parting meeting that will not soon be forgotten by some of us then present.

After this meeting I went to Burlington, to visit one who was sick, and under some trouble of mind for going astray, and greatly desired to come into the right way, with whom I had a good seasonable meeting, to her comfort and my own satisfaction. Upon this visit I would remark, that it is a great pity that youth, when in health and strength, should put off the work of their salvation, and forget the Most High, till either sickness or death overtakes them. And then, Oh! the bitter piercing cries and groans, and terrible agonies the soul is in; which, by timely repentance and amendment of life, might be avoided.

I was afterwards at meetings at Philadelphia, Merion, Germantown, &c., and had some service and satisfaction therein. On the 2nd of the second month, the Friend whom I visited, as above, was buried, and the relations of the deceased sent for me to the burial. The person being well beloved, there was a large appearance of people of divers persuasions, and we had an opportunity at this funeral to exhort the people so to live that they might die well; and that the way to die in the favour of God, was to live in his fear. Charity to those who dissent from one another, was pressingly recommended from the apostle's words, that "If we had faith to remove mountains, and to give all our goods to the poor, and our bodies to be burned, yet if we wanted charity, we were but like sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal." And also our belief of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, was asserted, in contradiction to that gross calumny cast on our Society, of denying it.

The latter end of the second month, I was at a marriage at Horsham, at which was present William Keith, our governor, and I was concerned to speak of the end of that great ordinance, and of the happiness of those married persons who fulfil the covenants they make in marriage, and what strength and comfort the man is to the woman, and the woman to the man, when they keep their covenants, and that they are the contrary when they break them. I also opened the methods prescribed by our discipline, to be observed in marriages, and our care to prevent any clandestine marriages amongst us. After this meeting I returned home, without going to the marriage dinner, as I generally avoided such entertainments as much as I could, having no life in, or liking to them, being sensible that great companies and preparation at weddings, were growing inconve-



niences among us, which I was conscientiously concerned to discourage. A few days after my return home, at our meeting at Frankford, I was concerned particularly to exhort Friends to keep to plainness in language, dress, &c., according to the examples given us in the holy Scriptures, particularly that of Daniel and his companions; and to caution against vain and indecent fashions, which, with concern, I have observed to prevail too much among some who make profession with us.

In this second month I went to the yearly meeting of Friends at Salem, and by the way had two meetings at Woodbury creek. At Salem we had a large meeting, and our gracious Lord was with us, bowing many hearts before him, and many testimonies were given of the goodness, love, mercy, and grace of God, and his dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. From Salem we travelled to Alloway's creek and Cohansic, and from thence to Elsinburgh, and ferried over the river Delaware, with our horses to George's creek, and had meetings at all those places. At George's creek, one not a Friend, came to me after meeting, and said he thanked me for my advice and counsel, and seemed heartily affected with the doctrine of Christ. From George's creek we travelled to Nottingham, and had a large meeting on a first-day, and another, very large, on second-day, where were many people of divers persuasions. The house could not contain us, so that we met in an orchard. A solid meeting it was; wherein the mighty power of the Creator was declared, as also the divinity of Christ, and his manhood, and the people were exhorted to be careful of forming any personal ideas of the Almighty; for the holy Scriptures do plainly manifest, that God is a wonderful, infinite, eternal spirit, and therefore is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and outward representations of the Lord Jehovah, border on idolatry. Much was delivered on that head; and I was told after meeting, that divers Papists were there, though I knew nothing of it. From Nottingham I went to Newcastle, had a meeting there, and then visited a sick Friend, with which he expressed much satisfaction; and then went on to Center, Kennet, and Marlborough, and so to the monthly meeting at New Garden, where we had a large open meeting, wherein was shown, that those who meddled with our discipline, in the will, nature, spirit, and wisdom of man only, could do but little service, and that our discipline, as also our worship and ministry, ought to be performed in the wisdom and power of God, through the grace and spirit of Christ. From New Garden we went to Birmingham, had a large meeting, and I was much drawn forth to the youth, of

whom many were there. We then went to the quarterly meeting for discipline and worship at Concord, in Chester county, which was larger than I had ever seen there before. In the meeting of discipline, Friends were exhorted to keep to the cross of Christ, and to speak to matters in the fear of God, and to avoid and shun as much as in them lay, self-will, humour, pride, and passion; showing that the rough, crooked, unhewn, unpolished nature of man, could never work the righteousness of God, and is contrary to the meek, self-denying life of Jesus. John Salkeld and Jacob Howell, then signified that they were going to visit Friends on Long island and Rhode Island. The sense of the call, labour, and work of the ministry of the gospel, and of the love of Christ, in the freeness of it, to mankind, took some good hold on divers in that meeting, and the great name of God, and his dear Son, through the holy Spirit, was glorified.

From this meeting I came home, having been out on this journey nearly three weeks, was at twenty meetings, and travelled more than two hundred miles, and found my wife and children in health, and we rejoiced to see each other; but my rejoicing was in fear, even almost to trembling, lest I should be too much lifted up, when things were agreeable to me.

After my return home, I went to several neighbouring meetings, and on a fifth-day was at Philadelphia, at the marriage of Richard Smith and Elizabeth Powell. The meeting was large, and the marriage solemnly celebrated, and the people were earnestly entreated to love Christ above all, and to manifest that love by keeping his commandments, and that not in show or words only, but in the heart and affections.

About the latter end of the third month, I went to the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders for the county of Burlington; and from thence to Stony-brook; where, on a first-day, we had a large meeting in Joseph Worth's barn, which was crowded with people, and was a solid, good time. From Stony-brook I went to Crosswicks, and was at their youths' meeting, which was the largest I had seen in that place. I told them they might say as the sons of the prophets did, that "the place was too straight for them," and advised them to enlarge it. I was glad to see such a large appearance of sober people, and so great an increase of youth, in this wilderness of America, and exhorted them to live in the fear of God, that his blessings might still be continued to them; and an exercise was on my mind for the welfare of the young people, to show them the danger of sin and vanity, and of keeping ill company, and following

bad counsel; and that the young king, Rehoboam, Solomon's son, lost the greater part of his father's kingdom, by following the company and counsel of vain young men; and that many young men in this age had lost and spent the estates their fathers had left them, by the like conduct, and brought themselves to ruin, and their families to poverty and want. Divers lively testimonies were delivered in this meeting, and it ended with adoration and praise of Almighty God; and although the meeting held more than four hours, the people did not seem willing to go away when it was over; for indeed it was a solid, good time. The business of the quarterly meeting was carried on in peace and love, that being the mark by which the disciples of Jesus were to be known, and Friends were exhorted with a great deal of tenderness to keep it.

In this journey I travelled about ninety miles, and was at four meetings, being from home four days, and was much satisfied in my journey; but met with some exercise when I came home, hearing of some losses and damage to my estate; so that I found after I had, according to my best endeavours, done the will of God, I had need of patience, that I might receive the promise. I was sensible of the messenger of satan, the thorn in the flesh, of which the apostle speaks.

About this time a loving friend of mine informed me, that one whom I very well knew in Barbadoes, a minister of our Society, had gone into an open separation, so as to keep meetings separate from his brethren, and contrary to their advice. I was concerned in love to write a few lines to him, to remind him of the unhappy state and end of such, who, notwithstanding the brotherly love and kind treatment of Friends, had separated from us, and losing the sense of truth which had made them serviceable in the church, were actuated by a rending, dividing spirit, by which the enemy of our happiness had so far obtained his end, as to make some disturbance for a time; but few, if any, of these separatists, have had further power than to promote and maintain their separate meetings during their own lives; such meetings having, in every instance I have known, except one, and that lasted not long, dropped on the death of the founders. And though we think it our duty to testify against, and disown all such; yet this disowning is only until the persons offending, from a real sense of, and sorrow for, their faults, acknowledge and condemn the same; then the arms of Christ and of his church, are open to receive and embrace them. I therefore earnestly besought him to consider the danger of offending any who love and be-

lieve in Christ, though ever so little in their own or other men's esteem, for we cannot have true peace in departing from the pure love of God, his truth, and people; to which I added the following sentences out of the New Testament:

1. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Do not lose this mark.

2. "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother, abideth in death."

3. "He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love."

4. "He that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him."

About the latter end of the fourth month I was at a meeting at Abington, occasioned by a burial; and in the beginning of the fifth month, I was at a marriage in Philadelphia; and was soon after on a first-day, at two meetings at Germantown, where I went to visit a Friend who had not for some months been at meeting, being in a disconsolate condition. I invited her to meeting, where the love and goodness of Christ to the poor in spirit, was largely manifested, and the Friend after meeting, said she was better, and afterwards recovered, and kept to meetings. I was frequently at the week-day meetings at Philadelphia; for I thought that week not well spent, in which I could not get to week-day meetings, if I was in health.

In this month I was at the burial of George Calvert, who was one of a sober life and just conversation, and being well beloved by his neighbours, left a good report behind him. Soon after which I was at Merion meeting, which was large and solid: the people were tenderly exhorted, that neither outward favours, nor spiritual blessings, might make them grow forgetful of God; but that in the sense of the increase and enjoyment thereof, they might be the more humble; and forasmuch as the Christian church in former ages was corrupted by temporal riches and power, it was intimated, that as we had favour shown us from the government, and increase of outward things, we should be very careful not to abuse those privileges, by growing proud and wanton, or envious and quarrelsome; but "to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God."

In this month I was at Middletown, in Bucks county, at the burial of my dear and intimate friend, John Rutledge, who died very suddenly, at which there were above one thousand people: he was well beloved among his neighbours, and was a serviceable man where he lived. I admired to see such a number of



people collected upon so short a notice, he dying one day in the afternoon, and being buried the day following; divers testimonies were borne concerning the wonderful works and ways of God. It was a solid bowing time, wherein many hearts were broken and melted into tenderness. After meeting a young man came to me trembling, and begged that I would pray for him, for he had spent much of his time in vanity, and had strong convictions for it, and had been greatly affected and wrought upon that day. I exhorted him to deny himself, and to take up his cross, and to follow Christ, who hath said, he would in no wise cast off those who came to him in true faith. He went from me very tender and loving, being broken in his spirit.

From thence I went to Gwynned, or North Wales, and on the first-day of the week, had a very large meeting. In the morning of the day a voice awoke me, which cried aloud, saying, "Rewards and punishments for well and evil doings are sealed as an eternal decree in heaven," which confirmed me that mankind are happy or unhappy in that world which is to come, according to their deeds in this life; if their deeds be good, as Christ said, their sentence will be, "Come, ye blessed;" if their deeds be evil, "Depart from me all ye that work iniquity," and "Go, ye cursed," &c. And, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." And again, "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live." These, with many more texts of the same nature, contained in the holy Scriptures, are contrary to the doctrine of personal election and reprobation, as some hold it. We had a meeting in the afternoon of the same day, which was satisfactory to many; our hearts being filled with the love of God, for which we thankfully praised him. The next day we had a meeting of ministers, in which they were exhorted to wait for the gift of the Holy Ghost, without which there can be no true minister or ministry. I was concerned to put them in mind to keep close to Christ, their sure guide and bishop; to be cautious of going before, lest they should miss their way, and of staying too far behind, for fear we should lose our guide; and to be careful to keep a conscience void of offence towards God, and also towards man; that we might say to the people, truly, follow us as we follow Christ; that our conversation might confirm and not contradict our doctrine, for our Saviour says, "By their fruits ye shall know them; men do not gather grapes of thorns," &c., and he charged his followers not to be like such as say, and do not. The next day we had an-

other very large meeting there, in which many things were opened and declared, tending to establish and build us up in our faith in Christ. After this meeting, parting with my friend John Cadwallader, who accompanied me, I came homeward, lodging that night at Morris Morris's, whose wife was very weakly, with whom we had a tender time.

The 9th of the fifth month, I was at the general meeting at Germantown, which was a large and good meeting. Next day I went to visit Jane Breintnall, who was seized with the palsy, and the Lord was pleased to comfort us together, as she expressed, to our mutual satisfaction.

On the 30th of the said month, was our quarterly meeting of ministers at Philadelphia, where humble walking with God was recommended and prayed for, and it was desired that ministers might be exemplary therein, having Christ for their pattern.

On the 1st of the sixth month, I was at our meeting at Frankford, which was dull to me and divers others, a lively exercise of spirit being much wanting among many, and close walking with God in conversation. If we would really enjoy the love and presence of Christ in our religious meetings, we ought to keep near to him in our daily conversation; and that we might do so, was humbly desired in supplication and prayer to God.

The young man who came to me under great concern of mind, after the funeral of John Rutledge, wrote to me, that he was followed with the judgments of God for his manifold transgressions, desiring that I would pray for him. In answer to his letter, I wrote to the following effect.

"Frankford, 7th of Sixth month, 1725.

"Thine from Burlington, of the 26th of fifth month, I received, by which I perceive the hand of the Almighty hath been upon thee for thy vanity and folly. I desire that thou may be very careful to keep close to that hand, and do not go from under it, but mind the light of Christ that hath discovered God to be great and good, and his dear Son to be thy Saviour, and sin and Satan to be evil, which evil, if thou follows it, will certainly bring thee to destruction and eternal wo; but if thou follows Christ, and walks according to that light by which he hath manifested sin to be exceedingly sinful; in his time, as thou waits in patience, he will bring thee through his righteous judgments unto victory.

"Wait, Oh! wait in patience upon God, if it be all thy days! I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against

him.' Again, 'All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.'

"Thou art young in years, and young in experience in the work of grace, wherefore advise with solid, good men, if thou meets with inward or outward straits and difficulties, for the enemy will not easily let go the hold which he hath had of thee; therefore walk circumspectly, and shun evil company. As to praying in a form of words, without the spirit helps, in order to open them according to thy state and condition, that will not avail: a sigh or groan, through the help of the spirit, is much more acceptable to God, than any forms without it.

"That in the Lord's time thou mayest enjoy the reward of peace, is the desire of thy friend,

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

The young man took this counsel well, and kept to meetings, and behaved soberly for a time, but afterwards ran out, kept bad company, took to drinking to excess, ran himself in debt, and at length into a jail, which hath been the unhappy case of many unstable youths, who, "when they knew God, glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish hearts were darkened."

In this month I was at Byberry and Abington meetings, in which we were favoured with the immediate power and presence of Christ, to our great comfort and edification, the visitation of divine love to the youth, having a good effect on some of them, and the latter meeting ended with praise to the Almighty, after supplications for all men, from our king on the throne, to the meanest of his subjects.

In my travels I met with a person, who queried of me, how he should know which society had most of the holy Spirit, since most of the professors of Christ do believe in the Holy Ghost, or spirit? to whom I made the following answer.

Let the rule of Christ determine this question: he says, "By their fruits ye shall know them; do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The fruits then of the Spirit of Christ are, love, faith, hope, patience, humility, temperance, godliness, brotherly kindness, and charity, with all manner of virtues. Therefore the society of Christians, which brings forth most of the fruits of the holy Spirit, consequently have most of Christ's grace and spirit. But some object and say, we will not believe that any society have the Holy Ghost now, or the immediate revelation or inspiration of the spirit, unless they work miracles. To which it is answered, that right reformation from sin, and true faith in Christ, cannot be

wrought without a miracle, neither can we bring forth the fruits of the spirit without the miraculous power of Christ. Men by nature bring forth the works of nature, and that which is contrary to nature is miraculous. Sin is natural, but divine holiness, or the righteousness of Christ, wrought in man, is spiritual, supernatural, and miraculous. And as to natural men, who are in a state of nature, seeing outward miracles, if they will not, or do not believe what is written in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, neither will they believe, although one were to rise from the dead. Notwithstanding Christ wrought outward miracles, and did the works which none other could do; though he cured all manner of diseases, and fed many thousands with a few loaves, and a few small fishes; and what remained when all had eaten, was more than there was at first; though he raised the dead, and himself arose from the dead, yet few, but very few, believed in him, so as truly to follow him. His birth, his life, his doctrine, his death, his resurrection, are all miraculous; and since all this was done in the person of Christ, and at the first publication of his religion to men, there is now no absolute necessity of outward miracles, though his power is the same now as ever; but he said to his disciples, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do, shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do." Upon which, W. Dell says, "this must be understood in relation to sin; for Christ had no sin in himself to overcome, but we all have sinned," and to overcome sin is the greatest of miracles. This will try the notional or nominal Christian, who says we can never overcome sin in this world. Where then is our faith in the Son of God, who for this purpose was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.

Therefore let not Christians be slow of heart to believe in the glorious gospel of Christ; and if we truly believe therein, and live in the practice of his doctrine, we shall see miracles enough to satisfy us for ever.

The 16th of the sixth month, I was at the weekly meeting at Frankford, which, though small, was sweet, reviving, and comfortable to some of us; so that we had a sufficient reward for leaving our business, it being the time of our harvest. Week-day meetings are much neglected by many; more is the pity. The apostle's advice is necessary for men in our age, even of professed Christians, viz. "Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and good works, not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is."

The 23d of the sixth month, my cart-wheel,



being iron bound, ran over me, and my horse kicked me on my head; the wheel put my shoulder out, and the horse wounded my head so that the scull was bare, and my leg was sorely bruised. The same day Dr. Owen and Dr. Graham, with the help of two of our neighbours, set my shoulder and dressed my wounds; and the Lord was so merciful to me, that the next day I was enabled to write this memorandum of this wonderful deliverance and speedy cure, for which, added to many others I have received from his gracious hand, I have occasion to be truly thankful. I was obliged to keep at home some time, and I thought it long, because I could not go to meetings as usual; but many Friends came to see me, which was a comfort to me. One day upwards of thirty persons came from several parts of the country to see how I did, and were glad I was likely to recover. The day before I was so hurt, being the first of the week, I was at meeting at Philadelphia, and was concerned to speak of the uncertainty of life, and the many accidents we are incident to in these frail bodies, and exhorted Friends to live so, that they might have a conscience serene and clear of offence towards God and man, and then they might expect the comforts of the Holy Ghost, which in such seasons of difficulty, would be a great help and benefit to them. Of this I had sweet experience the next day, under great extremity of pain; and though the pain of my body was such that I could not for several nights take my natural rest, yet I had comfort, through the sweet influence of the Holy Spirit, which Christ promised his followers.

On the 18th of the seventh month began our yearly meeting at Philadelphia, which was large, and our friends John Wanton and William Anthony, from Rhode Island, and Abigail Bowles, from Ireland, had good service therein. From this meeting an address was sent to king George, acknowledging his favour to us as a people, in giving his assent to a law made in this province, prescribing the forms of declaration, affirmation, &c., instead of those heretofore used.

The beginning of the eighth month, being a little recovered from my hurt, I had a desire once more to see my friends on the eastern shore of Maryland, at their general meeting at Choptank. The first day I set out, I travelled about thirty miles, and at night was very weary, being weak in body, and I was almost ready to faint in my mind about proceeding further. Next day George Robinson, at whose house I lodged, offering to accompany me, we travelled about forty miles to Sassafra river, and though much tired, we were comforted in each other's company and

conversation. On the following day we travelled nearly twenty miles to the general meeting in Cecil county, in Maryland; where we met with two Friends from Rhode Island, and two from Pennsylvania, who were there on the like occasion. The meeting was large and quiet, many people being there not of our Society, who were very sober. It held several days, and the gospel dispensation was set forth, and the love of God in Christ, exalted. From Cecil we went to Chester river, and had a meeting there, at which the people were exhorted to come to Christ, the eternal rock and true foundation, and to build their religion on him, against whom the gates of hell can never prevail; and they were so much affected, that they did not seem forward to leave the house after the meeting was over. From Chester river we went to Third-haven to the general meeting of Friends for Maryland, which was very large, some Friends from Pennsylvania and Virginia being there, and many people of other societies. Many testimonies were borne to the work of Christ by his spirit in the soul, and Friends were earnestly desired to be diligent in reading the holy Scriptures, and to keep up the practice of our wholesome discipline; by the neglect of which, a door would be open to loose living and undue liberties. From Third-haven we travelled into the Great Forest, between the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, and had a satisfactory meeting. There was no public meeting house in this place, wherefore I told the people of the house, I was obliged to them for the use of it; but they tenderly answered, they were more obliged to me for my kind visiting of them; and truly we had a solid, good meeting there; the people being generally poor, they had but little notice taken of them by the money loving teachers, who preach for hire. From the Forest I went to Little creek, in the territories of Pennsylvania; where was a general meeting for the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex. The meeting was large, and Friends parted in great love and tenderness. I went forward to Duck creek, where we had a meeting, divers persons of note being there, and all were quiet and heard with attention. From Duck creek I went to George's creek, and had a meeting; where a man of a sober conversation said he had never heard things so spoken to before; but that he could witness to the truth of all that was said. It was a good meeting before the conclusion; but I was very low and poor in my spirit in the beginning of it. From this place we set forward to Newcastle, where we had a meeting; it was the time of the sitting of the general assembly, and several members of the house were at meeting. The governor, who had

from our first acquaintance been very respectful to me, hearing that I was in town, sent to desire me to tarry all night in Newcastle; but being engaged to a meeting over the rivers Christiana and Brandywine, and it being near night, I could not stay, but went away that evening and sent my love to him, desiring to be excused. That night I lodged at John Richardson's, and next day went to George Robinson's, at Newark, where we had a meeting on first-day, and on second-day another at Providence; and went from thence to Darby, to visit our worthy, aged friend, Thomas Lightfoot, who lay very weak in body, none expecting his recovery. I had called as I went from home, and then he was very ill, and told me, "He thought that illness would conclude his time in this world, but said that all was well; and that he had a great concern upon his mind for the growth and prosperity of truth in the earth, and desired with tenderness of spirit, that I would give his dear love to all Friends;" and he now said, "I thought never to see thee more, but am glad to see thee." I staid there all night, and in the morning we had a comfortable, heart-melting time together, in which was revived the remembrance of the many favourable seasons of God's love we had enjoyed in our travels in the work of the ministry of the gospel of Christ, and we tenderly prayed, if we never met more in this world, we might meet in that which is to come, never more to part, but forever live to sing with all the saints and holy angels, hallelujah to God and the Lamb. From Darby I went to Philadelphia third-day meeting, and from thence to my house, where my dear wife and children with open hearts and arms received me, and I them with joy; at which time I had a gracious reward of peace for my labour of love, which far exceeded silver or gold. In this journey I travelled above three hundred miles, had nineteen meetings, and was from home above three weeks, in which time I recovered of my lameness to admiration, so that I had with satisfaction to remember the apostle's saying; that "All things work together for good to them that love God."

After my return I was at the general meeting at Frankford; and in the beginning of the ninth month, I was at meetings at Abington, Germantown, and divers times at Philadelphia, particularly at the youths' meeting, wherein several testimonies were borne, and the youth exhorted to piety and humility.

On the 5th day of this month in the morning, being under a consideration of the many sore exercises and trials I had met with from my childhood, I was much affected; but the following portions of Scripture being brought

to my remembrance, afforded me some relief, "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth; if ye be without chastisement, ye are bastards, and not sons." "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." So that I patiently bore my affliction and praised God under it.

In this month I was at the funeral of our worthy, ancient Friend, Thomas Lightfoot. He was buried at Darby; the meeting was the largest that I had ever seen at that place. Our dear friend was greatly beloved for his piety and virtue, his sweet disposition and lively ministry: the Lord was with him in his life and death, and with us at his burial.

I was also about this time at Germantown, and at a general meeting at Plymouth, to my great satisfaction, being accompanied by my ancient friend Rowland Ellis; and at the third-day meeting in Philadelphia, at the time of our fall fair; there were fervent desires and prayers in several of us, that the youth might be preserved from the evils prevalent at such times of liberty and profaneness.

About the 20th of the month I went for Long island, being drawn in true love to make a general visit to Friends there; and likewise having some business to transact. On the fifth-day of the week, Thomas Masters and I set out from Frankford, and in the evening we got to a Friend's house, near the falls of Delaware, where we were kindly entertained, and our horses taken good care of: to take due care of traveller's horses, is a commendable thing, and more grateful to some travellers than to take care of themselves. From the falls of Delaware, we travelled next day to Piscataway, and lodged at an inn; and on the next day we went to Woodbridge, to John Kinsey's, where on the first-day we had a satisfactory meeting with Friends and others. On the following day John Kinsey went with us to Long island, and that night got to John Rodman's, and next day we rested, being weary with travelling so far in the cold. Our dear friends in that island, very lovingly received my visit to them; so that I had occasion to remember that saying of the holy Scripture, "Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend!"

The fifth-day of the week we had a large meeting at Flushing, and another in the evening at Obadiah Lawrence's, which was an open, tender time. From Flushing we went to Cow-neck, to Joseph Latham's, who went with me to Westbury meeting, which, considering the cold, was much larger than I expected. From Westbury, Nathaniel Simmons, Samuel Underhill and Phebe Willet, went with us to Bethpage, where we had a comfortable evening meeting at the house of Thomas



Powell, who went with us next morning to a town called Setawket; it was as cold a day's travel as ever I went through in all my life; the wind was in our faces, and northerly. I do not remember, though I had been a traveller above thirty years, that ever I endured so much hardship by cold in one day; my chin and jaws were much affected with the frost for several days; but we had a good meeting that made up for all. After which we went ten miles to Amos Willet's house, where we had a serviceable meeting; he invited his neighbours, who came and received us with hearts full of good will; and those not of our Society were well satisfied with the meeting; so that we went on our way rejoicing, that we were favoured with the good presence of God in our journey. Amos Willet and his wife went with us to Huntington, where we had a quiet, peaceable meeting, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ was with us, as many can witness that were there. From hence we went to Samuel Underhill's, and visited his weak brother; in which visit the Lord mightily refreshed us together, and we blessed his holy name, for "he is good to all them who put their trust in him." Next day we had a large meeting at Matinicock, and had an evening meeting at Thomas Pearshall's. The next day being a snowy, stormy day, and one of the shortest in the year, we went, being eighteen in company, to Cow-neck, where we had a good meeting, and much larger than could be expected. After meeting we went to Joseph Latham's, and had a tender, open evening meeting, in which we were edified and refreshed in Christ Jesus.

From Cow-neck I went to Flushing, had a large meeting on the first-day of the week, and on second-day went over the sound which divides Long island from the main continent, to Horse-neck, and had a meeting where I understood there never had been one before; the people were sober and attentive, and some expressed their satisfaction. That evening we had a meeting at an inn near Byram river, where divers people came, and were attentive; the inn-keeper, his father, brother, wife, and several others, took our visit very kindly; though there was one restless man, who seemed to be out of order with drink before he came into the house. When we were sitting in silence, waiting for the gift of Christ, and worshipping in spirit, as Christ instituted, he sitting by me, jogged me, and said, "It is time to begin, for there are as many come, as will come to-night;" he was mistaken in that; but not having patience to watch and pray, he went away; after which we had a good meeting. These two meetings were in the government of Connecticut, where

they formerly made a law imposing a fine of five pounds on those who should entertain any of our Society, which law I was informed, was repealed in Great Britain. From thence we travelled into New-York government, and had a meeting at Rye, and another at Mamaroneck; then to West Chester, and had a meeting there on a sixth-day of the week, intending to go over the ferry next day to Long island; but the wind being high and boisterous, so that we could not get over, we tarried three nights at the house of John Stephenson, where we were lovingly and generously entertained. On first-day we were again at West Chester meeting, which ended comfortably, though I was in a low state both of body and mind in the beginning of it. On second-day we all got well over the ferry to Long island, parting with our friends at the ferry in much love and good will. Joseph Latham having been my fellow traveller on the main, I went to his house; then to Westbury to a large meeting, and next to Bethpage, and had a meeting there, and in the evening accompanied by Samuel Bowne and Joseph Latham, I went to Jerusalem, and had a large and satisfactory meeting: many of the people of the town who were there, came the next day to our meeting at Hempstead, which was large. The great Lord of all was good to us that day, which I hope many who were there will not forget; and some conviction was wrought on some who were of account in the world, at these last mentioned meetings, one who lived at Jerusalem, with tenderness of spirit, desired my remembrance, whom I pray God to preserve to the end, with all those who love and fear him, and believe in his Son.

From Hempstead I went to Matinicock, where, on a first-day of the week, we had a large and good meeting; then to Thomas Townsend's, on the Plains, at whose house we had an evening meeting. Next morning many Friends from the Plains went with us to the south side of the island, to a place called Rockaway, where we had a meeting at Hicks', the neighbours coming to it pretty generally; there was great openness to receive the doctrine of truth in those not of our Society, and they were very kind to us in those parts. This was the second meeting I had been at in this place, Benjamin Holme having the first there, since which they had not been visited by any Friend in the ministry except myself. From Rockaway we went to Foster's meadow, where was a large gathering of people, and Christ filled our hearts with divine love. I then went to Peter Titus's, and had a meeting at his house, to which came the neighbours, and were well affected;

and next day we had a meeting in the meeting house at Westbury, which was very large and to our satisfaction. From Westbury, in the evening we went to visit a young woman who had been in a despairing condition for several years. The family came together, and we put up our prayers to the Almighty, in the name of his dear Son; it was a good time to us all; and the young woman and some others, expressed their satisfaction.

This evening we went to see another young woman who was in a deep consumption, but in a very comfortable state of mind; having a great desire to see me before she died, she sent for me to come to her, and her desire was answered, her spirit being revived with a fresh visitation of the love of Jesus Christ, the holy physician of value, and our supplications were, that the Lord would be pleased to be with her, and support her to the end, and grant her an easy passage from this life to his glorious kingdom, when it should please him to remove her; which prayer we have cause to hope was answered.

Though the days were short and the weather exceedingly cold, we rode about fifteen miles and made these two visits, after that great meeting at Westbury; but our good Master supported us, and was with us in our exercises and service for his name and truth's sake. I lodged this night at Joseph Rodman's, and was next day at Flushing week-day meeting, which was very large and satisfactory; had a meeting the same evening at Samuel Bowne's, and the next day went to New-York, and had a quiet, good meeting in the evening at Samuel Harrison's, and on the morrow had an evening meeting at a place called the Kills, at the house of Richard Hallet, and the next day being first-day, had a large meeting at Newtown, to the edification of Friends and other sober people.

It being now generally known that I was on the island, the people flocked to meetings, though the weather was extremely cold, for the Lord in the riches of his love manifested himself unto us in our meetings for the worship of his holy name. The next meeting was at James Jackson's, at Rocky-hill, where was Judge Hicks, the high sheriff, and a justice of the peace, with several other persons of note, with whom, and our friends, we had a good time to set forth the work of grace and reformation, I think, to general satisfaction, for which we blessed the holy name of God, and humble prayer was put up to him for all men, and particularly for our king George, as also for all in authority under him, and that they might be a terror to evil doers, and the praise of them that do well. The next meeting was at Jamaica, which was

also large, and several in authority were there, and were very loving and respectful. The next first-day we had a large meeting at Cowneck, which was somewhat crowded. Though my exercises were very great, I was glad that there was such openness and room in people's hearts to receive the doctrine which I had to declare unto them, in the name and power of Christ; afterwards we had an evening meeting with the widow Titus, to which divers Dutch people came, and were very attentive and sober. On the third-day of the week we had a meeting near the place called Hurlgate, a narrow passage in the great sound or bay, between Long island and the main land. Several justices and their wives attended it, one of whom had disowned his son and turned him out of doors for coming among us; but beholding his son's sober conversation, he grew more moderate, and after meeting he and his wife invited us to dine with them; but we were engaged to visit the widow Stephens that evening, at whose house we had a meeting. Going thither, it being very cold and stormy, my hands were touched with the frost, and perceiving it when I came to the fire, I called for a bason of cold water, which soon cured them: I note this that others may reap benefit thereby. Next day we went to the week-day meeting at Newtown, and on fifth-day to Flushing meeting, which was large and to edification, and in the evening had a meeting at our ancient friend Hugh Cowperthwait's, which was acceptable to him, as he expressed when it was ended; and to us also. On seventh-day we had a very large evening meeting at Thomas Pearsall's, and likewise a large, good meeting, the day after, being first-day, at Matinicoek, wherein the kingdom of Christ was exalted, and the deformed state of sin and iniquity represented, and the example and doctrine of Christ closely recommended, in order to the overcoming of sin, this being not only possible, but the duty of Christians, through the power of Christ and true faith in his holy name. The danger of believing that it is impossible to overcome sin was opened to them, and that such a belief is contrary to, and against Christ and his doctrine, and darkens and blinds the hearts of men; but the love of Christ enlightens the soul, and strengthens it to believe that all things are possible with God; for this great work cannot be done in the will, wit, and power of man, but through the power and grace of Christ, which he promised to true believers in him.

I was faint after this meeting, but resting a little, soon grew better, so that we had an evening meeting at James Cock's, where one came and told us, we must not eat any flesh,



and produced Thomas Tryon's works for his proof. I took the Bible and showed him proof to the contrary, and told him we were resolved to believe our book before his, and showed him from the apostle, that the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, nor divers washings, but righteousness, peace and joy, in the Holy Ghost. Though at the same time, according to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, I was for temperance in meats and drinks, as well as moderation in apparel. The next day we had a very large meeting at Oyster bay, many being there who were not of our Society, who steadily gave attention to what was declared; and there being many young people, they were persuaded to give up their blooming years to do the will of God, and to remember him their Creator, in their youthful days. Friends said there had not been such a meeting there a great while, for which opportunity I was humbly thankful to the Lord. After meeting we went to Samuel Underhill's, and had an evening meeting with his brother, who through sickness and lameness, could not get out for a long time. Next day Samuel Bowne being with me, we went to visit a young woman who was weak in body, but lay in a comfortable frame of mind; she was thankful for our visit, and said the visits of her friends were comfortable to her. Next day being the fourth of the week, we had a meeting at the widow Taylor's, who desired it on account of her father, then in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and so infirm, that he could not get to meetings; he was very clear in his understanding and memory, and was much refreshed with this meeting, as were divers of us also. Next day we had a meeting at Flushing, which was large and open, and the grace and power of Christ was with us in the ministration of the gospel. After this meeting we had an evening meeting with our ancient friend Joseph Thorne, who by reason of his age and infirmity could not go abroad as far as the meeting house: many of his neighbours and friends came, and we had a solid, good time together. While at Flushing, I went to visit a young woman who was a most sad spectacle to behold, an object of great pity: her face, hand, and foot, being much eaten away by the king's evil; our prayers were, that now in her great misery, the Almighty would be pleased to support her soul by his grace and spirit, and sanctify her affliction to her, that it might work for her a more exceeding weight of glory in that world which is to come. The next first-day we had a large meeting at Flushing, wherein many weighty truths were opened to the satisfaction and edification of the auditory, and in the

evening we had a meeting with the wife of Matthew Farrington, who was too weakly to go abroad; the neighbours came in, and we had a seasonable opportunity. On third-day was the youths' meeting at Flushing, in which we were concerned to exhort them to obedience to God and their parents, and to follow their parents as they follow Christ; for where any leave Christ, there we are to leave their example, though they were our fathers or mothers; and the right honouring of our parents was set forth, and they exhorted not to despise the day of small things; the happy state of the obedient, and the unhappy state of the disobedient, with many other weighty truths were delivered to them in that meeting, by several experienced Friends. From Flushing I went to the week-day meeting at Newtown, and in the evening we had a meeting at the widow Way's; the neighbours coming in, we had a good time with them: the parable of the ten virgins was treated of, and the great disadvantage of wanting the divine oil of grace in our vessels, was shown to them.

The next day being the fifth of the week, we had a very large, satisfactory meeting at the widow Alsop's, at the Kills; and from thence with several Friends went to New-York, where we had three meetings to our edification, the weather still remaining very cold, but we felt the love of Christ to warm our hearts, and though I think I never felt it colder, I never had my health better. Several Friends accompanied us to the boat at New-York, the water being open on that side, we took our leave of each other, and put out for the other shore; but before we got there, we were blocked up in the ice, and it was a considerable time before we could work our way through, but at last got well on Long island, where I waited some hours for company, who through some difficulty got on shore. We went to the Narrows through a storm of wind and snow, but the wind being high, we could not get over that night nor the next day, the ice having come down and filled the bay: when the tide had drove away the ice, we put out and got well over, and lodged at the ferry-house on Staten island. Next morning we went to the ferry at the Blazing Star, over against Woodbridge, but it was all fastened with ice, and we not daring to venture over it, went to the ferry at Amboy, and got comfortably over, stayed there that night, and next day went to Trenton and lodged at Captain Gould's, who treated me very kindly, I being much tired with travelling. Next morning I went over Delaware river on the ice, as we had done the day before over the Rariton, and that day being the 5th of twelfth month, I got safely home to my loving spouse

and tender children, where I found all well and a hearty reception, having travelled six hundred miles, and attended above sixty meetings.

After having been at home, at our own meeting at Frankford, I went to the quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, where Friends were glad to see me.

On the next fifth-day I was at the marriage of Thomas Masters and Hannah Dickinson, where were many sober people not of our Society.

Having been lately among Friends at Long island, and been comforted in the many opportunities we had together, it came into my mind to visit them with an epistle at their quarterly meeting at Flushing, which was as followeth:

“Frankford, Twelfth month, 1725.

“My dear and well beloved friends,

“Believing it might be acceptable to you to hear that I was got well to my habitation in such a difficult time of the year as that in which I set out from you; and also feeling the sweet influence of the love of the heavenly Father, and his dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ, to arise and spring in my heart, and flowing towards you, it came into my mind to write a few lines to the quarterly meeting of Friends at Flushing, by way of epistle, well knowing also that many of us are as epistles written in one another's hearts by the finger of the Most High; and those characters of divine love so written will not easily be erased. I could willingly have been at your quarterly meeting, but had been so long from my family, that I was much wanted therein, and my coming home was seasonable and acceptable, both to them and my friends; and I humbly thank the Lord, I found all well. That which is on my mind to your quarterly meeting, is concerning the government of the church of Christ, of which he is the holy head and lawgiver; wherefore we are to seek and wait for counsel and wisdom from him, in all our monthly and quarterly meetings, for the well ordering of our little Society, which is growing and increasing in the earth, and also in your island, notwithstanding the invidious attempts of some men of corrupt minds; and it will grow and increase more and more, as we keep our places, our heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

“Dear friends, the good order of truth and the government of Christ in his church, is a great help to us and our children, when carried on in Christ's spirit; [pray observe or mind that] for if our order and church government be carried on in the spirit of man, as he is mere man, though he is ever so

crafty or cunning, it will do more hurt than good in the church of Christ. Christ's spirit must govern Christ's church; and when and where that is over all, then and there Christ's church and kingdom are exalted, of whose kingdom and peace there will be no end; and happy will all those be, whose end is in it. Moses, that man of God, governed in the Jewish church in the spirit of God, and when he found the work too heavy for him, the Lord put his spirit on seventy more, who were help meets in the government; so that it was God's spirit that governed; and while that ruled, all was well; but when they went from that, they fell into error and disobedience. At length the Messiah came, and he governed his own little flock himself; and when he ascended up on high, he promised that his spirit should be with and in his church forever, and be their holy guide into all truth, in which he would also comfort them: and Christ fulfilled this his promise; for when his disciples waited at Jerusalem to be endued with power from on high, according to the advice of their Lord, they were filled with the gift and grace of the holy Spirit. And when the brethren and elders met together about the affairs and government of the church, they gave forth rules and orders from that general meeting to the particular ones; and the Holy Ghost presided amongst them, which they signified to the other meetings, saying, ‘It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to put you in mind of such and such things.’ And while this Holy Ghost, or spirit, governed in the primitive Christian church, all was well; God and Christ was glorified, and his church and people edified; but by going from that the apostacy came in.

“Wherefore, dear friends, keep close to the spirit, power, light, and divine life of Christ Jesus, in your monthly and quarterly meetings for the government of the church, as well as in your meetings for the worship of the Almighty; for if we go from that he will go from us.

“And dear friends, the testimony of Jesus, in the spirit of prophecy, opens in me after this manner, that if our Society keep and live up to the spirit and truth of Christ, which hath been manifested to our forefathers, and to us also in this age, the great Lord of all will prosper his work in our hands, and bless both us and our children, as we and they keep therein.

“And as we have kept close to this our heavenly guide, how hath the Lord sweetly manifested his love and power to us in our meetings for the well ordering of our Society? which many times hath filled our hearts with pure praises and holy thanksgiving, to the



high and lofty One who inhabits eternity, and dwells in the highest heavens, and is light for ever: to whom, with the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, I recommend you, my dear and well beloved friends, brethren and sisters in Christ, with my own soul.

“THOMAS CHALKLEY.

“P. S. Since my return I have been thankful to God for the many favourable visitations and good opportunities he was pleased to grant me with you and divers sober people on your island, in which there is an open door among many to receive the testimony of truth. I commend your nobility in building good houses, and making room for your sober neighbours to sit with you in your meetings; this is of good report concerning you, both far and near, and if I apprehend right, there is more work of that kind for you to do. I thought often, when among you, and now also, that there would be a large gathering, if there were a house built at the upper end of the Great Plains, not far from Foster’s meadow; but every one may not think or see alike; though I know some solid Friends among you, thought the same with me, about the prospect of a large gathering thercaway, if a house were built; to which Friends and well inclined people might come from Hempstead, Rocky-hill, Rockaway, Foster’s meadow, &c.

“THOMAS CHALKLEY.”

After my service on Long island, I had great sweetness upon my spirit for some time, which sometimes caused my heart to sing for joy; and yet I rejoiced in a trembling frame of spirit, and had the true sense of what is written in the holy Scriptures, where it is said, “Serve the Lord with fear,” I take it to be filial fear, “and rejoice with trembling,” for fear of losing that precious sense of the love of God which is in Christ.

On the 20th of the twelfth month, the first-day of the week, I was at Abington meeting, in which the love of Christ was manifested to us, in the opening of his saying, “If I be lifted up, I will draw all men unto me.” The next day I was at Germantown, at the burial of a son of Dennis Conrad, at which also was our friend Abigail Bowles. On the sixth-day following, I went to the general meeting of ministers and elders at Burlington, where I again met with our said friend and divers others. The first-day meeting was large; and on second-day was the quarterly meeting for the county; and on third-day was their youths’ meeting, where many weighty truths were delivered. On fourth-day we were at a meet-

ing at Springfield; the house was pretty much thronged, and Friends were exhorted thankfully to commemorate the mercies and favours of the Almighty to them, and desired to enlarge their meeting houses as their number increased; for in those parts there was such an openness in the hearts of the people and increase of their number, that Friends had already agreed on building two meeting houses between Crosswicks and Burlington; their zeal and unanimity therein, were worthy of commendation. Fifth-day being the week-day meeting at Burlington, Friends of the town desired I would stay at it. I thought we had just before had divers good opportunities, and my own inclination seemed to lead to my family; but Friends being desirous of my staying, I did so, and we had a good meeting. After it, a solid Friend said, “he thought we had the best wine at last;” and indeed the love of God, through Christ, is so sweet to his people, that the last often seems the best, when it is only a renewed visitation of the same love to his children. I went home rejoicing that I was in some measure accounted worthy to serve so good and so gracious a Master.

On the 6th day of the first month, being the first of the week, I was at the morning and afternoon meetings in Philadelphia, wherein those who call themselves freethinkers, were exhorted to be careful of drinking too freely, lest they might justly be called free-drinkers; for many times such, when they drink too freely of strong liquor, think and speak too freely their own corrupt notions to the dishonour of God, and to the scandal of religion in general.

In this month I went to the Jerseys, and was at three large meetings in company with Abigail Bowles, in which our said friend had good service, to the comfort of Friends, convincing of gainsayers, and confirming the weak, and the people were glad of our visit.

The 15th day of this month I was at Burlington, at the burial of my good friend and old acquaintance, Abraham Bickley, at whose funeral were great numbers of people, he being well beloved of his neighbours. Christ’s raising Lazarus out of the grave, and his tenderness and weeping there, were spoken of, in order to stir people up to a tender, religious exercise of mind, which is much wanting among many of the professors of his holy name, who have too little sense of that which should bring true tenderness over their minds, being more in earth than heaven; so that they are dry and barren, as to the things of God. The meeting ended to satisfaction, with supplications to the Almighty.

A few days after I was at our general

spring meeting in Philadelphia, which was large; where our friends Robert Jordan and Abigail Bowles, had good service.

This week I was at four very large meetings at Philadelphia, Frankford and Abington, much to my satisfaction, though I had no vocal service therein; yet my heart was broken into tenderness and tears, under several weighty, solid testimonies, that were borne by living ministers, qualified to preach the gospel in the demonstration of the spirit, and with power.

The 26th of the first month, 1726, I went to Germantown meeting, which was large, and I was opened therein to speak of the vision of the prophet Ezekiel, of the holy waters, which proceeded from under the threshold of the sanctuary, which the angel measuring, they grew deeper and deeper, until they became a river to swim in. Which sheweth the work of grace, conversion, and regeneration; and that these holy waters of which the soul must drink and be washed, and baptized in, are spiritual and supernatural, and therefore not to be measured by the spirit and will of man, in his natural state, according to the prophet Isaiah. Man, before he can swim therein, must be stripped of all his self-righteousness and artificial religion, though as splendid and beautiful as a gallant ship, or galley with oars, in which respect it is agreeable to the state of men swimming in elementary water, where the most skilful have sometimes lost their lives, for want of being unclothed. Those who had not yet attained much experience, were advised not to go out of their depth, but to wait in patience and humility, to enjoy the medicinal virtue of the trees growing by the side of this river, whose fruit is for meat, and its leaves for medicine. The people of this meeting were generally Germans, several of whom staid in the house after it was over, and were broken into tenderness, in a sense of the presence and love of God unto us, for which I was also humbly thankful and bowed in spirit.

I was at the third-day weekly meeting in Philadelphia, which was but small, considering the large number of those professing to be of our Society in this city; those present were closely and tenderly exhorted to be zealous for good works, and against bad works; not respecting the person of any man. The abominations committed by some under our profession in this city and province, call for humiliation; and as the promise of God's favour was to those who mourned with sighs and cries for the abominations among his people formerly, so now, as many as are under the same concern, may hope for preservation and salvation, if he should in like manner

visit us, as at this time he doth some of our neighbours; there being a great sickness and mortality in some of the adjacent places.

In the second month I visited the meetings of Friends at Haverford, Newtown, Radnor, and Merion; which meetings consist chiefly of ancient Britons, who are a religious, industrious, and increasing people; among whom my service was, as they expressed, to our mutual satisfaction. After my return home, I went to visit Friends at the falls of Delaware, and was at a large meeting in their new meeting house. After a satisfactory meeting at Frankford, on the fifth-day of the same week I went with Ennion Williams to his son's marriage; next day he and several other Friends accompanied me to Woodbury creek, and had a good, open meeting, and that night went to James Lord's, and next morning towards Salem, and lodged at Isaac Sharp's; where I was informed of a great mortality at Cohansey. The 24th of the second month was the general meeting at Salem, which was a large gathering of people of different persuasions, from many parts of the country, where the doctrine of the gospel was preached in great love to the people, which they heard with solid attention. From Salem I went to Alloway's creek and Cohansey, and had meetings there. I was informed that more than seventy persons had lately died here of a malignant distemper, though it seemed to abate, none dying while we were there. At Cohansey the meeting was large and solid, though but few of our Society reside there; and they were earnestly admonished to a proper disposition of mind, to fit them either for life or death, and reminded of the regard of the Almighty to such as live in his fear, who will have peace in their death, and their change will be glorious, when they are taken out of this life; but with the wicked it is not so.

From Cohansey I went through the wilderness over Maurice's river, accompanied by James Daniel, through a miry, boggy way, in which we saw no house for about forty miles, except at the ferry, and that night we got to Richard Townsend's, at Cape May, where we were kindly received. Next day we had a meeting at Rebecca Garrison's, and the day after a pretty large one at Richard Townsend's, and then went down to the Cape, and had a meeting at John Page's, and next day another at Aaron Leaming's; several expressed their satisfaction with those meetings. I lodged two nights at Jacob Spicer's, my wife's brother.

From Cape May we travelled along the sea coast to Great Egg Harbour, had another meeting much larger than the first, at Rebecca



Garrison's, and here I was much concerned to promote the settlement of a monthly meeting, for the well ordering of the affairs of our Society.

We swam our horses over Egg Harbour river, and went over ourselves in canoes, and afterwards had a meeting at Richard Summers', which was as large as could be expected, considering the people live at such a distance from each other.

The next meeting we had at John Scull's; on first-day we had a large one at Peter White's; on second-day at Japhet Leeds'; and then we went five miles through a marsh to Little Egg Harbour river, and had a meeting in their meeting house on the fourth-day of the week, and 11th day of the month, which was larger by the addition of the owners, masters, and mariners, of two sloops from New-York, who, hearing of the meeting, came to it. Next day we had another meeting at the same place, and lodged at Jarvis Faro's. After these two meetings I left Egg Harbour, accompanied by several Friends, and travelled about forty miles before we came to any house. In the evening we reached a Friend's house, where we were kindly entertained, and next morning got to Burlington, and so home, where I found all well, and was thankful therefor to the Almighty. In this journey I travelled about three hundred miles, had twenty-one meetings, and was from home about three weeks.

In the third month I staid at and about home, visiting the meetings at Philadelphia, Germantown, Abington, and Frankford.

In the fourth month I left my family, and went back in the woods as far as Oley. I was from home nine days, travelled about one hundred and fifty miles, and had six meetings at Oley, Perkiomen, and divers other places, chiefly in barns and open places, there being large companies of people, and few meeting houses yet built in those parts of the country. In this journey I suffered much through the heat. The first meeting was at the iron works settled a little beyond a place called Mount Misery. I was concerned for those people, having heard of their rude doings before I left my habitation; and although some were rude, others behaved themselves soberly, and expressed their thankfulness for that visitation, as I do for the opportunity I had of clearing myself to them. On my return homewards, I crossed Schuylkill, and went to Samuel Nutt's iron works, where I had a large, quiet, solid meeting; and the next day called to see my old friend David Meredith, who being about eighty-nine years of age, I thought it probable I

might not have another opportunity of seeing. He met me with gladness, and told me it was their meeting day; so I staid, and was much comforted and tendered by the power of Christ; after which I came home that night.

On the next first-day after my return I went to Philadelphia, and then to a yearly meeting in Chester county, held at Goshen; though the season was wet, this was a large, good meeting; at which there were three young men, who had lately been called to the work of the ministry, whom I was glad to hear declare the truth in the power and simplicity of the gospel of Christ, being of the mind of Moses, when he said, in answer to Joshua, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put of his spirit upon them." After this meeting I went to Springfield, and the next day returned home.

On the 22nd of the fourth month I went to the marriage of John Lee's daughter, at Springfield, in Chester county. I was concerned to speak mostly to the young people, advising them to seek the Lord in that great affair of marriage, that they be careful on whom they set their affections, and not to draw out one another's minds, if they did not intend an honourable marriage; reminding them of the ill tendency of courting several at a time, or suffering several to court at once, and that they be chaste and true in their proceedings, duly regarding the advice of the apostle, "Be not unequally yoked;" for all such marriages are unequal, when those who marry are of different principles of religion. The meeting ended with tender supplication for preservation through whatever exercises, further troubles or trials, temptations or afflictions, we might meet with in the world, that so we might end well at last, and live for ever to praise and glorify God and the Lamb, who, through the holy, eternal Spirit, is worthy forever.

On the receipt of the last letter from my dear father, which I some time since mentioned, I was apprehensive it might be his last, which it proved to be; for the next letter from my dear brother gave me intelligence of his death, which I received the 25th of the fourth month this year. The news of my dear father's decease took such hold of my mind, though I daily expected it, that for some time I was hardly sociable. Oh! how have I been sometimes comforted in his loving and tender epistles! at the receipt of which I have cried to the Lord, that if it pleased him, I might have a double portion of the spirit which he gave to my father. But now I must never hear more from him in this

world; yet in this I have some inward comfort, that I hope we shall meet where we shall never part. Here follows a part of my affectionate brother's account of my father's death and burial.

"Edmonton, 25th of the First month, 1726.

"Dear brother,

"This comes with the sorrowful account of our dear father's decease, who departed this life the 7th instant, after having been indisposed about a fortnight. I have herewith sent a particular account of some remarkable passages, and his last expressions in his sickness; that part relating to his convincement, he desired should be committed to writing, which I have done, and sent it to thee.

"I was with him several times in his last illness, and most of the last two days of his life, as thou mayest perceive by the contents. Our worthy father was honourably buried on the 11th instant, being carried from his own house to the meeting house at Horsleydown, accompanied by his relations, where was a large meeting of as many people as the meeting house could well contain, and many testimonies were borne to the innocent, exemplary life, integrity, and honest zeal of our dear father, so concurrent and unanimous, that I have hardly known any such occasion more remarkable: he was accompanied from thence to the grave very solemnly, and there in like manner interred, where a further testimony was given to his honest life and conversation, and lively zeal for the holy truth, whereof he made profession.

"Dear brother, though it be a sorrowful occasion of writing, yet herein we may be comforted in consideration that our father went to his grave in peace in a good old age: he had his understanding and memory to the last. I believe, as I have sometimes said, that he embraced death as joyfully as ever he did any happy accident of his life. I remember one passage of his cheerful resignation; finding him fine and cheery when I came to see him, a week before his decease, and he showing me how well he could walk about the room, and would have gone out of it, though he was very bad the day before, I said, 'Father, I hope thou wilt get over this illness;' but he answered me pretty quick and loud, 'No, but I don't though.' It is not long since he was at my house, and was cheerful and well, but spoke as if he thought it would be the last time. My wife said, 'Father, thou mayest live some years;' but he replied, 'Is it not better for me to die, and go to Christ?' So dear brother, with dear love to thee, my sister, and thy dear children and

our relations, I conclude with earnest desires for thy health and welfare,

"Thy affectionate brother,

"GEORGE CHALKLEY."

*An account of my father's convincement, and of his last sickness and dying words.*

My father was born of religious parents at Kempton, near Hitching, in Hertfordshire, the 1st of the ninth month, 1642; his father's name was Thomas Chalkley, by trade, a dealer in meal; by profession, of the church of England, and zealous in his way, as was also his wife.

They had four sons and three daughters, John, George, Thomas, and Robert; Elizabeth, Sarah, and Mary. My father being the third son, was convinced very young at a meeting by Enfield-Chace-Side, near Winchmore hill, through the powerful ministry of William Brend, who was an eminent minister in the Lord's hand in that day, and had been a great sufferer for his testimony in New-England. He was preaching, as I heard my father several times say, upon the words of the preacher, "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." Upon this subject he spoke so home to my father's state and condition, that he was convinced, and two others of his companions were reached and affected with the testimony of Christ's truth and gospel. My father and two young men had been walking in the fields, having religious conversation together, and were providentially directed to the meeting, by observing some Friends going to it, whom they followed thither: one of his companions was Samuel Hodges, who lived and died a faithful Friend, at whose house in succeeding times, a meeting was settled, and is there continued, and a meeting house built at this day at Mims, in Hertfordshire.

My father was the first of the family who received the testimony of truth as it is in Jesus, after which his father and mother were convinced, and all his brothers and sisters, who lived and died honest Friends; except one who died young, continuing in the church of England persuasion. Soon after the convincement of my father and his two companions aforesaid, they met with a trial of their faith and patience; for being taken at a religious meeting of Friends, they were all three committed to the new prison in Whitechapel, where having continued prisoners for some



time, the magistrates observing their Christian courage, boldness, and innocence, and being touched with tenderness towards them, considering their youth, discharged them.

My father about the twenty-fifth year of his age, married my mother, a virtuous young woman, who was the widow of Nathaniel Harding, a Friend who died under the sentence of banishment for his profession of Christ; the above account I had from my father's own mouth; what follows fell within my own observation.

My dear father met with great exercises and disappointments in his early days; he, dealing in his father's business, sold meal to some who broke in his debt, which brought him low in the world, in which low estate he was an eminent example of patience, resignation, and industry, labouring with his hands for the support of his family, and conscientiously answering all his engagements; so that it may be justly said of him, he was careful that he might owe nothing to any man but love. He was very constant in keeping to meetings, being a good example therein, though in very hot times of persecution; for when Friends were sorely and severely persecuted on account of keeping their religious meetings, and the prisons filled with them through the nation, and their goods taken away, and much spoil and havoc made about the years 1680 to 1684, my father constantly attended meetings, and never missed, as I remember, when well. He was sometimes concerned to speak by way of exhortation to Friends in their public meetings, when they were kept out of their meeting houses, by the then powers, to stand faithful to the truth and testifying of the solid comfort and satisfaction those had who truly waited on the Lord, which the faithful enjoyed, notwithstanding their deep and many sufferings for Christ's sake and his gospel; and it pleased the Lord to preserve him by his divine providence, that he did not suffer imprisonment, though the wicked informers were very busy in that time of severe persecution. I may further add, that when my father was about sixty years of age, he had a concern to visit Friends in the north of England, and some other parts of the nation; and in the seventy-fifth year of his age he travelled to Chester, and from thence, in company with James Bates, a public Friend of Virginia, went over for Ireland; in all which services he had good satisfaction, and was well received of Friends: divers other journeys and travels he performed, not here noted; but this journey into another nation at seventy-five years of age, shows that age had not quenched his love and zeal for his Lord's work and service.

Our father's old age was attended with very great exercises: about his seventy-seventh year, as he was assisting his men in the dusk of the evening, he missed his footing, fell down and broke his leg; and soon after his leg was well, he met with another accident by a fall, which disabled him, and made him lame to his death, never recovering the hurt, which was after this manner; he was sitting in a chair by his door, on a plank, which not being set fast, it fell, and he, to save himself from the stroke of the plank, fell with his hip on the stones, and got hurt exceedingly. Notwithstanding this, he was remarkable for his activity; he would walk, though so aged, and also lame, as far as the work house, Devonshire house, and Bull and Mouth meetings, two or three miles from home. The last bad accident that befel him was about three weeks before his death, when, being walking in the timber yard, a single plank which stood against a pile, fell down, and striking him on his side, threw him down. He complained not much of the blow till about a week after, when he was taken with a violent pain in his side, on the place where he received the stroke, and when his cough took him, with which he was often troubled, the pain was very great. Through the means used for his relief, he received some ease, the pain of his side abated, and the cough went off; but a violent flux followed, and brought him very low, so that it was thought he could not continue long; but he revived. He continued all the time of his illness in a patient and resigned frame of mind; on first-day, in the afternoon, he took his bed, being the 6th of the first month, and in the evening, after the afternoon meeting, which was the first-day before his death, several Friends came to visit him, who finding him very weak, after a little stay went to take their leave of him, whom he desired to sit down, and after some time of silence, he broke forth in declaration in an intelligible and lively manner, to this effect, saying, "We have no continuing city here, but seek one to come, which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God: Friends, may we all labour to be prepared for our last and great change, that when this earthly tabernacle shall be dissolved, we may have an habitation with the Lord, a building not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. And that it might be thus, the Lord hath showed thee, Oh! man, what is good, viz: To do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God. I do not expect but that this will be the last night I shall have in this world, and I desire these things may be remembered, as the words of a dying man; Oh! that we may labour to be clothed upon

with our house that is from heaven, so that when the finishing hour comes, we may have nothing to do but to die." About one or two o'clock the next morning, he began to change, and desired to see me; I came to him and found him very sensible, but expected his end quickly to approach; he saying he was waiting for his change. About the fourth hour in the morning he prayed fervently after this manner: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people. Thou hast given thy Son, a light to enlighten the gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel; and now, Lord be with thy people and servants, and preserve my near and dear relations, and keep them from the snares and temptations of the enemy, that in thy truth they may fear thy great name."

After a little time of silence he desired me to remember his dear love, in the life of Christ Jesus, to my dear brother, Thomas Chalkley, in Pennsylvania, and to all his old friends and acquaintance. After some time he spoke cheerfully out aloud, so that all in the room might hear him, "I shall go off about five;" his man said, "Master, how dost know?" To which he answered, "I do not know, but I believe it." About noon, the apothecary, one of his neighbours, among whom he was well beloved, came to see him, and asked him how he was? Father answered, that for three or four hours in the night he thought he should have gone. Why, said he, it will be no surprise to you, I hope. No, no, said my father, very cheerfully. He taking leave of father, said, the Lord be with you. To whom he answered, and with thee also. The doctor having ordered him a cordial to drink, he drank it willingly, and then said, I do not think to drink any more in this world; but I hope I shall drink plentifully of the river of life. Finding his strength fail, there being a cord at the bed's feet, he raised himself up thereby as long as he had strength; when last lifted up, he spoke very low and faltering, and said, now I am going, and about an hour after, laying all the while without sigh or groan, departed this life, as in a slumber, in sweet peace, just as the clock struck five, in the enjoyment of that legacy which our Saviour left his followers; "My peace I leave with you," &c., leaving us, of the succeeding generation, a good example to follow. He died like a lamb, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, the 7th day of the first month, 1725-6.

GEORGE CHALKLEY.

To which account I shall add the follow-

ing short testimony concerning my dear and greatly beloved father, George Chalkley, viz:

I have a great deal in my heart, more than I can write concerning my dear father's life, it having been a remarkable life to me from my youth up. His early care of me, and counsel to me, when I was too thoughtless and wild, melts me into tears now in the remembrance of it; and my tender mother was a partner with him in the same exercise, and she died in like peace. The last words I heard her speak were, I long to be dissolved. And as to my tender father, I would record a little briefly in memory of him, that he was a true and faithful servant of Christ, and a tender and affectionate husband. I lived at home with my parents about twenty years: their life was a life of peace and love, and they were an excellent example to us their children. Oh! may we follow them therein to the end!

He had a fatherly care for his children, in tender prayers for us, and in good advice to us, and in giving us learning according to his ability, and teaching us by his example, as well as precept, industry, humility, and the true religion of our blessed Saviour, endeavouring to plant it in us betimes, and to destroy the evil root of sin in us, while young.

I was his servant as well as his son, and I can truly say his service was delightful, and his company pleasing and profitable to me; and he was also beloved much by his other servants. He was universally beloved by his neighbours, and I do not remember any difference between him and them, in the many years I lived with him; but all was peace and love.

He was very loving to his relations, and true to his friends, and a hearty well wisher and lover of his king and country.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

Our general meeting held at Frankford the 30th of fourth month, was large, our friend William Pigot, from London, being there, in the course of his visit to Friends in America, and had close work and good service.

In the fifth month, 1726, I visited the meetings of Friends at Philadelphia, Germantown, Byberry and Frankford, and had very comfortable satisfaction. My testimony was sometimes pretty sharp to transgressors, and therefore some of them hate me, as the Jews did my great Master; because I was concerned to testify, that their deeds were evil, and to excite my friends to manifest a Christian zeal, by openly denying ungodly men, while they continue in their ungodly works; but when they become truly penitent, and reform their



lives, the arms of Christ and his church, will be open to receive them.

Being under some melancholy thoughts, because some persons for whom I wished well, and to whom I had been of service, were so envious and malicious as to tell false stories of me, tending to defame me; as I was riding to our meeting, it opened with satisfaction to my mind, the more my enemies hate me, the more I will love, if that can be. I had hearty desires to come up in the practice of this resolution; and I then thought I should come up with them all, for if a man loves and prays for his enemies, if they are gained, he is instrumental to their good, and so hath cause of rejoicing; and if they are not gained, he heaps coals of fire upon their heads; so that every true Christian, by keeping under the cross of Christ, and in the practice of his doctrine, gets the better of his enemies.

In the beginning of the sixth month, I was at the burial of Robert Fletcher, a worthy man, and one universally beloved by all sorts of people, as far as ever I heard. There was a large meeting at his funeral, wherein several testimonies suitable to the occasion were borne: some of his last words were mentioned, which were, that he had lived according to the measure of grace given him. The doctrine of the resurrection was maintained according to the Scripture, and the people were exhorted to prepare for their final change. The death of this Friend was a loss to the country, to our Society, and to his neighbours, as well as to his family and friends.

After meeting I travelled towards Uwchland, had a meeting there on first-day; on second-day, one at Lewis Walker's, and on third-day was at the general meeting at Haverford. Friends were exhorted to dwell in the love of God, one towards another; for if they lost their love they would lose their religion, their peace, and their God; for "God is love, and those that dwell in God, dwell in love."

My neighbour, Daniel Worthington, accompanied me in this rough travel, some part of the way being hilly, and very stony and bushy, and the weather wet. We had four meetings, and rode about fourscore miles; and though I had travelled much in this province, I had never been at some of those places before. A few nights before I set out, I had a plain prospect of them in a dream, as I saw them afterwards, which I thought somewhat remarkable.

The people inhabiting this province are now become numerous, and make many settlements in the woods, more than I have ob-

served in my travels in any other of the British plantations; and there hath long been a desire in my mind that they might prosper in the work of true and thorough reformation. A godly fear and concern being upon me, I have sometimes put them in mind of the state of this land, when their fathers first came and settled in it; and cautioned them against growing careless, and forgetting the Lord, lest he should forsake them, and turn their now "fruitful fields into a barren wilderness," as this was so lately; which it is easy with him to do, if he pleases, for the sins of the people.

After my return home, I visited Abington youths' meeting, and the meetings at Philadelphia and Chester. At Chester I was concerned to direct the people to that power in themselves, which is the life of religion, and exhorted them to be careful not to rest in the best forms without it; for if we had only the form of godliness, and had not the life and power of it, it might be as reasonable for people to turn away from us, as it was for our forefathers to turn away from other societies.

In the seventh month I was at our yearly meeting held at Burlington, for the provinces of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, which was a very large meeting, there being Friends from New-England, Rhode Island, and Europe.

First-day morning I went to Evesham, to the burial of our serviceable friend Jervise Stockdale; he being in good esteem, there was much people. The meeting was in a good, tender frame, and continued several hours, in which divers testimonies were delivered, in order to stir up people to truth and righteousness, and godly living, that they might die well. I lodged the night before at Peter Fearon's, and in the morning I was awakened out of my sleep, as it were by a voice, expressing these words: "He that liveth and believeth in me shall never die." This I took to be the voice of Christ; I do not know that it was vocal, but it was as plain as if it were. From these expressions I had to observe to the people, the happy state and privilege of those who live and believe in Christ, and that such must not live in sin.

During the time of our yearly meeting, some rude people came up the river in a small sloop, provided by them for that purpose, and spent their time in drinking, carousing, and firing of guns, to the grief and concern of Friends, who were religiously discharging their duty, in serving and worshipping the Almighty. It is observable, that one of these disorderly persons had his hand shot off at that time, and that the chief promoters

and actors in this riotous company were soon after cut off by death; in the prime of their days.

After the general meeting was over, which ended well, Friends, in the love of God, departed in peace for their several habitations, praising and glorifying God.

In the beginning of the eighth month, having some business at Cape May, I ferried over to Gloucester, and went the first night to James Lord's, lodged there, got up before day, it being first-day morning, and rode near thirty miles to Salem, where we had a good meeting, and so went to Alloway's creek, Cohansey, and through a barren wilderness to Cape May, where we had one meeting, and returned home by way of Egg Harbour; travelling upwards of two hundred miles. At Cape May I was concerned to write a few lines concerning swearing, as follows :

"Christians ought not to swear in any case, for these reasons: First, because Christ, their Lord, forbade it; unto whom the angels in heaven must be subject, and doubtless, so must mortal man, to whom he gave the precept. We must and ought to be subject to Christ, who is Lord of lords, and King of kings, and the Judge of quick and the dead: to him all mortals must be accountable for their disobedience. He says, in his sermon on the mount, 'I say unto you swear not at all;' wherefore, how can Christians, or such who are his friends, swear, since he says also, 'Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you;' consequently, those who disobey his commands must be his enemies. To this command it is objected, that Christ only spoke against common or profane swearing: but this must needs be a great mistake, because Christ says, 'It was said in old time, thou shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths,' alluding to the law of Moses, which oaths were solemn and religious; therefore Christ did not only prohibit vain and profane swearing, but all swearing. If we understand the word *all*, and what *all* signifies, then all and any swearing whatsoever, is not lawful for a Christian, according to Christ's law and command, which is positive to his followers.

"Second; James, the holy apostle of Christ, our lawgiver and our king, says, 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath.' Christ says, 'Swear not at all;' and James his disciple and apostle, says, 'Swear not by any oath;' wherefore, if swearing on the Bible be an oath, or is swearing at all, it is contrary to the express doctrine of Christ, and his apostle James, as is plain from the above cited texts.

"Third; the primitive Christians did not swear at all, in the first ages of Christianity. Query, whether our modern swearing Christians are better than the primitive ones, who, for Christ and conscience sake, could not swear at all, even before a magistrate, though legally called?

"Fourth; many Christians have suffered death, because for conscience sake, they could not swear, and so break the command of Christ their Lord; and do not our modern Christians trample upon their testimony and sufferings? some of whom suffered death for not swearing before the heathen magistrates, and some were martyred by the Papists; judge then whether the persecuted or persecutors were in the right.

"Fifth; many of our worthy friends and forefathers, since the former, have suffered to death in jails, for not swearing, when required by persecuting Protestants, because for Christ's sake and sayings, as above, they could not swear at all: and this is a testimony which our Society hath constantly borne ever since we have been a people, for the reasons above, and more also, which, if there were occasion, might be given."

The 23d of the eighth month I was at the morning meeting at Philadelphia, on a first-day of the week, which was large, and I was concerned therein to exhort Friends to labour to purge and cleanse our Society of those under our profession who live in open profaneness, and are riotous in their conversations. I was at the Bank meeting in the afternoon, where we had a comfortable time: and the next sixth-day of the week, I was at our monthly meeting, where it was unanimously agreed, in consideration of some late indecent conduct of some persons pretending to be of our profession, that a testimony from that meeting should go forth against such disorderly doings, and unchristian practices; and that all such persons, who were irregular in their conversations, be disowned to be of our community, until they, by repentance, manifest their reformation; which was accordingly soon after published, and read in our first-day morning meeting, and in our youths' meeting.

About this time our governor issued a seasonable proclamation against drinking to excess, gaming, swearing profanely, revelling, night walking, and disturbing the peace, and other immoralities; which afforded some satisfaction to sober and well inclined Friends and others: yet there remained a great exercise and concern upon my mind, that some young people, whose parents had been careful in training them up, were grown so wicked, that by their extravagant conduct, they not only disturbed our religious meetings, but likewise became



obnoxious to the peaceable government we live under.

In the ninth month I was at meetings at Merion, Germantown, Fairhill, Abington, and Philadelphia, in which were several marriages solemnized in a religious manner. In the tenth month I went into the county of Salem, about my affairs: it happened to be the time of the quarterly meeting for Salem and Gloucester counties; but I did not know it, until I came to Salem, where Friends were glad to see me, as I also was to see them; there were some of us whose hearts were knit together as Jonathan's and David's, the love of God being much shed abroad in our hearts at that meeting. When it was over, and I had finished my business, I could not be clear in my mind without having some meetings; and though it was a sickly time, and people died pretty much in those parts where we were going, James Lord and I, in the love of Christ, visited the meetings at Alloway's creek, Cohansey, Pilesgrove, Woodbury, Newton, and Haddonfield, having meetings every day in the week, except the last, and sometimes riding nearly twenty miles after meeting, the days being at the shortest, and the weather very cold; but the Lord was with us, which made amends for all the bodily hardships we met with.

I got home well, but weary; and was joyfully received by my loving spouse, children, and servants; and I was truly thankful to the Most High, for his presence and goodness continued to me; so that, though I perceived my bodily strength to decline apace, my sight, hearing, and voice, failing much, I have occasion to believe, at times I was helped even beyond nature in the work of Christ, my dear Lord and Master.

The 27th of the tenth month, I heard the news of the death of my dear friend John Lee, by one sent to desire my company at his burial; it affected me with sorrow, he being an old acquaintance and friend of mine, with whom I had travelled many miles. He was a living, serviceable minister of the gospel of Christ, and instrumental to convince divers of that principle of divine light and truth which we profess. I could not be at his burial; because of my indisposition, and the unseasonableness of the weather; yet I think it my duty to say this concerning him; that our love and friendship were constant and entire unto the end, having been acquainted about thirty-five years, as near as I can remember.

In the eleventh month, as I was meditating in my closet, on the duty and beauty of that great virtue of temperance, it appeared very bright to the view of my mind, and the great benefit of it to those who loved and lived in

it. First, as to religion, it tends to keep the mind in an even temper, which is a help to devotion, and the practice of religious duties. Second, it is a great preservative to health and a good constitution. Third, it is a blessing to posterity, in many considerations. Whereas, intemperance destroys the health, stains the reputation, hurts posterity, in respect to a healthy constitution of body and estate, ruins many families, brings to poverty and disgrace, and what is yet worst of all, is a great let to religion and the true fear of God, and is a great scandal to any who make profession of the Christian religion.

In this month I accompanied William Pigot, who lately arrived from London, on a religious visit to the meetings of Friends in America. From Philadelphia we went to my house at Frankford, and from thence to North Wales, and had two large satisfactory meetings on the first-day; next day were at the monthly meeting at Abington, third-day at Frankford, and fourth-day at Germantown. Fifth-day I went to Philadelphia week-day meeting, and the said Friend to Abington general meeting, and a few days after we met again at the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia.

The 8th of the twelfth month was our youths' meeting at Frankford; and many persons dying about this time, I was concerned in the meeting to put Friends in mind of their mortality; and that I had told Friends lately, at their meetings at Abington and Philadelphia, that as I was riding from my house to Philadelphia, about a mile from the city, I saw in the vision of life, the hand of the Lord stretched over the city and province, with a rod in it, in order to correct the inhabitants for their sins and iniquities. This sight affected my mind greatly, and although I did not hear any vocal voice, nor see any visible hand, yet it was as plainly revealed to me as though I had. I understood some slighted that testimony, yet I observed to them, that since that time, more people were taken away than common, as they now might see; and indeed that inward sight and sense I had of the displeasure of God, for the sins of the times, made great impression on my mind; and that no flesh might glory, the Lord took, from the evil to come, several sober, well inclined young people, as well as others whose lives and conversations were evil and vicious; so that all had need to be watchful and turn to the Lord, lest he come at unawares, and call us suddenly out of the world unprepared. In the twelfth and first months many died, of all ages and professions; and now some, who would hardly give credit to what I had delivered in several meetings, began to see the

fulfilling of it, and great talk there was about it: and many solid and large meetings we had with the people at divers funerals about this time, exhorting them not to slight the present visitation of the Almighty, but to prepare for eternity, to meet the Judge of quick and dead, who stands at the door. Among many that were taken away by death, were some few of my particular friends; and first, dear Hannah Hill, who was a bright example of piety and charity; she was like a nursing mother to me in my afflictions, and her husband was more like a brother than one not related, whose generous entertainment I may not forget. Thomas Griffith, and Elizabeth his wife, died also about this time. Thomas was a serviceable man, and well esteemed in our Society; and his wife, a noted woman for being helpful to, and visiting the sick: she chose the house of mourning, rather than the house of mirth. These were worthy ancients, who made peaceful and good ends, and to whom may be properly applied that remarkable text of Scripture, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

In the second month, 1727, I proceeded on a voyage to Barbadoes, on account of business, for the support of my family, and in order to discharge my just debts, which were occasioned by great losses by sea and land. Many of my friends were kind to me, and sent a cargo of goods, in the sloop John, Anthony Peel, master, consigned to me for sales and returns. When the vessel was loaded, she proceeded down the river, and I went by land to Salem, and was at meeting there on first-day, and on third-day went on board the sloop at Elsenborough. On the 8th of the second month, we took in our boats and anchors, and proceeded to sea. From Elsenborough and the Capes, I wrote to my wife, giving her an account how it was with me, and encouraged her to bear my absence with patience: it was indeed very hard for us to part.

I may not omit taking notice of an exercise which I felt one night as I lay on my bed in Philadelphia, on the 21st of the first month, my sleep being taken from me, which I recollected and wrote down on board the aforesaid vessel, and was in this manner:

"That the Lord was angry with the people of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, because of the great sins and wickedness which were committed by the inhabitants in public houses, and elsewhere. That the Lord was angry with the magistrates also, because they use not their power as they might do, in order to suppress wickedness; and do not, so much as they ought, put the laws already made, into

execution against profaneness and immorality: and the Lord is angry with the representatives of the people of the land, because they take not so much care as they ought to do to suppress vice and wickedness, and wicked houses, in which our youth are grossly corrupted: and also the Lord is angry with many of the better sort of the people, because they seek after and love the things of this world, more than the things of his kingdom. It was showed me that the anger of the Most High would still be against us, until there was a greater reformation in these things." It is worthy of commendation, that our governor, Thomas Lloyd, sometimes in the evening, before he went to rest, used to go in person to public houses, and order the people he found there to their own houses, till at length, he was instrumental to promote better order, and did, in a great measure, suppress vice and immorality in the city.

For some days after we were at sea, the weather was pleasant, and we had our health, for which my heart was truly thankful. I exhorted the sailors against swearing; and though they had been much used to it, they left it off, so that it was rare to hear any of them swear; for which reformation, so far, I was glad. I lent and gave them several good books, which they read, and showed much respect to me; but soon after the wind was contrary for some days, and some in the vessel were quarrelsome. I asked them what they thought of the saying of Christ, "If a man smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also;" at which they were silent, and of a better disposition to one another afterwards, and we had some reformation both from fighting and swearing. During this voyage I was not so sea sick as I formerly had been, which I took as a peculiar favour from heaven. About the latitude of twenty degrees north, we met with calms and contrary winds, which were very hard for some in the vessel to bear, they putting themselves much out of temper about it. For my part, I had been used to disappointments, and therefore did not so much mind it. I spent pretty much of my time in reading and writing, and God being gracious, it was, in the main, a comfortable time to me; and I enjoyed my health as well as ever I did at sea in my life, for which I often breathed forth inward thanks to the Almighty. On the fifth of the third month we arrived at Barbadoes, and I was lovingly received by our friends, but came to a very low market for my goods.

I visited Friends' meetings on the island, and had several open meetings at Bridgetown, and Speight's-town, and likewise at Pumpkin-hill, and the Spring. On the day of Pentecost,



so called, we had a meeting at Bridgetown, in which was shown the work and operation of God's spirit on the old world, and under the law; and the everlasting duration and operation of the same holy Spirit under the gospel dispensation, which Christ said should abide forever. At the quarterly meeting at Speight's-town, were Judge Allen, and the captain of a man-of-war stationed there, with several others, not of our Society. I was much drawn forth in this meeting to speak of the power of the Father, Son, and the Spirit, opening to the people how we had been misrepresented in respect to our belief in the trinity, or the holy Three, which bear record in heaven, the Father, Word, and Spirit, which three are one; for that it was clear and plain we are more orthodox in our belief in the Deity, than those who do not believe in the operation of the Holy Ghost; as also that none could be true Christians without it. It was queried, how could they be clear in their belief in the holy trinity, or the three that bear record in heaven, who believe the holy Spirit has ceased his operations, gifts, or immediate revelations, and if ceased, when, and where, to whom, and how? The people were very sober and attentive, and staid sometime after the meeting was done, and divers expressed their satisfaction with what was said. My good friend Peter Sharp, of Maryland, was with me at this meeting, on whose account some of the people came. He had good service in the meeting, and I was glad of his company in this island, where we joyfully met and parted in the love of Christ. At this meeting we had each of us a certificate from Friends, signifying their unity with our conversation and services. The last meeting I had at Barbadoes was at Speight's-town, on a first-day. It was a solid, good meeting, in which I took my leave of Friends there, and exhorted them to believe in and hear Christ, he being a teacher that could not be removed from them, as men often were; and though they were but few, they were desired to meet in Christ's name; and I had to show them the difference between us and other Christian professors, who hold no public worship, if there be no outward teacher: whereas, if but two or three meet in the name of Christ, he has promised to be in the midst of them; and he is the best teacher we can have.

On the 14th of the fourth month we set sail from this island, and for the most part, had fair weather and fair winds, and saw several ships, but spoke with none.

I was one evening leaning over the side of the vessel, being very lonesome, and having little conversation with any in the vessel, for divers reasons, I turned from all outward

things to the Lord, and was glad to feel his presence and goodness, which was a comfort to me in my lonesome state; and as my travels and concerns had called and caused me to be much on the seas, it also pleased my good and gracious God, to support me thereon many times, in trials, temptations, and exercises; for all which, I bow in awful reverence before him, and return thanksgiving and praise to his great name.

The 1st of the fifth month, about noon, we came to the Capes of Delaware, and sailed up the bay; but in a little time, we touched the ground with our vessel several times; there being little wind we got no harm; but two hours after, or thereabouts, a gust, or storm of wind took us, which, if it had met with us on the shoals where we struck, in all likelihood we must have perished; which I took to be a remarkable deliverance. Next tide we got to Newcastle, and it being first-day, I had a meeting with Friends there, with which we were greatly refreshed in the Lord, and in one another. After meeting I went on board the sloop, and having a fair wind, we sailed for Philadelphia, where we arrived about the eleventh hour, lodged that night at Paul Preston's, and next day went home to my family at Frankford, where my wife, children, and servants, received me with much rejoicing.

While I was in Barbadoes, P. M., who accompanied me from Bridgetown to counsellor Weeks', told me, that when I was in the island before, he and I had some discourse concerning the use of the sword; he then not being of our Society, wore a sword, but now had left it off, and his business also, which was worth some hundreds a year. I had reminded him of Christ's words, that "Those who take the sword, shall perish with the sword." "Resist not evil, and if a man smite thee on one cheek, turn the other also: love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, pray for them who despitefully use you, and persecute you." After I had used these arguments, he asked me, if one came to kill me, would I not rather kill than be killed? I told him, no; so far as I knew my own heart, I had rather be killed than kill. He said that was strange, and desired to know what reason I could give for it. I told him, that I being innocent, if I were killed in my body, my soul might be happy; but if I killed him, he dying in his wickedness, would consequently be unhappy; and if I were killed, he might live to repent; but if I killed him, he would have no time to repent; so that if he killed me, I should have much the better, both in respect to myself and to him. This discourse had made so much impression, and so affected him, that he said he could not but

often remember it. And when we parted at Bridgetown, we embraced each other in open arms of Christian love, far from that which would hurt or destroy.

After I had been at home some time, I visited the meetings at Philadelphia, Burlington and Germantown; in which places I had service of divers kinds, and was lovingly received by Friends and others.

In the fifth month, Joshua Fielding and John Oxley had a large and satisfactory meeting at Frankford. Joshua came from London on a religious visit to America, and having been on divers islands, he landed on the main at South Carolina, and from thence travelled through the wilderness four hundred miles, or more, where no public Friend had ever travelled before: the journey was perilous, but the Lord was with him; who may, in his own time, make way for his servants in those desert places. John Oxley came on the same account from Barbadoes, and had good service among Friends in his public ministry.

In this month we thinking it convenient to send our little children to school, and not having a schoolmaster of our Society near us, concluded to put our son and daughter under the care of Nathaniel Walton, to whom I thought it my duty to write a few lines about the salutations and language I would have them trained up in, which were on this wise:

“Frankford, 30th of Fifth month, 1727.

“Loving friend, Nathaniel Walton,

“I hope thou wilt excuse the freedom which I take with thee, in writing this on account of my children, in these particulars, viz: Respecting the compliment of the hat and courtesying, the practice thereof being against my professed principle: First, because I find nothing like it in the Bible; but, as I think, the contrary. Thou knowest the passage of the three children of God, who stood covered before a mighty monarch; and Mordecai, who could not bow to great Haman: Second, I believe those practices derived from vain, proud man. And as to language, I desire my children may not be permitted to use the plural language to a single person; but I pray thee to learn them to say thee, and thou, and thy, and to speak it properly, many using it improperly, and the rather I desire it, because it is all along used in the divine, inspired, holy writings. I suppose thou art not a stranger to its rise, being from the grandeur and apostasy of the Romish church; and also, that *you*, to a single person, is not consonant to the book of God, or the true rules of grammar. I know it is generally objected,

that the end of speech is to be understood; but it is understood better in and according to the language of God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost, in the Bible, and the language of kings, and all people, as we read it in the holy Scriptures; why then should we be ashamed of it, or shun it, and bring in and uphold a custom contrary to it? The same care I would have thee take about the names of the days and months, which are derived from the names of the gods of the heathen, and are not found in the Bible. I suppose I have the mind of all those of our Society in the above, it being consonant to our principle and profession, and I write in a motion of divine love to all.

“As to the school learning of my children, I leave it to thy management, not questioning thy ability therein; and if they want correction, spare not the rod.

“I hope thou wilt observe this direction in teaching my children, in which thou wilt oblige thy assured friend,

“THOMAS CHALKLEY.”

The latter end of the fifth, and the beginning of the sixth months, the weather was exceedingly hot, so that several people died suddenly of the heat, as it was supposed.

The beginning of the sixth month I was at the youths' meeting at Abington, which was large, and open to many; and I not having been there since I came from sea, divers expressed their gladness to see me; and we were that day favoured with some showers, both celestial and elementary, to our comfort.

In the same month I was also at the youths' meeting in Philadelphia; it had been a sickly time, but many had recovered. That passage opened on my mind, to speak of in the meeting, concerning the lepers whom Christ cleansed and healed, being ten in number, and that but one came to return thanks to God, for being healed and restored to health. Friends were exhorted to prize their health, and to show their thankfulness to God the giver of it, by fearing and serving him, and taking heed to Christ, the Word, in their hearts. The meeting was in a good, solid frame, and we praised the Lord together, and gave him thanks for his merciful visitation.

About this time I heard of the death of our king, George I., a prince whom I loved and honoured; which news was very sorrowful to me on divers accounts; his love and kindness to our Society was well worthy of our grateful remembrance.

On a third-day, being our week-day meeting at Frankford, Elizabeth Whartnaby and Mary Smith were there; it was a comfortable opportunity: they were two nights at my



house. Elizabeth was preparing to leave this land for Barbadoes and Europe, intending a religious visit to Friends.

The 20th of the sixth month, going into my closet, I there met with a paper of my son-in-law, Isaac Brown's, and finding the contents were religious, as I had done of several of his late writings, I found it on my mind to write to him after this manner:

"My dear son, Isaac,

"By several writings of thine, of late, I perceive that a good thing is at work in thy mind, the which I pray the all wise and infinite Being to promote in thy heart, to thy eternal salvation, and his glory. I now begin to be in some hopes that my prayers and tears for thee, in the Lord's time, may be answered; and I do believe, if thou keepest low in thy mind, that God will more and more visit thee. The advice of David to his son Solomon, when he also gave him the kingdom, comes before my mind to give thee: 'My son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind; for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts; if thou seek him, he will be found of thee: but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever.' Dear Isaac, this was counsel from one of the greatest and best of kings, to a wise young prince, who petitioned the Almighty for divine wisdom, before riches, or honour, or long life; which petition so pleased God, that he answered his request, and over and above, blessed him in an extraordinary manner.

"I perceive thou art inclined to read pretty much; I pray thee, that thy chief study in books may be the holy Scriptures. Let all other books, though of use, and good in their places, be subservient to them; for their authority, of all other writings, to the true believers in Christ, is most divine; they having a supernatural spring and divine evidence in them to virtuous and pious readers. Thou, my son, wilt much comfort the heart of thy tender mother, and of me thy loving and careful father, if thou followest and perseverest in the ways of virtue and truth; which, that thou mayest, is the prayer of thy affectionate father-in-law,

"THOMAS CHALKLEY."

The latter end of the sixth month I went to the general meeting of ministers and elders for the east part of New-Jersey, and to the quarterly and youths' meeting at Burlington, and to a general meeting at Stony-brook, and to the quarterly meeting of the county of Bucks. John Oxley, of Barbadoes, and Joshua Fielding, of London, were at divers

of those meetings; wherein we had open, seasonable opportunities; and I had a large, affecting account from Joshua, of his long and difficult travels in the service of truth to the West India isles, and thence to South Carolina, from whence he came through the wilderness, by land, through North Carolina, Virginia, &c., to this province.

The 16th of the seventh month began our yearly meeting at Philadelphia, which was attended with the gracious presence of God, to the comfort and great satisfaction of many souls. In this meeting divers young men and young women appeared, who were lately come forth in the ministry, and as I believe, had received a measure of the gift of Christ's gospel; which was cause of rejoicing to the faithful among us, and excited our thanksgiving and praises to the Almighty Lord of heaven and earth.

At this meeting we had the company of four ministers from Great Britain, and one from Barbadoes, and many from divers other parts, it being a very large gathering of some thousands of people, as was believed, in which many were strengthened in their faith in Christ, and comforted through the power of the Holy Ghost, that blessed comforter, which Christ promised to his church, who should be with them for ever, and guide them into all truth.

Next first-day after the yearly meeting, I, with several of my neighbours, went over Delaware to a meeting up Pensawken creek; in which the wonderful love of God was declared, in sending his Son upon earth, who, as he was man, died for man, and is now by his spirit present with all those that truly believe in him; he being the messenger of the covenant of God to mankind. On second-day, the 25th of the seventh month, I had the sorrowful tidings of the death of my beloved friend James Lord; who on his death-bed, desired that I might be sent for to his burial. In the consideration of that Christian love which was between us, I think I may truly note, that we were always glad to meet each other; therefore the thoughts of this so sudden change and final parting, brought, for the present, a sadness and heaviness over my mind; considering his station in that neighbourhood, and service in that congregation to which he did belong; for therein he was well beloved, and very serviceable.

And, Oh! the loss that his dear wife and tender children will have of him, really affects me with sorrow in penning these notes; but the sorrow, in these things, is all on our side; for he, without doubt, is at rest with his great Master in heaven. We had a larger meeting at his funeral than ever was known to be

there before, as an ancient Friend told me, which was solemn and serviceable to many.

Some time after, having been at divers meetings about home, John Oxley and I, in company, visited Friends on Long island. At Flushing we were at the burial of Jonathan Dickinson: many people of divers persuasions, were at the meeting on that occasion, and were very sober and attentive. I was at the yearly meeting for the south side of the island, at a place called Sequetague, which meeting was large, many Friends and others coming to it over the Plains. I was afterwards at the yearly meeting at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, which held three days, and was very large, and the last day the people were very still. Joshua Fielding was at this meeting, and was therein concerned to preach the gospel of Christ with good authority, and matter suitable to a true gospel minister; John Oxley was ill of a fever, so that he could not be there; but there were brethren from divers parts, and the power and presence of the Most High was with and among us; blessed be his name.

I was also at Rahway river, where was a solid, good meeting. From thence I returned home, having been abroad about a month, and at above twenty meetings, and travelled above three hundred and fifty miles.

In the eighth month, at Frankford, we had three burials out of one house, at one time; the mother, daughter, and grand-daughter, of which I had never known the like instance before. On this occasion we had the company of many neighbours, and a very solemn meeting at our meeting house at Frankford.

About this time I was at meetings at Philadelphia, Abington and Burlington: we had an evening meeting at Burlington, with Richard Smith, jr., who had been so ill that he could not get out to meetings for some months: it was such a satisfactory meeting, that he and I, and others who were there, will not easily forget it, our hearts being broken together.

The world still continued to frown upon me; but though this was the case, yet at times, I had great consolation in Christ; and in the midst of my troubles, when I looked back, I could truly say that I had not been extravagant, but frugal; not covetous, but charitable; not idle, but industrious; not willing to be such an infidel as not to take care for my family. This was some solid comfort to my mind; and I bless the Almighty, that I always preferred his work and service to my own, and therein had great peace. This I can also say, if it were the last I should say, that I never wilfully, or knowingly, wronged any man, woman, or child, since I came to years of discretion; and yet I have nothing

to boast of; it is the Lord's grace and mercy which saveth us.

Having occasion to make another voyage to Barbadoes, I wrote to the teacher of my children as followeth:

"Frankford, 10th of Tenth month, 1727.

"Loving friend,

"Being about to embark for Barbadoes, I leave the charge of my little children to thy care, not doubting thy management of them, by their growing in their learning; please to instruct them to sobriety and the fear of God, and faith in Christ; and if I should never see them nor thee any more, our lives being uncertain in this world, pray let them know that it was their father's will and desire, that they should mind their learning, and above all things, mind the fear of the Most High. When my little daughter hath read her testament through, I would have her go to writing; and George the same, on the same terms. Please to learn them the use of chapter and verse, that if any ask them where they are learning, they may tell. And kind friend, inasmuch as I perceive thou hast followed my former directions, I look on myself obliged to thee; therefore am so much the more free to impart my mind to thee, now on my departure; which, with real love, is from thy loving friend,

"THOMAS CHALKLEY.

"P. S. Although my care is great for my children's learning their books, yet it is much more so as to their learning true piety and virtue."

On the 25th of the tenth month we set sail from Philadelphia in the sloop Dove, Oswald Peel, master; having taken a solemn farewell of my dear wife, children and friends, in order for the support of my family, and answering my just debts, which I had contracted. On the 27th day of the month, in the evening, we took in our boat and put to sea; had some rough weather in our passage, but lived comfortably; we being all loving and obliging one to another. On the 15th of the eleventh month, we safely arrived at Speight's-town, in Barbadoes; and the 18th, between the hours of five and six in the morning, we felt the greatest earthquake that I had ever felt; having been sensible of three, one at London, one at Jamaica, and one at Frankford, in Pennsylvania. I was thankful in my heart to the Lord for my safe arrival, and that we were all preserved safe in our stormy passage, and deeply loaded vessel; one vessel being lost that came out a little time before us; and another, which came from our port to this



island a few days sooner than we, lost three men by the violence of the storm, and received much damage otherwise; one of them being a neighbour of mine, with whom I was well acquainted, it affected my mind very much. I visited Friends' meetings in Barbadoes, and some divers times over; and had occasion in some meetings to mention the earthquake, which I told them I did believe was a visitation from the Almighty, in order to put people in mind of mortality, and to reform them from the evil of their ways, and call them to repentance.

While I was in Barbadoes, Francis Gamble died, whom I went to visit several times in his sickness: at his funeral was a large gathering of his neighbours, and others; and divers, not of our Society, expressed their satisfaction with the meeting. The people in and about Speight's-town, in Barbadoes, were very loving and kind to me, more than I ever had observed before; even some vile, profane men, whom I could not forbear to reprove for their swearing, and taking the sacred name in vain, yet they showed respect, notwithstanding I reproved them sharply. Who can take the sacred name of God into their mouths in vain, and be guiltless? or who can hear it, and forbear reproving it, without being remiss in their duty? This great evil is too frequently practised in this rich (poor) island of Barbadoes; rich in earthly, but poor in heavenly treasure, which caused me many times to mourn in secret before the Almighty, praying him for the reformation of the people, for Christ's sake, and for the glory of his own eternal name.

The 27th of the first month, 1728, having done my business in Barbadoes, and seen Friends generally, an opportunity offered for my return home, in the brigantine Sarah and Mary, Samuel Gallop, master, bound for Burlington, in company with William Dury and William Callender, both of Barbadoes. Our master was exceedingly kind to us in the voyage. The wind hanging northerly, we could not go to windward, but drove to leeward, and sailed by the isles of Lucia, Martinico, Dominica, Guadaloupe, Antigua, Montserrat, Rondondo, Nevis, Christopher's, Eustatius, Saba, Martin's, Anguilla, Bartholomew's, Sombbrero, and four other small islands, which are called the Saints. It was very pleasant sailing by these islands, only some of them were so exceedingly high, that in some places we were becalmed, and the clouds appeared below the tops of the mountains. At Christopher's, which is counted the highest of them, there being a small river of good fresh water, we sent our boat on shore for some, having none very good on board: we lay off and on about

two hours, but did not come to. I was thankful for this water, it being my constant drink; it was also very serviceable to the people on board. After we left the isle of Sombbrero, we saw a sail, which we thought stood after us, and hearing at Christopher's that several Spanish privateers were on that coast, our master, and some others on board, were a little surprised; but we soon left her out of sight, and we afterwards went pleasantly on our way, till we came to the latitude of Bermuda, where the winds blew fresh, and much against us; and this winter having been very hard, we felt the sharp blasts of the latter end of it. We had a passage of about thirty days, and came very pleasantly up the bay and river; and it pleased God that I got home once more to my beloved wife and children, and was joyfully received by all my family, whom I found in a good degree of health; for which I did, as I had occasion to do, bless and praise the great name of the Most High, who is worthy for ever.

After I came home I was at many meetings in Pennsylvania and Jersey, viz: at Philadelphia, Burlington, Bristol, Byberry, Frankford, Germantown, New Hanover, Crosswicks, &c., in all which meetings I had some service to Friends' satisfaction, and was comforted with the goodness of God in the midst of my afflictions. My business lying much at Burlington, I spent pretty much of my time there for several weeks; where my friends manifested a tender and hearty respect towards me, and sympathized with me in my troubles and travels; and there I prepared for another voyage; for I was fully resolved, through divine assistance, to pay all my just debts, which I contracted, and lay on me, through many losses, or else to die in the pursuit of it; in which resolve I had inward peace and satisfaction; though such labour, travail, and separation from my family, was a great cross to nature.

On the 14th of the fifth month we went on board the brigantine Sarah and Mary, Samuel Gallop, master, for Barbadoes; and on the 16th we sailed down the bay and put to sea, and I wrote a loving, tender letter, to my wife and family, and another to my friends at Burlington. We had fair winds for about two weeks, after which they were contrary for several days, during which two of our men had a fever, and our vessel proved leaky, though tight in smooth water, which was some concern to us, and obliged us to pump every half hour; but the leak being much the same while at sea, we were the more easy about it: I took care of those two people that were sick, who soon recovered. The 3d and 4th days of the sixth month it was very

windy, with lightning, thunder and rain; in which rough weather one of our best sailors put his shoulder out of joint, and they brought him to me to see if I could do him any service. I was not forward to meddle; but the man and the people believing if I would undertake for him, I might help him; I told them that though I did not understand bone setting, I would instruct them the best I could; then I ordered him to sit down upon the deck, and to be stripped to the waist, and got a round piece of wood as thick as his arm, and wrapped a piece of cloth about it, that it might not bruise his flesh, and put it under his arm, and ordered two men, one at each end of it, to lift up strongly, and a third man to stretch his arm out, and keep it down withal; which being done, the bone went into its place; for which I was thankful in my heart to the Almighty. About the 10th of the sixth month we safely arrived at Speight's-town, in Barbadoes, being the first-day of the week. From whence I had an opportunity, by Alexander Seaton, master of a vessel bound to Pennsylvania, to send an account of our safe arrival.

I had many meetings in the island, and made several visits to sick persons, one of which was particularly to the satisfaction of the person visited and his relations: he died, and was buried at Hethcott's bay, and we had a large meeting at our meeting house, where were many people, and it was a good, seasonable opportunity; in which I had occasion to remind them of their mortality, and press them to a holy life, the way to a happy immortality. I had divers meetings at Bridgetown, Speight's-town, and the Spring; where the testimony of Christ's gospel was well received. After a stay of three weeks, I left Barbadoes on the 1st of the seventh month, and took my passage in the Amity, Charles Hargrave, master, who was very friendly to me in my passage, as were all on board. We arrived at our port without casting anchor in all our voyage, and laid the vessel to the wharf at Philadelphia; and on my landing, I immediately went into the meeting of ministers and elders, it being just meeting time, where we were much comforted together in Christ; after which I went home, being lovingly received by my wife and family, having been from home about ten weeks.

After I came home from this voyage, I visited the meetings of Friends at Philadelphia, Frankford, Germantown, the Falls of Delaware, Burlington, New Hanover, Mount Holly, Fairhill, &c.

The 2nd of the ninth month I was at the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, where I met with Joseph Taylor, a Friend who had visited our meetings

pretty generally on the continent of America, in the ministry of the gospel, and was now on his return homewards, with whose visit Friends had good unity, and certified the same to our brethren of the meeting where he lived in Great Britain.

After this I was at divers meetings in Pennsylvania and Jersey; and the latter end of the ninth month, Sarah, the wife of Jeremiah Elfreth, died very suddenly; having been the day before walking in her garden: she was a sober young woman, and her death was much lamented. Her burial occasioned my stay at Philadelphia, which I had shunned, because a concern had been on me for some time, to declare to the people of that city, that the Lord was angry with the legislators of Pennsylvania, because they were not so much concerned to promote religion and piety, as they ought, and to make such laws as might prevent the excessive increase of public houses, which often prove seminaries of satan; but strove to promote parties more than religion: and that the Lord was angry with the magistrates, because they did not so much as they might, and ought, to put those good and wholesome laws in execution, which were already made, against vice and immorality; and that the Lord was angry with some of the better sort of people, because they seek and mind the things of this world, more than the things of God and his kingdom. But I was helped to clear myself in the morning meeting to the satisfaction of many of the honest hearted, and unburden my mind of a great exercise that I had long laid under.

In the afternoon we had a large meeting at the Bank meeting house, occasioned by the aforesaid burial; the resurrection of the dead was declared in that meeting, according to the doctrine of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, the great author of the Christian religion, and also of the eminent apostle, Paul; and the old and false calumny, that our Society denied the resurrection of the dead, was publicly denied and refuted. The people were exhorted to live well, that they might die well; and then they need not doubt, but that they would rise well at the resurrection in the last day. The meeting concluded with praise to the Almighty for all his mercies, and prayer to him that he would sanctify that day's service to the people.

In the tenth month I prepared for another voyage to the island of Barbadoes, and had the ship Bristol Hope consigned to me, but the winter setting in sooner than common, caused our stay much longer than we expected, whereby I had the opportunity to visit divers meetings, as Burlington, the Falls of Delaware, Neshaminy, Wright's town, and Philadelphia.



In this city a concern was on my mind to declare to the people, that the Almighty had showed me, that he had often visited those in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania with his own hand, and with his rod; but if that did not work the designed end for which he visited them, of which they were told also before it came to pass, he then would chastise them with the rod of man, and this was as plainly spoken to me in my own habitation, as if it had been the voice of a man, though it was not vocal.

The 12th of the eleventh month, being first-day, I was at Horsham meeting, and had a tender bowing time therein; and in my way home visited some Friends who were sick, it being a time of general visitation in those parts; and the next seventh-day I was at the meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, where we had a good meeting. Here I was earnestly desired to be at the funeral of Edmond Orpwood, the eldest Friend belonging to Frankford meeting; but was in a strait, this Friend being my neighbour, and I had before engaged to be at the burial of one with whom I had been acquainted nearly forty years. I did my endeavour to be at both, being each of them buried in the afternoon, and five miles distant; the days being short also, divers told me it was impracticable. I told them they might be mistaken, as they were; for though we had a large meeting, and the company of Rowland Wilson, from Britain, who had large and good service therein, yet after meeting we mounted, and got to Philadelphia about a quarter of an hour after the corpse was brought into the meeting house, as I was informed. We had a large, and as I thought, a good meeting; after which I went home, being weary in my body, but thankful in my heart, that the Almighty had been with us, and helped us to perform that day's service.

On the 20th of the eleventh month, and second-day of the week, I went into a piece of ground, which I was clearing for meadow, in order to give directions to the workmen; one of the trees fell contrary to the kerf, and also to the wind, which was then at north-west, and when I saw it falling towards me, I ran from it, but before I could get out of the way, it fell upon me, across my back, from my shoulder to my hips, and struck me down to the earth, where for some time I lay speechless, and in all likelihood I should have been immediately killed, if I had not been providentially preserved by the body of the falling tree laying on a stump, which prevented its crushing me, as I lay on the ground. A Friend who was near me, with a horse, desired the wood-cutters, when they were reco-

vered from the surprise, and I to the use of my speech, to help me on his horse, and I rode home, but in extreme misery, and I was under great concern, lest I should surprise my wife and children suddenly. We sent to Philadelphia for Dr. Griffith Owen, who came in about two hours, and let me blood, and ordered several things to be applied and taken, which through divine favour, proved very serviceable to me; notwithstanding which, I was in great pain many days, and the nights were long and tedious, not being able either to feed myself, or to turn in my bed, for a great while. In this confinement I was at times favoured with a very comfortable sense of the presence of God, whose providence is over all his works; and as his love to me was great, so the love of his people was also, many of whom, and of my neighbours, came to see me, sympathizing with me in my distress; but among them I had one of Job's comforters, who wickedly abused me in this low state. I can scarcely forbear mentioning his name, having example for it in holy Writ, but through the Lord's help, I will put on charity.

The 9th of the twelfth month I got abroad the first time to our meeting at Frankford, with which divers expressed their gladness to see me there again. In this meeting I exhorted them to think on eternity, and to prepare for it, by living to-day, as though they were to die to-morrow; for I found it by experience to be needful, and then if sudden death comes, it will not surprise us.

As I now found it my business to go to sea for a livelihood, I undertook the charge of the ship *New Bristol Hope*, as master; though it was a way of living to which I did not incline. I took care in our vessel that there should be no swearing in my hearing, nor drunkenness, to my knowledge, without reproof; and if I could not be instrumental in that way to break them from swearing and drinking to excess, my manner was, to put them away, so that we generally had a pretty quiet ship. We left Philadelphia the 13th of the twelfth month, but storms and contrary winds detained us in the river and bay, so that we did not get out to sea till the 21st of said month, when the pilot left us, by whom I wrote to my wife and family. And now I thought I felt the benefit of the good wishes of my beloved friends whom I had left behind, which did me a great deal of good, as it often hath done on the like occasion; for faithful friends and good Christians, are as epistles written in one another's hearts. In our passage we took several dolphins, which were very welcome to us, we having a long passage, and our fresh provisions being nearly

spent. The 19th of the first month we saw the island of Barbadoes, having had several meetings on board the ship in this voyage: of the good effects I could see but little, only for that day they would be a little more sober, and some of them, addicted to swearing, did not swear so often as they did before. The day following we safely arrived at Speight's-town, where we had the next day a very comfortable meeting for the worship of God. The fifth-day following I was at Bridgetown, at their week-day meeting; and next first-day, being the 30th of the month, I was at a meeting at Pumpkin-hill, where I was enlarged on the doctrine of faith.

After this I went to the Bridge with a Friend from New England; we had two good meetings, it being the general meeting for the Friends of the island; and afterwards with several Friends, I went again to Speight's-town, and on the 12th of the second month I was at the Thicket meeting, at which were Counsellor Weeks, Colonel Charnock, and Justice Sims. I dined with them at Judge Weeks', and they discoursed of what was said in the meeting about dancing, I quoting Luther's words, "that as many paces as the person takes in the dance, so many paces or steps they take towards hell." I told them I had heard that several had used that vain exercise in our meeting house, which was appointed for the worship of God; and said I hoped for the future it would be so no more; two of those persons who danced in our meeting house, were then in the meeting, though I did not know it. This testimony so wrought on the colonel, that he said he could scarcely feel his legs since I spoke it; and the justice said if these words were true, he had taken many steps towards hell; and the counsellor and judge said it was home doctrine to some who were there: divers of them seemed to be touched with the testimony of truth, though not so solidly as I desired. Soon after, I went with Joshua Birch to visit the governor of the island, Colonel Worsley, who treated us with much freedom and civility; he desired me to sit down by him, and then called for a decanter of wine, of which he kindly offered me a glass, but I told him I chiefly drank water; he said water is certainly the best drink in the world, and told me I was a credit to my drink, as I looked as well, or better, than most who drank wine.

In the second month I was at meeting on a first-day at Bridgetown, which was somewhat larger than usual; it was a good open time in the morning, but more so in the afternoon. At this meeting there was a merchant of the town, not of our profession, who sent to know if our friends would make a contri-

bution for me, in consideration of my losses. He said he would contribute as much as any, although he had heard me only that one time; but he was informed that we received no money or pay for our preaching; yet his good will I acknowledged.

The 4th of the third month I was at meeting at the Spring, where I met with Joseph Gamble, and John Oxley and his wife, and several others not belonging to this particular meeting, and we were edified together in the love and life of Christ. I was concerned to speak of the divers visitations and speakings of God to the people since the world began; quoting the words of holy Writ, that "God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spoke to the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things:" and that this dispensation is the last and brightest dispensation of all, and is the greatest and most glorious manifestation of God's love to mankind; and that beside this vocal speaking of Christ, when in the body on earth, he now speaks spiritually: which spiritual speaking of Christ, in and to the true church and true believers, will outlast time, and endure to all eternity; the great Lord of all, for his unspeakable benefit therein, was praised and glorified, as being alone worthy.

I had other meetings on the island, which I pass by, not being willing to be prolix. After a stay of about nine weeks, we proposed sailing. Judge Gray, a very noted man, and much esteemed among the people, took passage with us; also Joshua Birch, of Bridgetown, for his health, and William Callender, and several others, as merchants. Though I came on account of trade, our friends gave me a certificate that I had good service among them, and in my outward affairs had gained esteem among the people, as well as in my service in preaching Christ; all which I acknowledge to be the effects of divine grace. Several friends and acquaintance came to the sea-shore at Speight's-town, and in a great deal of tender Christian love and good desires, we took leave, and committed one another to the protection of the Almighty. We had a comfortable passage, and arrived at Philadelphia, where I was lovingly received by my wife and friends.

In this voyage a great and weighty concern came on my mind, on account of the young and rising generation, desiring that they might be happy in this world, and in that which is to come. And first, as to this world, I have taken notice that divers of the youth are too apt to waste their outward substance, which is given to them, for when they get it themselves, they are for the most part more saving



of it, and this wasting and spending, they call generosity, liberality, good nature, gentility, fine breeding, and abundance of other fine names; not considering the labour and industry, frugality, care and watchings, of their parents or ancestors, to get what they have. May parents note this well, and not be anxiously concerned to get much wealth, which may be a means to ruin their posterity; and truly most of these spending, drinking, company-keeping, gaming, chatting, tipping youngsters, take a great deal more care how they may get money from others, that they may spend it, than how to earn it, or faithfully labour for it themselves. They will beg, or borrow, or run in debt, but take little or no solid thought to pay; by which means divers of those topping, beggarly beaus and spenders, have brought both themselves and relations, parents and friends, to shame and disgrace, and sometimes to poverty, where their relations and parents have been too liberal. Let all indulgent parents note this also.

And if any concerned person should advise those inconsiderate youths of their evils, it is much if they gain not their lasting ill will, and the epithets of niggards and covetous, ill natured, censorious, sour, morose, &c. However, I shall venture to stand the shock of their displeasure, and in as moving terms as I can, consistently with the matter on my mind, entreat them to consider the end of their spending, slothful life, which if continued in, must needs end in their ruin, and they may repent when it is too late, crying out, Oh! that I had hearkened to the advice of my father and my indulgent mother! Oh! that I had taken the counsel of my good friends in time, then I had not been in this condition, nor in those straits I am now in. This, or worse, must at last inevitably be the condition of those unthinking, time wasting, money spending, and evil company-keeping, young people of both sexes. Some of whom, if they can get it, will spend more in a few hours, than their parents can get in so many days, which is very unreasonable, as well as unthinking; for if the indulgent parents do not hold their hands, truly they must all sink together; and where the parents have been what these youths call liberal, whole families have by such liberality been undone, which is a case to be lamented.

I pray our spending youths to consider, how many brave, fine young men and women, whose parents have left them estates and handsome incomes, have by such extravagances, soon spent all, and sometimes more than all, and disgrace and a jail have been their portion; and how many, by living too fast, have

died too soon, much sooner than might be expected, according to the course of nature.

Wherefore, I would advise them to regard what the wise king Solomon said, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways, and be wise; she gathereth her food in the summer;" i. e., she prepares against the winter. Though this may be despicable in the eyes of our fine gentlemen and wits, yet there appears more wisdom in these little industrious animals, than in those great spenders, who in the spring and summer of their years, take so little thought of saving what hath been with so much care gotten for them, or of getting more against their winter or old age; which, if they live, will certainly overtake them, when their youth or summer is gone.

But many youths object against this advice, crying out, as I have often heard, "The aged give this advice when they are old, but did as we do, when they were young as we are." Although this may be true in some, yet it will not hold good in the general; and if it does in some, is not that maxim good, "Let others harms learn us to beware, before it be too late, that we fall not into the same snare, which hath entangled or caught thousands, to their great shame and reproach?" Again, those who have been so overtaken in their youth, and are escaped out of the snare, are more fit to caution or advise how to escape it, or to show those paths which lead them into that labyrinth of woe and misery.

The author of all evil useth his utmost skill and power to promote the practice of excessive drinking, &c., among mankind, it being a mighty support to his kingdom; for when the nobility of the understanding is clouded thereby, then, Oh! how many wicked oaths, what corrupt language, what unhand-some, unbecoming words and actions, are brought forth! How is the sober, chaste soul, offended, and above all other considerations, how is God dishonoured, and the end of our creation frustrated, and man condemned!

When people are in those excesses, how do they take the sacred name in vain, and so bring themselves in guilty before God and man; for he has positively said he will not hold those guiltless who take his name in vain; so that let him plead ever so many excuses, he is pronounced guilty by the Judge of heaven and earth: therefore, let me persuade the youth to remember what the Lord by his servants said concerning drinking to excess: "Woe to the drunkards;" and that "no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom." Again, "Woe to them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink," &c. If it be objected, as it often is, when such poor souls are reproved,

and their sins set in order before them; we trust in the mercy of God and the merits of Christ; I say this is a good trust and hope, if upon a good foundation; but the wicked must forsake their ways, and the unrighteous their evil thoughts; but what forsaking is that, when strong conviction is upon the soul, to make covenants, vows and promises, and break them from time to time? And though Christ hath satisfied the justice of the Almighty for sinners, it is for those who forsake their sins, not for those who plead for the practice of them, and endeavour, by many vain excuses, to justify themselves in them.

Since then the salvation of the soul is precious, and hath cost the precious blood of the Lamb of God, and is much more precious than health or wealth, why should any be so cruel and hard hearted to themselves, as, for a little vanity, mirth, toys, trifles, vain sports, and evil pastime, to plunge and sink themselves into the gulf of eternal woe and misery; pray, Oh! pray consider it, dear youth.

After my return from Barbadoes in the fourth month, I visited Friends' meetings at Burlington, the Falls of Delaware, Abington, Germantown, and was divers times at Philadelphia and Frankford; which meetings were much to my satisfaction; the Lord being pleased to manifest his goodness to many, as also to my poor exercised soul; for which I was truly thankful unto him.

In the sixth month I was at the general meeting of Friends at Darby, in Chester county, which was a large and good meeting, divers Friends appearing there in a lively ministry. About this time, some thousands of people came from Ireland, and also many from Holland; among whom, it was reported, were Romans, or Papists, several of whom, it was said, gave out threatening speeches, which caused some consternation among the people.

At this large general meeting, I exhorted them to trust in the Lord, and not to distrust that hand which had hitherto preserved us by his providence without outward force; and that though the people who came among us were many in number, yet we having the Lord on our side, were more than they, in a mystical sense; putting them in remembrance of the prophet, who, when his servant was afraid, prayed to the Almighty to open his eyes, and when they were opened, he saw the mountain full of chariots of fire, and horses of fire, and that they were more than their enemies. I was also concerned to exhort Friends to be good examples to those strangers who came among us in such great numbers; and that our lights in our conver-

sations, might so shine, that those people seeing our good works, might glorify our Father which is in heaven, according to the doctrine of Christ; and then we should do them good, and they would do us no hurt, but good also. But on the other hand, if we keep not our places, and do not live in the fear of God, nor according to our holy principles and profession, then it might be just with the Lord God, to make them a scourge to us. Many were comforted in this meeting, and God was praised, who is worthy.

On the 15th of the sixth month, having loaded the ship *New Bristol Hope*, a second time, I sailed in her from Philadelphia, and having a concern to visit the meeting of Friends at Salem, I left the ship at Gloucester, under the care of the pilot, and went by land to the first-day meeting at Salem, and from thence to Elsenborough, and staid till the ship came down; and on the 20th of the month we got to sea, and had a fair wind for several days, and lived very lovingly on board, being respectfully treated by my sailors.

In this voyage we had several meetings on board, the first of which was at the request of my second mate, to call the sailors together in the cabin; I not being forward to propose it to them, lest they should suspect me of some vanity, in desiring to preach to them; they not knowing the cross of Christ in that exercise.

On the 24th day of the seventh month, at noon, our ship by observation, being exactly in the latitude of Barbadoes, we steered away west for the island, and on the 26th we saw it, five weeks and one day after leaving sight of Cape Henlopen; we having, after the first few days, light winds, calms, and head winds, which made our passage long, and our sea stores almost spent; but now the sight of land made the people forget all uneasiness, and for this favour, my heart was thankful to the great Preserver of men.

This time we came to a tolerable market with our provisions, which made our stay short; yet I was divers times at Bridge meeting of Friends, as also at Speight's-town, where my concerns chiefly lay; and once at Pumpkin-hill meeting, in which it was observed to the people, that the salvation of the soul is precious, and that true religion is a solid thing, a thing of the greatest moment to both body and soul, and that people ought to be very serious and solidly concerned about it, taking special care to lay, or build, their religion on a sure foundation. It was showed them, that Christ Jesus is the sure rock and foundation of all the righteous, in all ages; that he was the Rock that followed Israel, which they drank of; and that any other



foundation than him, no man can lay; who is, in the truly religious, and the true believers, the hope of their glory. Many other precious truths were manifested to us in that meeting, for which we praised the Lord.

Soon after I went to Bridgetown to clear out the vessel, and was at their week-day meeting; the subject matter I had to treat of in that meeting, was that "the Lord bringeth low, and he raiseth up again;" and that in divers respects, as to kingdoms, families, and particular persons; and as to health, wealth, honour, &c., divers in that meeting were appealed to as witnesses of it. After this meeting I went to visit the governor, who was courteous to me, and took my visit kindly, and desired to be remembered to our governor and several others, and wished me a prosperous voyage, and well back again, which he hoped would be in about three months; he said, "Whoever lived to see it, Pennsylvania would be the metropolis of America, in some hundreds of years." He said "he loved downright honest men, but he hated deceit and hypocrisy."

The 21st of the eighth month, 1729, we having done our business, weighed anchor and went to sea; and on the 26th we had a good meeting with the ship's company, for the service and worship of God; in which the gospel of Christ was declared without partiality, and the reigning sins of sailors openly exposed, according to the doctrine of the gospel, and the most high Lord entreated to carry on in the earth the great work of reformation. Hitherto we have had fine, pleasant weather.

The beginning of the ninth month we had a very blustering, stormy time, for many days, so that we could not carry sail, but sometimes lay by, and sometimes went with a reefed mainsail and foresail; the ship had such a violent motion, that it broke our glasses and about a dozen bottles of wine, and our earthen ware, and strained our hogsheds and casks, so that we pumped out molasses into the sea, and beat us back many leagues, and blew our sails out of the bolt ropes.

After those storms we had a calm, and the wind sprung up westerly; our course being north-west, or thereabout, we could barely lay it; yet it being moderate, we had cause to be thankful.

The 12th of the ninth month we found ourselves in the latitude of thirty-six degrees, seventeen minutes, north; but the wind was ahead, and our fresh stock of provisions almost expended, and winter coming on apace, the nights dark and long, made it seem tedious to our people; the which I was helped to bear with patience.

The 14th day, about eight o'clock at night, John Plasket, one of the best of our sailors, through the violent pitching of the ship, fell into the sea from off the bowsprit; one of the sailors seeing him fall, nimbly threw a rope to him, which he caught hold of, and the people helped him into the ship; though in all probability, he had perished in the sea, if he had missed taking hold of the rope. I was thankful to the Almighty for this young man's life, and took it as a great favour from heaven. The next day it was dreadfully stormy, the wind blew violently at south-west, with lightning, thunder, and much rain; the seas ran so high, and the ship had such a great motion, that the goods, or casks, shifted in the hold, and we lay by till next day; our sails also were much torn, and in many places, blown out of the bolt ropes, so that we were half a day mending them, and then proceeded on our voyage home, where we arrived the latter end of the month.

After I came home from this voyage, during the small stay I made on shore, I was divers times at meetings at Philadelphia and Frankford, and also at Germantown, at the burial of our ancient friend Dennis Conrad, who was one of the first settlers of this town, as I understood the first meeting of Friends, for worship, was kept at his house; he was a man of an inoffensive life, much given to hospitality, and left a good report behind him. The meeting was large, and many of the first settlers of the country were there. I was also at the burial of Catharine, the daughter of Thomas Lightfoot, and wife of James Miller, a worthy woman, who died soon after their arrival from Ireland, and was buried from our great meeting house in Philadelphia, in a decent and exemplary manner.

The latter end of the tenth month, Samuel Harrison, of New-York, and Obadiah Lawrence, of Long island, favoured me with their company all night at our house, where we called the family together, and had a seasonable time to take leave, they of me, and I of them, and my family also; and the next day divers very dear friends came with me to the boat, to the river side, to take leave, and we parted with hearts full of love and good will to each other.

I went on board at Wicacoe, and had a cold passage down the river and bay, and left the Capes the 1st of the eleventh month, being the third voyage as master, and the 17th we passed the tropic of Cancer. Hitherto we had a comfortable passage, and though we had a crowded ship, yet we had peace and quietness to a greater degree than I expected; for men that use the seas, are too generally inconstant as the winds and waters they pass

through. We had several meetings on board the vessel, and were at sea about four weeks before we arrived at Barbadoes, where the markets were dull, which occasioned our staying about twelve weeks.

During this time I had divers religious and good opportunities, with those of our own and other societies, I believe to general satisfaction; having the good wishes of people of all ranks, from the governor to the poor negroes; all of whom I profess to love for Christ's sake.

In our return home we had a full ship and upwards of thirty passengers, and were on our passage about a month, and had good comfortable weather therein.

Soon after I came home from Barbadoes in the third month, 1730, I went to a meeting at Burlington, at which Thomas Evans was married; Margaret Preston was also there. It was a good meeting. I crossed the river Delaware twice, visited a sick person, and rode thirty miles that day. I also went to the Falls meeting, and after it, appointed another at Neshaminy the same day. I went with Joseph Kirkbride to William Paxton's, and lodged, and next morning Joseph Kirkbride rode with me home, and thence to Philadelphia. I was divers times at Philadelphia, Frankford and Germantown, and at the general meeting at Frankford, where our friend John Cadwallader was married; Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, and Margaret his wife, and John Oxley, were at this meeting, with many other Friends, a good share of whose company I had at my house, of which I was glad, ever loving and coveting the company of good men and women.

I was now preparing for the fourth voyage, as master of the New Bristol Hope, for Barbadoes; but it grew harder and harder for me to leave my family, which, for many considerations, was very exercising; yet I was obliged to continue going to sea, upon an honourable account; i. e., that no person might suffer by me, if I could help it; and having got our vessel loaded, we sailed from Philadelphia the 9th of the fifth month. Next day came to anchor at Chester, and visited my old friend David Lloyd, who, with his good spouse Grace, treated me with tender, Christian love: the judge and I being old acquaintances, and both of us in years, and he not well, we took leave as if we were not to see one another any more, which happened accordingly, for he died before I returned.

We weighed anchor at Chester and got down to Elsenborough, and went to Salem meeting, with some of our passengers and sailors, it being the first-day of the week and 12th of the month. The meeting was pretty large, and I was earnestly concerned

for their welfare, as I had often been when I was absent, and was glad I was with them that day.

After this meeting we proceeded on our voyage, and left the Capes the 15th of the aforesaid month; had small and contrary winds, and sometimes calms, until the 2nd of the sixth month, and first-day of the week, when the wind was at south, and a hard gale, the sea high, and the ship having a great motion, we had not a meeting as usual: many of the passengers were very sea sick. For my part, I thought if the Almighty was but with me, that would make up for all difficulties; for in him was, and is, my life and chiefest joy; and as an answer of peace in my tossed condition, I sometimes had comfortable times; being inwardly refreshed with the love and presence of God; not only in the day, but also in the night, in my sleep; out of which I was awakened one morning, with these comfortable words, "He took me to his banqueting-house, and his banner over me was love." These expressions were so fresh in my mind for some days, that I could not forbear but bless the holy name of the living Lord secretly in my soul.

The 16th of the sixth month we arrived at Barbadoes. The 17th there arose about midnight a hard gale of wind, which the Barbadians call a hurricane, or tornado, and blew more than ten vessels ashore, great and small, which were wholly lost; and our ship was very near the rocks, people looking every minute when she would come on shore: but through divine favour we escaped, with only the boat stove against the rocks. I would have got on board, but that was impracticable; but I got on the highest place I could, from which I could see them in the ship, and they me on shore; but we could not, for the violence of the wind, hear one another; yet they were so near the fort where I stood, that I could discern them one from another, and they me from the multitude of people, many being in the fort with me. I seeing the chief mate look towards me, waved my hat towards him, and he in answer, his to me; then I made a signal to him to go to sea, which they immediately did, letting slip their cables and went to sea, without either boat, anchor, or cables, and came in the next day, and got their cables and anchors again, to the great joy of many of the inhabitants, whose hearty prayers were for our safety, as many of them told me. This among many others, I put in my calendar of deliverances and preservations from imminent dangers, by the hand of divine Providence.

We staid this time in Barbadoes about five weeks, leaving the island the 27th of the



seventh month; and there I met with Robert Jordan, my friend and brother in the work and fellowship of the gospel of Christ, who took his passage with us for Philadelphia, whose company was pleasant and comfortable.

The 4th of the eighth month we met with a hard gale of wind, which broke the tiller of our rudder, and split our bowsprit and mainsail, and overset many of our chests; Robert Jordan narrowly missed his chest falling on him from one side of the ship to the other, which escape we looked upon as a merciful providence, and spoke of it to one another.

In this passage we saw three vessels only; it was a blustering time, but the shortest from land to land that ever I had, being but fourteen days and fourteen hours, from the sight of Barbadoes to the sight of the main land: we arrived at Philadelphia the 16th of the eighth month.

In the ninth month I proceeded on a fifth voyage to Barbadoes, as master, and went down the river Delaware on a seventh-day, and on first-day was at Chester meeting, at which time there was a burial of a child, and a large meeting. Our friends at Chester were glad to see me, and I them, and after meeting we set sail and went down the river to Elsenborough, where we came to and landed Robert Worthington, whose son Ezra, was on board, and went to Barbadoes for his health, being in a deep consumption.

We were on our passage about thirty-three days before we arrived at Barbadoes, when after doing my business, and visiting Friends' meetings about five weeks, we put to sea on the 10th of the twelfth month, and sailed along to the leeward of several islands, till we came to Anguilla, where we landed in expectation to get salt, but at this time there was not any to be had there. We came to an anchor here in the night, hoping to get to a harbour before it was dark; but it soon being very dark, and coming into shoal water, we saw a large rock, and came to by the side of it, in about five or six fathom water, taking it to be a ship, and when it was day we saw our mistake, and that instead of a vessel, we were too nigh a rock, and the wind coming about, tailed our ship towards it, so near that we were sensible of touching twice; I ordered the men to heave a little further ahead, and so we lay clear till morning. When morning came, of which we were glad, several boats with a cable, came to us, and the people advised us to put a spring on our cable and cut it, that she might cast the right way; which accordingly we did, and it had the desired effect; so that we soon got into a very fine harbour, it being about a mile off. Thanks

were given to the Almighty by many of the people, for this deliverance. George Leonard, the governor of the island, heard in the morning, that a vessel was on the rocks, and the people were running with saws and axes, in order to break her up, if she could not be got off: the governor seeing them, sent a lieutenant with orders that let her belong to what nation soever, they should help to get her off, if it could be, and if she was likely to be made a wreck, he charged them at their peril not to meddle with her, nor any thing belonging to her, until they had first come to terms with the master; which is worthy to be recorded.

We staid several days before we could get our anchor; for after we were in the harbour, it blew very hard for four or five days; so that with our four oars we could not row our boat ahead, but watching for a calm one night, our people went out and got it, and then we went into the principal road or harbour in the island, called Croaker's bay. The name of that we came from was Rendezvous bay, where lived a very kind friend of ours, named John Rumney, who, with his wife and family, treated us with great love, and courteously received us into their house, and he went with me to the governor's, who was my old acquaintance and friend, who with much love and tenderness, when he knew me, took me in his arms and embraced me, saluted me with a kiss of charity, and thanked God for our deliverance, and that he had lived to see me once more, I having been there some years before: he was seventy odd years of age, as I remember, and had more than eighty who called him father; the people living much on roots and pulse, are very healthy in this island. I was here nine days, and had seven meetings with the people; the longer I staid the larger the meetings were; so that I had some difficulty to leave them. Through the grace and gift of God I was helped to preach the gospel of Christ freely, and they received it both freely and thankfully, divers, if not all; for their hearts and mine were very open one to another, the Lord's holy name be praised forever.

The 3d of the first month Ezra Worthington died, and the 4th in the afternoon, he was buried on the plantation of John Rumney, near his house; the governor and his son-in-law were at the burial, where I told them that he was an inoffensive, innocent, sober young man, and that death was to be the end of us here, putting them in mind to remember their latter end. After I had done speaking, the governor said that death was a debt due to nature, and that we must all pay it, and blessed is the man who in time truly prepares

for it. This was a good expression for a man in his post, and worthy of my notice, as I thought.

I was at one meeting, where were the governor and his daughter, with divers of the best and soberest people of this island: it was a satisfactory meeting, which ended in prayer; and when I arose from my knees, I found the governor on one side and his daughter on the other side of me, both on their knees; a posture in which people are too seldom found in this degenerate age of the world.

On the 10th of the first month we departed from the island of Anguilla, with a pleasant gale, and had fair weather and winds for several days. I spent some time of this voyage in reading, and met with a passage concerning friendship. The comfort and beauty of it was set forth therein, yet most who treat upon that noble subject, place the felicity thereof in humanity; whereas true and lasting friendship is of a divine nature, and can never be firmly settled without divine grace. Christ Jesus is the prime friend of mankind, from whom all true and lasting friendship flows, as from a living fountain, himself being the head spring thereof. "Henceforth," says he, "I call you not servants, but friends, and ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." And again, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." Oh, holy expressions! much to be admired, and worthy every man and woman's imitation and practice. Observe that when they had done whatsoever Christ had commanded them, then they were to be his friends, and they were not only to be his friends, but one another's friends, as he was their's; and if occasion were, as he died for them, so they would die for one another. By this mark and true seal of the truest friendship, all the world should know they belonged to Christ, that they were united to him, and in him united to one another. Nothing but disobedience and sin can ever separate this friendship.

Against this friendship which is in Christ, and grounded and founded upon him, the gates of hell can never prevail; but all friendship founded upon any consideration merely human, is brittle and uncertain, and subject to change or mutability, as experience hath taught in all ages.

If any person has a desire to have a faithful friend, let that person be sure to make choice of Christ; for such as choose him have a friend in whom are lasting peace, comfort, and delight, joy and pleasure, and in him alone are they to be enjoyed forever.

The 20th of the first month being the first of the week, we had a comfortable meeting

for divine worship, in which the goodness of God was extended to us as we were rolling on the mighty waters of the great deep, after which we had pleasant weather and a fair wind, for several days.

On the 26th the wind sprung up at E. N. E., a hard gale, which lasted several days; for about thirty hours it blew so hard that we could dress no victuals. I thought on the words of Job, when he spoke to his impatient wife, saying, "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil also?" or that which is accounted or looks like evil in the eyes of man. In this time of exercise, the love and heavenly life of God, in his beloved Son, filled my heart, and caused an overflowing of praises to his holy, glorious, and blessed name. Oh! it was exceedingly precious to my soul at that time.

The 1st of the second month we saw land, being driven to the southward nearly two hundred and fifty miles in this last hard weather; but we soon after arrived at our desired port.

I visited the meetings of Friends at Philadelphia, Burlington, the Falls, Abington, Germantown, Bristol and Frankford, and found the people had been under a general visitation of the small-pox, insomuch that many hundreds, especially of children, were taken off the stage of this life, in the city of Philadelphia; and I was concerned to exhort Friends in that city to bring their children to meetings, and to educate them when young, in the way they should go, that they might not depart from it when old; and that He who had taken many away, could, if he pleased, take many more; for though he had laid down his rod at present, the distemper in the city being much abated, yet he could soon take it up again. It is my belief that the Lord Almighty will still continue to visit the city and people, if there is not a reformation, with further, if not sorer visitations, because he hath known them to do them good, and make them a blessing to many islands and people; giving them the fatness of the earth, and that which is far more, the dew of heaven; so that he may justly say to us, as to Israel of old, "You have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit you for all your iniquities."

In the beginning of the fourth month, Robert Jordan was married to Mary, the widow of Richard Hill, all three worthy Friends. The meeting on this occasion was large, and the marriage solemnized in the fear of God. Divers Friends were concerned to speak to the people, and it was greatly desired that those present, who were then spoken to, might be married to Christ, the great lover of



souls, who laid down his life, the most precious life that ever was on earth, and shed his precious blood for our salvation.

A few days after, I again took shipping for the island of Barbadoes, being the sixth voyage, in the New Bristol Hope, and left the Capes of Delaware the 8th day of the fourth month. The 22nd of the month, being weary, I laid down to rest, and falling asleep, was awakened with these words, "Oh, heart in heaven! it is an excellent thing to have an heart in heaven!" These words were comfortable to me, and left a sweetness on my mind all the day after, for which I was thankful, and greatly desired that my heart might be set and fixed more and more on heaven and heavenly things, and that my treasure might be in heaven, that my heart might be there also, according to the doctrine of my Saviour; "Lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

The 27th being the first day of the week, we had a comfortable meeting, the weather being moderate; and on the 7th of the fifth month we arrived at Bridgetown in Barbadoes, where we unloaded part of our cargo, and from thence we went to Speight's-town; where, after a stay of about five weeks, we accomplished our affairs. I also visited all our friends' meetings, and some several times, in which we were edified and comforted, and divers of us had occasion to bless the holy name of God for his mercy to us. Before we left the island, there happened a great storm or hurricane, which did much damage to the ships and to the island, blowing down many houses and spoiling much provisions, destroying almost all the plantain trees on the island, which is a very wholesome and pleasant fruit, and much used by many instead of bread.

I was clearing out the vessel when this storm happened, and being twelve miles off, could not hear concerning her, but thought it altogether unlikely that she should ride out so great a storm, in so bad a harbour or road, it being open to the sea, and the storm such as had not been known for many years, and some said, never but once, to their knowledge, though more damage had at some other times been done to the shipping, by reason that the hardest of the wind was not that way, which was most dangerous to them in Carlisle bay, where they mostly lay; they all got out to sea, except two or three that were lost by the violence of the weather. It was indeed a very dismal time, the vessels which rode it out were much damaged, and one being loaded, ready to sail, sunk down, and was lost in the bay. When I had cleared our ship, I set

forward in order to see what was become of her; but the floods were so great, and the ways were so bad, I could not without some danger get to her that night; but next morning set out from Joseph Gamble's, and to my admiration, from the top of a hill on which a house was blown flat to the ground during the storm, I saw our ship at anchor, having rode out the storm, with one sloop by her, for which cause my soul was humbly thankful.

On the 17th of the said month, with some more than ordinary fatigue, we got up our anchor and took in our boat, and got our passengers and provisions on board, the sea breaking high on the shore, so that several of our people and our boat were in jeopardy of being lost; but at length we set sail, and having sailed slowly about six or seven miles, we met with a sloop which had lost her mast in the storm, and next morning met two large London ships, which had put out to sea, not venturing to ride it out.

We had fine pleasant weather for several days after we left the island, and on the 22nd of the sixth month, being the first-day of the week, we had a meeting for the worship of God, which was comfortable and satisfactory to us. The 4th and 5th of the seventh month, we had very fresh gales from the north-east to the north, and were near a water-spout, about a stone throw off, which surprised some on board, on which I came out of my cabin, and saw the water run up out of the sea into the cloud, as plainly as ever I saw the water run into the river, till it filled the cloud with blackness, and then it would break in great quantities into the sea, which is dangerous, when falling on vessels.

The 5th of the month being first-day, we had a good religious meeting for divine worship, wherein our people were earnestly exhorted to a holy life, and to be earnestly concerned for the true faith, which is in Christ; that faith which works by love, which is the evidence of things not visibly seen, and is manifest by works of piety and virtue. In this voyage we were twenty-two days from the island of Barbadoes to the sight of Cape Henry, in Virginia, and had a pleasant passage, in the main, to Philadelphia, where, in the seventh month, was held our yearly meeting, at which I had a desire to be, my watery employment having hindered my being at one for several years. At this meeting I met with my old acquaintance and dear friends, John Richardson, of Yorkshire, and Paul Johnson, of Dublin, both on a gospel visit to the brethren and Friends in America. The meeting was large, and attended with divine grace and goodness, and ended with thanksgiving and praise to God and the Lamb.

While our ship was loading, I was at meetings at Abington, Germantown, Fairhill, and Frankford, in Philadelphia county; and at the Falls of Delaware, Buckingham, Neshaminy and Bristol, in Bucks county. I was also at Burlington, at the marriage of William Calender, Jr., of Barbadoes, with Catharine Smith, daughter of Daniel and Mary Smith, of Burlington.

On the 16th of the ninth month, I proceeded on the seventh voyage to Barbadoes, in the ship *New Bristol Hope*, having on board several passengers, one of whom, Elizabeth Martindale, was convinced of the principles of truth on the passage, and afterwards suffered in divers respects, for making profession with us.

We had a long passage down the river, the wind being high and boisterous. On the 22nd of the ninth month we left the Capes of Delaware, and saw the island of Barbadoes on the 21st of the tenth month, before it was day, and in the afternoon came to anchor in the bay of Speight's-town. In this voyage I met with a painful and troublesome accident, which happened in a hard gale of wind: I being to the windward, and the ship having a large motion, missed my hold, was canted from my place to the other side of the vessel, against the edge of a chest, and so bruised my leg that I could not do my business as usual, which was a great hindrance and disappointment to me. But in about a month's time, with the assistance of some of my friends there, I got indifferently through it, and also rode to Bridgetown, and had several meetings there. I was also at several good and comfortable meetings at Speight's-town, where we had one the day we sailed, being the 21st of the eleventh month; and on the sea-shore parted with our friends in great love, and set sail, the wind being north-east, so that we could weather the island of Martinico; we therefore sailed along by the islands of Dominico and Guadaloupe, and had calms under the islands, and sometimes the eddy winds from the mountains or high lands, would take the sails, and carry the ship round, which made it tedious. The 23d and 24th we passed by several islands, the winds and weather being fair and pleasant. The 25th in the evening, it began to be hazy; and in the night we split our maintop-sail, which cost us a great deal of labour and loss of time, before we could get it mended and set again. We had pretty fair weather about twenty days, until we came on our own coast and into soundings, when a hard gale of easterly wind springing up and blowing on the shore, was dangerous, and we had a long night coming on; but through the favour of the Almighty,

we got off from the land. In the midst of the danger of this storm, my soul sung praises to the Lord.

The 12th of the twelfth month we had another easterly storm, being in about thirty fathom water; it blew and rained very hard, and was exceedingly cold, and our coming from a hot climate made it more hard to bear. In this storm we saw the lights which the sailors call *corposants*, one of them was exceedingly bright, and sat about half an hour on our maintop-mast head, plain to the view of all the ship's company, divers of whom said they never saw the like, and I think I never heard of or saw the like before.

The storm continued all night till day, when it abated, and it being the first of the week, we had a comfortable meeting, in which the people on board were advised to get divine and heavenly learning, and not to be fools in religion, or in the things of God, nor to hate true knowledge; for if they had all the natural knowledge and brightest natural parts in the world, they would be but fools without the true fear of God, which the wise King Solomon says is the beginning of wisdom.

The 27th of the month we saw Cape Henlopen, having been twenty-seven days from the island of Barbadoes: this was a close, foggy day, we could see but very little before us, and had like to have been aground on the shoals, which they call the hen and chickens, but went between it and the Cape, in three fathom water; the wind blowing hard at south we went up the bay by the lead, for we could not see land; and the gale being so fresh, we got to Bombay-hook from our Capes, in about six hours, which is accounted twenty leagues; where we came to anchor, and met with abundance of ice. Merciful was the deliverance and preservation we met with from the hand of the Almighty in this voyage; may we ever gratefully remember it! About a league above Bombay-hook, when the fog broke up, we found ourselves close on the Jersey shore; and the wind sprung up at north-west, and obliged us to come to an anchor; where the ice came down upon us, which surprised some of us much. Coming out of so hot a climate, into one so severely cold, had a bad effect on most of our ship's company. I had a sore fit of the phthisic, and was at times, almost breathless, and thought I must die, for I could hardly breathe or speak; but yet I resolved as long as I was capable of reflection, I would think of God and my beloved Jesus; in which thoughts and meditations I found some comfort and consolation. I sat up for several nights, not being able to lie down for want of breath; and drank sage tea, which was very helpful to me.



The next day the ice came down more and more upon us, and we feared to put back, because if we had gotten aground in the bay, the ice might have demolished us; so we took the most convenient time we could, and got up our anchor with some difficulty, and stood for Reedy island, one of the best harbours upon Delaware; but the wind and tide failing us, we could not get in; and the ebb brought down the ice mightily on us, so that it took away the head of our vessel, and cut her sides very much. The next tide we got into the harbour, and lay close to Reedy island, making the ship fast on shore. While we lay here, several vessels came to us and fastened on shore as we did. The ice drove one vessel on us, and broke our spritsail-yard. Here I went on shore, where the people were very kind to us, particularly the sheriff of the county, John Gooding, and his wife and family. I went also to the house of John M'Cool, who with his wife, were very tender in their care and love towards me; bathing my swelled and benumbed limbs until the frost was pretty well out of them. The good will and tender love and care I here met with, affect my mind in the noting of it: I pray the Most High, whom I love and serve, to be their rewarder.

I had two meetings at our meeting house at George's creek, where were people of divers persuasions, who gave good attention. For these meetings I was truly thankful; for though through the extreme cold, I could hardly speak when on board, I now spoke freely, much to my admiration, and I believe to the people's satisfaction, more than is proper for me to mention; wherefore I praise God. When the weather was a little more open and the ice gone, we sailed up the river to Philadelphia, where I was joyfully received by my friends; and while the vessel was repairing and fitting for another voyage, I was not idle, but visited Friends' meetings at Philadelphia, Burlington, Abington, Germantown, Byberry, Fairhill and Frankford; being sometimes at four or five meetings a week. I was also at Haddonfield and Evesham meetings, in West Jersey; both good and comfortable meetings, which will not easily be forgotten; for therein God was graciously pleased to visit us with his word; blessed be his name.

The 4th of the third month we again set sail for Speight's-town, in Barbadoes; and the 6th of the month, about six o'clock in the morning, left the Capes of Delaware. From this time until we got sight of Barbadoes, was twenty-five days, which was the quickest voyage I ever had in this ship; in which time we had three meetings for the public worship of Almighty God, and to me they were benefi-

cial; and for God's goodness, I could do no less than return praise to him, who alone is worthy forever.

After I had done my business at Barbadoes and visited Friends' meetings, on the 5th of the fifth month I sailed for South Carolina, touched at the island of Christopher's, and landed some passengers there. From thence we went to sea, and the same night had a storm, though we suffered but little, the wind being for us, so that we went before it, and after it was over, we had a pleasant passage of about fourteen days to the coast of Carolina; and when we saw the land, the wind came against us, which made some of our passengers very uneasy; but in meditating on the infinite Being, I was favoured with inward comfort and strong consolation, so that I was humbly thankful, and praised God.

We were prevented by contrary winds, and a strong current, from getting into Charleston; and while we were beating about the coast, we met with a vessel which came from thence, and gave us intelligence that many people died suddenly, and that they buried ten or twelve in a day. Hearing such news, and the wind being still against us, our passengers, who intended for Carolina, concluded to go for Philadelphia: so we tacked about, and stood for Delaware bay, and then we had a fresh gale ahead again for several days, and spending so much time on the coast, our water was far expended, and we agreed to come to an allowance of it, a quart each man, for twenty-four hours, for several days before we got in. We were about five weeks on our passage from Barbadoes to Delaware river.

Soon after our arrival at Philadelphia, we got our ship on the ways, in order to refit and sheath her, in which time I travelled into several counties, and had many religious meetings, in which I had good satisfaction; and my old acquaintance and friends said they rejoiced to see me again, after my sea voyages. I was thankful in my heart for the good will of my good Master, and of my friends, in those journies, which was, and I hope ever will be, better to me than choice silver or fine gold.

The winter setting in about a month sooner than usual, many vessels were detained from going to sea, and frozen up; and many vessels could not come from sea up the river, so that a great damp was put on trade, and the frost coming suddenly, many people were taken with colds and died, in both the provinces of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania. My dear friend and kind landlord, Paul Preston, died about this time, who on his dying bed, said "He had no desire to live but to do good, and that it had been his care to keep a con-

science void of offence towards God and to all men, which now was his comfort." The hard weather continuing, I found a concern on my mind to visit Friends' meetings in the county of Bucks, in Pennsylvania, and the county of Burlington, in West Jersey; and was at above twenty meetings in about twenty days. In this journey I was favoured with the grace and goodness of the divine hand to a greater degree than I was worthy of, though I was sometimes exceedingly poor in my spirit, and in my own judgment, very weak for service and labour, both in body and mind; our meetings, considering the severe season, were large, and I hope they were to general edification.

On the 25th of the tenth month, being the reputed birth-day of our Lord Jesus Christ, at a little town near the Falls, called Bordentown, we had a meeting, where none had been held before by Friends, in one of the houses newly built by Joseph Borden, the proprietor of the place: he entertained us lovingly at his house, and generously offered ground for a grave yard, and to build a meeting house on, and a handsome sum of money towards building it, though he did not make profession with our Society. Some that were at this meeting, who did not profess with us, came over the creek on the ice to Isaac Horner's, in the evening, where we had a satisfactory meeting, in which God through Christ, was glorified. Daniel Stanton, my wife's sister's son, accompanied me in this journey, whose company and ministry were acceptable, both to me and friends, and we had meetings at the Falls, Bristol, Middletown, Wright's-town, Bordentown, Crosswicks, Mansfield, Upper and Lower Springfield, Mount Holly, Rancocas, Evesham and Chester, and divers evening meetings at several Friends' houses. It being a sickly time, I was often sent for to visit the sick, in which visits we were comforted, and God's holy name was praised.

On the 18th of the eleventh month I was sent for to Bristol, to visit Ennion Williams, who was dangerously ill, and to Burlington, to the burial of Elizabeth, the wife of Jonathan Wright, who was buried from the great meeting house. The meeting was very large, she being well beloved by her neighbours and acquaintance, being a woman much given to hospitality, and indeed many of the Friends of Burlington, have exceeded in that respect, the most that I have ever observed in my travels. She was a pattern of piety, a loving, obliging wife, and tender, careful mother, a kind neighbour, a loving and faithful friend, and so continued to the end; some of her dying words were, that she desired her love might be remembered to all her friends, which was done

openly in the said meeting, and tenderly affected many.

After I came home I was at the marriage of William Parker and Elizabeth Gilbert, at which marriage was our worthy, ancient friend, John Richardson, with divers other European Friends. The meeting was large and edifying.

The river still continuing frozen up, I had a desire to visit my friends and brethren in Chester county, whom I had not seen for some years; and in order thereto, in the beginning of the twelfth month, I with my kinsman, Daniel Stanton, set out from Philadelphia, and went to Newtown, where we had a meeting next day, being the first of the week, and afterwards an evening meeting at Evan Lewis's. From thence we went to the monthly meeting at Providence, on third-day to Middletown, fourth-day to Concord, fifth-day to Birmingham, sixth-day to London Grove; after which we had an evening meeting at a widow's house; from thence we travelled on seventh-day to Nottingham, and were at a large meeting there on first-day, and had an evening meeting at a Friend's house, where some persons came, who had never been at a meeting of Friends before. On second-day we had a meeting at Susquehanna ferry, to which divers people came over the ice, and it was a good opportunity to many of them. Third-day we had a large meeting at West Nottingham, and in the evening at William Brown's, and next we had a large meeting at New Garden, and at Michael Lightfoot's house we met with two Friends from Ireland, Mungo Bewley and Samuel Stephens, who were now proceeding on their religious visit to Friends in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. From thence I went to visit my old friend and acquaintance, Ellis Lewis, who had a desire to see me; and we had an evening meeting in his chamber, to our mutual comfort and refreshment. Next day had a very large meeting in the meeting house at Kennet; after which we went to Concord to the quarterly meeting for the county of Chester, and were at three meetings there, and likewise had three evening meetings at Friends' houses; at which meetings we had the company of my kinswoman Alice Alderson, and her companion Margaret Coupland, who were lately come from the north of England, to visit Friends in this and the adjacent provinces.

We went on third-day to the general meeting at Providence, which was very large; Joshua Fielding and Ebenezer Large were there; and we had an evening meeting at Rebecca Minshall's; and next went to Chichester, where we had a larger meeting than



I expected, considering the season; we lodged at John Salkeld's. On fifth-day we had a good, open meeting at Chester, and in the evening, another at Grace Lloyd's; next day had a meeting at Springfield, which I believe will be remembered by some that were there, when we do not see one another; afterwards we travelled to Philadelphia.

In the year 1732, arrived Thomas Penn, one of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, and son of the truly honourable William Penn, governor and proprietor of this province. A wise man, a good Christian, and a mild governor: a great promoter of piety and virtue, and of good men. May this his son walk in his steps!

In the first month was our general spring meeting, at which were several public Friends from England, viz: John Richardson, Alice Alderson and Margaret Coupland. The meeting was large and edifying, the said Friends having service therein to general satisfaction.

The 2nd of the second month I proceeded on a voyage to Barbadoes, it being the first in the Snow Barbadoes packet, a vessel built on purpose for me. We got to the Capes on the evening of the 20th of the second month, and were obliged to come to anchor. On the 21st we put out to sea, but the wind being against us, and looking like windy weather, I concluded to come to under our Cape, and wait for a fair wind: as soon as our Snow came to, we got our boat out and went to Lewistown; and next day being first-day, had a meeting in the court house; the people were glad of a meeting, and I had a good opportunity with them. After meeting I went on board and weighed anchor, and had a fair wind for above a week. Near the latitude of Bermuda, we had smart gales of wind, which obliged us to carry our topsail double reefed; and after having been at sea twenty-seven days and one night, in which time we had several meetings, we saw the island of Barbadoes; though for the most part we had contrary winds, yet all was well, and God blessed, who is forever worthy.

The 20th of the fourth month, having done my business, and also visited Friends' meetings, we sailed for Philadelphia; and on the 25th, being first-day, we had a seasonable and serviceable meeting, wherein the Almighty was worshipped and praised, and the people exhorted to sobriety and temperance. We were about twenty days from Barbadoes to Philadelphia.

After having staid at home about six weeks, and visited the meetings of Friends in divers places, to mine and their satisfaction, on the 28th of the sixth month I proceeded on another voyage for the island of Barbadoes, and

left sight of our Capes on the 31st. The winds were for the most part contrary, and before we got into the trade wind, we met with two hard gales; the last of which was a kind of hurricane, in which we could carry no sail at all, but let the vessel lie to the mercy of the seas, or rather to the mercy of Him who made the seas and all that is therein, and in the earth also. In this storm we lost a square topmast, and divers other things belonging to the vessel; but all our people were well and safe. This voyage we had several comfortable religious meetings on board, in which we were exhorted to prepare for another and better world, this being so very uncertain and momentary, and full of various exercises, temptations and afflictions.

I had on board three Whitehaven sailors, William Towerson, William Trimble and William Atkinson, and I do not remember that I heard any of them swear an oath during the whole voyage, which I thought worthy to stand on record, because it is so rare in sea-faring men. About the beginning of the eighth month, being in the latitude of Barbadoes, the thoughts of leaving my family and habitation, and many of my loving relations and near and dear friends, as at divers other times also, made me pensive and sorrowful; but it being on a principle of justice, and sometimes meeting with the presence and goodness of God, I was enabled to do my affairs and business, and forbore to appear sorrowful as much as I possibly could, or to be of a sad countenance in the sight of men; but to Him who knows all things, and sees in secret, I poured out my soul in all my afflictions, for he only is able to help me. I met with some who untruly censured me, as covetous of the things of this world, or to be rich; and that for the sake of these outward things, I might venture my life, until I might lose it. As to my life, it hath long been my desire to be ready to resign it, and is so still; and as to those outward things, so far as I know, my heart is clear. Food and raiment, and to be clear and even with the world, having rather to give than receive, is all the grandeur I desire; and if that be not granted, I hope to be contented without it, and to be thankful. I look upon crowns and sceptres, and all the fine things of this world, but as trifles, and diminutive, in comparison of a house and kingdom eternal in the heavens. In this voyage, as usual, I read in the holy Scriptures, and met with strong consolation therein, especially in the New Testament; I also read much in the works of that eminent judge and good Christian, Matthew Hale.

On the 7th of the eighth month we arrived at Barbadoes, staid three weeks and one day, and had several religious meetings. I has-

tened to accomplish my affairs before winter, it being a time of the year when it is dangerous sailing on our coasts. On the 30th of the eighth month we left the island of Barbadoes, bound to Philadelphia; and on the 11th of the ninth month it pleased God to favour us with a gracious opportunity to worship him; wherein was declared to the ship's company the nature and advantage of good, and the fountain from whence it flows; also the nature and disadvantage of evil; the one springing from God, and the other proceeding from satan, or the devil, who is the root of all evil: and that men might be left without excuse, God hath sent the divine and supernatural light of his holy Spirit, to show to mortals what is good and what is evil; in order that they might embrace the good and refuse the evil.

The 21st of the ninth month we had a very hard gale of wind at north-west, which blew so hard that we were obliged to lay the ship to the wind; for by the violence thereof we could not carry any sail, and it was so dark that we could neither see stars nor one another, nor hear one another, without we were very near, the seas rising very high. Indeed, the long, stormy, and dark nights, were very dismal, and some of our goods got loose in the hold. In the beginning of the night, about the seventh hour, Philip Kearney, my apprentice, fell into the sea and was lost, which was a deep affliction to us.

The 25th we saw land, and next day came to anchor in Delaware bay. The loss of this lad was a cause that we were not so joyful, as is usual for people to be when come to the shore.

The latter end of the tenth month I went the third voyage, commander of the Barbadoes packet, from Philadelphia, bound to Barbadoes: we were towed through the ice by two boats from Thomas Master's wharf, and in two days got to Reedy island; from whence we sailed down Delaware bay, where we lay two nights, the wind being contrary, and blowing hard. We left our Capes in the night, it being dangerous lying in the bay; and after being out several days, had favourable winds and pleasant weather; but when we got into the trade wind, it blew hard and mostly against us. The first land we saw was the island of Christopher's, where we arrived in twenty days from our Capes; and the market for provisions being at that time better than any other of those islands, and the property of the vessel mostly belonging to me, and the cargo generally consigned to me, I disposed of part of it. Here being no meeting of our Society on this island, I had meetings on board the vessel in the harbour, and divers

from the shore and several masters of vessels came to them, the Snow having large accommodations for such an occasion; and so far as I could understand, the people were generally satisfied.

Of late times, and also in this voyage, meeting with many losses and crosses, and much affliction and various exercises, I was ready to say in my heart, Lord, why am I thus afflicted, now in my declining years, since, thou knowest, I love thee above all things, and that I would not willingly or knowingly offend thee, my great and dear Lord? It was answered, as though vocally spoken, My only begotten and beloved Son, who never offended me, suffered much more. This word being such an evident truth, I begged patience to go through all my sufferings and afflictions, so that at last I might live with Christ in the glorious kingdom of God forever, where I might always bless and praise his holy name.

Five or six days after our arrival at this island, a vessel that came out five or six days before us, arrived, she meeting with the same boisterous weather as we did, yet we made our passage ten or eleven days sooner. Several other vessels bound to Barbadoes, put in here, through these contrary winds; and when I saw others in the like circumstances with us, I was the more thankful for being preserved safe, and so soon to this place; yet it was a considerable loss and trial not to get to Barbadoes, the island I was bound to.

At this island a person whose name was Galloway, a man of a great estate, hearing that I kept meetings on board the vessel, kindly invited me to have a meeting at his house, and said he would give notice of it to divers of the gentlemen, as he called them, of the island, telling me that I should be welcome to his house, which was much more convenient than the vessel. I was not very forward to accept of my friend Galloway's kind offer, being sensible of my own weakness and inward poverty, so that I made several excuses to evade it; but he obviated them all. First; I asked him, "If he could bear the reproach of having a Quaker's meeting at his house?" He answered, "Yes; there are good and bad of all societies." Secondly; I asked, "If his wife would like it, or be willing that a meeting should be in the house?" He said, "She desired it, and would be very willing." Thirdly; I asked, "If he thought he could sit in silence?" He told me, "He believed he could." I then told him, "I was obliged to him for his kind and friendly offer, and God willing, I intended to come, and tell my people of the ship's company to come also, and desired him to give notice of it;" which he



did: and there was a large, satisfactory meeting. Oh! may the Almighty sanctify it to some souls, is my desire.

He and his wife were very courteous to me, and invited many of his rich friends and relations. His wife's father was a judge in this island, of good repute. People of several professions were at this meeting, and many expressed their being glad of it. An attorney at law, said "He was thankful for the words he heard that day, and if I would stay with them, he would always come to our meetings." One Judge Mills was at this meeting, and very kindly invited me to his house. Some meeting me next day, said "They were sorry they were not there." The mistress of the house told some of the people, who were persons of note, "That they should remember what they had heard;" and spoke it with a religious concern, as it seemed to me. When I went to this meeting I was very poor, and in much fear, speaking with a great concern on my mind, for the people's salvation, and that God, through Christ, might be glorified.

After this meeting it was as though a voice said unto me, "How dost thou know but for this cause, and for this meeting, thou art brought to this island, though against thy will?" The people told me they did not remember that there ever was a meeting of Friends before on this island. The meeting had this effect, that the people had a better opinion of our Society than they had before. The subject I spoke of was, the excellency of the gospel dispensation, above that of the law, in that it brought us to the law, went through the law, and was above the law, and so far from destroying the law, fulfilled it; for proof of which, they were referred to Christ's most excellent sermon, which he preached on the mount.

From the island of Christopher's, I purposed, God willing, for Barbadoes; which I apprehended would be a troublesome voyage, it being about one hundred leagues to windward, and a strong current against us. On the 19th of the twelfth month we sailed towards Barbadoes; and the wind being ahead and blowing hard, we tarried two nights at the island of Lucia, where we took in wood and water: the people here are mostly French, and were very civil to us.

The 21st we put out again to sea; but the wind and current being against us, obliged us to go into the harbour from whence we came, and tarry for an opportunity more favourable. While we were in this harbour, which is a very good one, several vessels came in on the like occasion; and a vessel that left Christopher's about three hours after us, came here three days since we did.

We went out again in order to proceed to Barbadoes; but as before, the current was so strong against us, and the wind also, that we could not get forward on our way; wherefore we put back again to Christopher's, and by the way, called at Antigua, where I had an open, satisfactory meeting, for which I was truly thankful, and so were some not of our Society, of whom there were divers, and some who had not been at our meetings before.

The next day we arrived again at Christopher's, and there unloaded the remainder of our cargo, though much against my mind. After having sold the most of our cargo at Basseterre, we went to Sandy point, and there sold the remainder, and took in our loading for Philadelphia.

In loading our vessel, Judge Brown was my very good friend, and helpful to me therein, for which I think myself much obliged to him.

While we lay here I had a meeting on board our vessel, to which came five masters of vessels. It was a good meeting, though I spoke to them in much misery and pain, having very angry, painful sores on my legs, occasioned by a fall in getting out of the boat; the seas running high through the violence of the waves, I fell across the boat, and broke both my shins very grievously.

The 31st of the first month, 1734, we had another meeting on board our vessel, to which came several from other vessels, and some from the shore, among whom was a young baronet and his host, a tavern keeper, who at first behaved airily, but after some time, he was more sober, and seemed respectful at parting.

I was invited to have a meeting next first-day on board the ship King George, a large vessel; the master told me his cabin was large, and would accommodate many more than mine; but we did not stay so long as till the first-day.

After this meeting was over, the master of the large ship came on board, and said he was sorry he had not come sooner, so as to have had the opportunity to be at the meeting.

From Christopher's we set sail for the island of Anguilla, and had a meeting at the governor's house on a first-day. We staid at Anguilla three days, and there took on board some bags of cotton on freight, and sailed from thence the 10th of the second month. The governor of this island, whose name was George Leonard, told me that he should live and die in our principles, saying that he must defend his people. But he did not consider that his defence might destroy both him and them, and that such defence was di-

rectly contrary to Christ's doctrine and practice.

Not far from Anguilla is an island they call St. John's, the inhabitants of which are Dutch: the negroes there lately rose and took the island, killed the people, spoiled their plantations and burnt their houses. I lodged at the house of a person who went to subdue those negroes, who were too strong for him and his company, and the negroes killed divers of them, and among them killed this man's two sons, for which their mother and sisters were in bitter mourning, when I was at their house. The thoughts of the bloodshed and vast destruction, which war makes in the world, caused me to cry in my heart, "How long, Oh Lord! thou holy, just and true God, will it be till nation lift up the sword no more against nation, and the people learn war no more."

When I came home from this voyage, which was the 30th of the second month, I met with the sorrowful news of the death of my only son, George, a dear youth, who was but ten years and seven days old when he died, and as he was much beloved for the sweetness of his nature and disposition, so he was greatly lamented by many who were acquainted with him. I have this account to leave concerning him, not so much that he was my son, as to excite other youths to serve and fear the Lord, and to love him above all, and that they may remember their Creator in their youthful days, that it may be well with them in this world, and when time here to them shall be no more.

He was a lad much inclined to read the holy Scriptures, and other good books, especially religious ones; and was always obliging, obedient and loving to his parents, and ready and willing to do any service he could to his friends; any little services in his power he cheerfully performed, and took delight in; he was very diligent and ready to go to religious meetings, and an entire lover of religious people. In his sickness he behaved himself more like a wise man, than a youth of that age, bearing his pain and sickness with a great deal of patience. I being in another part of the world, he would gladly have seen me, but said he should never see me any more, and therefore desired his mother to remember his dear love to his father, and tell him he was gone to his heavenly Father. He was very fervent in prayer in the time of his sickness, and prayed that God would preserve his people all the world over. One time, when in great misery and pain, he prayed to Christ, saying, Sweet Jesus! blessed Jesus! give me patience to bear my misery and pain, for my misery is greater than I can well bear! Oh!

come, sweet Jesus, why art thou so long coming? I had rather be with thee than in the finest place in all the world. Many other religious expressions he spoke on his death-bed, greatly to the satisfaction and melting of his friends and relations who came to see him. One day he said, My misery and pain is very great, but what would it be if the wrath of God was in my soul? He believing in the love of God in Christ, made him desirous of being with him, and seeing the joy that was set before him, thought the time long to be with Jesus, as knowing that then he would be out of all misery and pain. His heart was full of love to his relations, acquaintance and friends, who came to see him in his illness; and full of tender sweetness and divine love, he took his last leave of them, which greatly affected many. This was one of the most pinching exercises I ever met with; but as he said in his illness, so I now write: The wisdom of the Lord is wonderful. One time in this dear child's sickness he said, Oh! the good hand of the Lord help me, give me ease, and conduct me safely, i. e., to God's kingdom, uttering this verse:

Sweet Jesus give me ease, for mercy I do crave;  
And if thou'lt give me ease, then mercy I shall  
[have.

Although this was a great exercise and deep affliction to me, in losing this promising youth, and my only son; yet considering that he went off the stage of life like a solid, good Christian, it was made tolerably easy to me; for he departed this life in much brightness and sweetness, and more like an old Christian than a youth of ten years of age.

It was usual for me to advise his mother not to set her affections too much upon him, thinking he was too good to live long in this world, and too ripe for heaven, to stay long on earth, in this world of sorrow and misery. This dear and tender youth, when reading, to which he was much inclined, if he met with any thing that affected him, either in the Sacred Writings or other good authors, would write it down, and get it by heart. He was more than common affectionately concerned for his mother, doing whatever he could freely and cheerfully to serve her, and told her not to do some things which he thought too much for her, saying, Mother, let me do it, if I were a man thou should not do any thing at all, meaning as to labour. She being affected with his filial love and care for her in his father's absence, it caused her sometimes to turn about and weep. I thought a little memorandum of the life and death of this religious lad was worthy of recording, in order to stir up other youth to obedience and love



to their parents, who carefully and tenderly nourished and brought them up; and also to love and obey God, from whom they have their life, breath and being, and to believe in Christ, who died for them; who is the glorious light of all the nations of them that are saved, and walk therein, according to Sacred Writ.

He got several pieces by heart out of the Bible and other religious writings, first writing them with his pen.

One which much affected my mind, was the fifteenth verse of the fifty-seventh chapter of that evangelical prophet, Isaiah: "For thus saith the high and lofty One, that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy, I dwell in the high and holy place; with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones."

I have now one only daughter, Rebecca, left me, out of twelve children, except my wife's son and daughter.

After this long and tedious voyage, which ended in the second month, I staid but a few weeks at home, and loaded with wheat and flour for Dublin, in Ireland; Alice Alderson, my kinswoman, and Margaret Coupland, were passengers. We had a very comfortable, pleasant passage, fair winds and weather, and good religious meetings. I think it was the most pleasant time that ever I crossed the seas. About Nantucket we saw several sloops whaling, and spoke with one, by which opportunity we inquired of the welfare of our friends on that island, and sent our loves to them. Not many miles from the sloops we saw a shoal of whales; I counted eight in a row lying side by side in the water.

We were four weeks and six days from our Capes to Cape Clear, in Ireland: coming near the land, we met with fishing boats and got plenty of choice fresh fish; in the evening we got into Kinsale, took in a pilot for Dublin, and sailed next day from Kinsale, and were out one night at sea, got next day to Dublin bay, where we went ashore, and were kindly entertained by our friends. We were at several large meetings in that great city, which some of us, while we live, at times I believe, shall remember. My stay in Ireland was about seven weeks, in which time I visited several meetings in the country, and at Edenderry, the Moate of Greenough, Carlow, Ballytore, &c.

We set sail from Dublin with a fair wind, in company with the ship Neptune, and our friends sent many prayers and good wishes after us. We were about forty persons, sailors, passengers and servants, on board, and had a good passage, all things considered.

We had religious meetings on board, and were on our passage, from the sight of Ireland, to the sight of our land, five weeks and six days: it was the quickest voyage I ever made to Europe and back again to Philadelphia.

When I came home, finding all well, I was thankful to God, in the name of Christ, for all his mercies and the many preservations wherewithal he had favoured me.

After being a little at home and at several meetings, and not being clear of the world, in order to it, I undertook another voyage to Barbadoes, and from thence intending for London, in order to settle my affairs there, which I intended some years before, but losses and disappointments hindered me. On the 7th of the tenth month, I proceeded on a fifth voyage in the Barbadoes packet, and left Philadelphia, and was at a meeting the next day at Chester, being first-day, and in the evening we had a large meeting at Grace Lloyd's, where I met with my dear friend Joseph Gill, who had good service in said meeting; we rejoiced in Christ to see each other. We left Chester the 9th, and got that tide down the river to Newcastle, and after visiting the few Friends there, we set sail the 12th in the morning; the wind being high, and the weather very sharp, freezing hard, our sails were so frozen, that we had hard work to get the vessel under sail. The 13th day, weighed anchor and sailed down the bay, and the 14th were clear of the Capes. The first-day following we had a good, seasonable meeting, for the worship and service of God; in which, as I was treating of disobedience to parents, and disobedience to Almighty God, our great Parent and heavenly Father, a youth who was a passenger in the vessel, went out hastily and abruptly, as I was showing the ungratefulness of the first, much more of the last. When I asked the reason of his going out, he said it was because he could not forbear crying; and thinking I spoke so because of him, he said he could not hear me any more. Afterwards I understood that he was a youth who was very ungrateful and disobedient to his parents; the which I knew not of, for his mother told me, and himself also, that he went to sea on account of his health. I thought his going out so hastily was occasioned by some indisposition of body; but it was as he gave us to understand, through resenting illy what was spoken, and by taking it to himself. I have sometimes observed, that persons have shown a restlessness and uneasiness in public assemblies for worship, sometimes going out, &c., so that they have thereby exposed themselves to the notice of the people, as persons guilty of the matter publicly reprehended, or spoken

against; just as though they were the only persons in the assembly who were guilty of the evil then taken notice of: such public restlessness is a great folly and weakness, besides so openly and publicly exposing themselves.

After we left our Capes, we had hard gales of wind, which lasted several days. The 28th being first-day, we had a meeting for divine worship, in which God was praised and his holy name exalted, for his unspeakable grace, in sending his only begotten Son, a divine light to enlighten the inhabitants of the world. We had stormy weather and contrary winds for some weeks, so that our passage was tedious; and of fifteen times going to Barbadoes, I found this the most difficult; and the prospect was very discouraging of making a losing voyage, by the great expense I expected for repairing and refitting the vessel, &c., so that I began to despair of accomplishing my design of discharging my debts in Great Britain, and the thoughts and consideration of losing so much of the company and conversation of my wife, relations and friends, and spending so much precious time, which cannot be recalled, to so little purpose, lay heavy on my mind; yet by the grace of God my mind was supported, and my resolutions confirmed to praise the Almighty for every dispensation of his providence.

The 23d of the eleventh month we saw the island of Barbadoes at the breaking of the day, having been from the Capes of Delaware forty days and one night; and were truly thankful, that at last, we, through divine favour, got to our desired port; where we were lovingly received by our friends at Speight's-town, who were joyful at our arrival. From thence I went to Bridgetown, and to the governor's, in order to enter our vessel; but staying a little too late, the governor, who was the lord Howe, was come from his house on his way to Bridgetown, with his coach and six, and his attendants; but seeing me, he courteously stopped his coach, and did my business as he sat therein; and though I made an essay towards an excuse, he would not admit of it, saying, There is no need of any excuse. He was indeed an extraordinarily courteous man: he died soon after, much lamented, as he was much beloved.

My stay at Barbadoes this time was the longest I ever made, believing it to be the last time I should go there, and that I should see them no more. My so saying troubled some of them; but growing in years, being then turned of threescore, I thought it would be too hard for me to undertake such another voyage; therefore I was at all the meetings of our friends on the island.

Here I met with Moses Aldridge, a Friend from New-England, who came on a religious visit to Friends of this island, with whom we had divers good meetings, his service in preaching the gospel being edifying and acceptable; we were together at the marriage of Andrew Drury and Mary Lewis, after which I was ill of a fever several days; this distemper was very much among the people, and nearly twenty masters of vessels and some hundreds of people died. Though I had been at Barbadoes many times, I never had so much illness there before. Moses Aldridge and several Friends of us, had a large meeting at John Gibson's, where were many people not of our persuasion, who were generally sober. I recommended charity to the people, according to the doctrine of the apostle Paul, as the most excellent gift, and advised them to show it forth to all people of all professions, and also to their negroes, telling them that some of the gentry of this island had observed to me, that the more kind they were to their slaves, the better their business was done for it. I observed also, that I had been at some places where I had watched to hear some expressions that might look like charity; but in many houses, and some of note, I could not hear any Christian like expressions to their slaves or negroes, and that with sorrow I had seen a great deal of tyranny and cruelty, the which I dissuaded them from. This doctrine so exasperated some that they made a disturbance in the meeting: one of the persons meeting me on the king's highway, shot off his fowling-piece at me, being loaded with small shot, ten of which made marks on me, and several drew blood; by which unfriendly action the man got a great deal of disgrace, it being highly resented by all who were acquainted with me. The president of the island looked on it as a very base action, as did also some of the justices and the gentry, also the vestry and several clergymen and lawyers. One of the lawyers told me I should not be just to the country, myself, or the man, if I did not prosecute him; another professing the law, said he ought to be abandoned by all mankind, if he shot at me with design; many were for prosecuting him, for the people generally took notice of it with abhorrence; but he sending for me, and signifying he would not do so again, I forgave him; and I pray it may not be laid to his charge in the great day, and that he may be forgiven, he being ignorant of the love I had and have for him and all men, even for those whom I know to be mine enemies. It would be too great a scandal and reproach, to expose his name and station in the world. Some thought I did



well in forgiving him, and some thought I did ill in it: but I spoke my mind to him alone freely, in which I had satisfaction and peace.

Intending my vessel for London, I made my chief mate, Ralph Loftus, master of her, not knowing whether I might proceed on the voyage, it being a very sickly time: afterwards my mate had the distemper also, but I bless God, we both recovered a good state of health.

It was during this voyage that my friends in Barbadoes published a little piece I wrote at sea, which I called "Free thoughts communicated to freethinkers;" done in order to promote thinking on the name and works of God; which had, as far as I understand, a good acceptance among the people. The principal clergyman on the island thanked me for it, and said "There was need enough of it;" but I could be glad another, or a better hand, had done something of that nature, and more at large. If this may be of any service, I shall be thankful.

I had a meeting at John Lewis's, in Joseph's parish, at which were divers not of our profession, and some who were never at any of our religious meetings before; who said they were glad they were there that day; it being a satisfactory open time.

After I had visited my friends and settled my affairs as well as I could, and loaded our vessel with sugars for London, being willing once more to see my native land, and settle my affairs there and see my relations and friends, on the 6th of the third month we set sail from Barbadoes for London, and had pleasant weather. The 16th being first-day, we had a religious meeting for the worship of God, in which I was concerned to speak on the government of the tongue, having on board several hands who did not sail with us before that voyage, and were much used to swearing. After that meeting we had not so many bad words and oaths as before. I was thankful in my soul to the Lord, and blessed his holy name, for his goodness to us that day; and in the night my sleep was very sweet and comfortable, being sensible of the love of God in the visions of the night; so that I witnessed the fulfilling of the prophecy of Joel, chapter ii. 28.

The 23d being the first-day of the week, we had a meeting, in which the grace of God that comes by Jesus Christ, was magnified, and a blessing begged for all who love and serve God, throughout the world, on sea and land; also a tender petition was put up to Almighty God, that as he was graciously pleased to look down on those eight persons in Noah's ark, so he would please to look

upon us in our vessel; and that as by his divine providence, they safely landed on the earth, so we, if it were his will, might safely land at our desired port, yet not that our wills, but his will might be done: which supplication was put up with great submission. Both day and night I often sought the Lord, and was much alone in this voyage. I read the Old and New Testament almost through, and much of it divers times over; my time being mostly taken up in reading, writing and meditating, in which, at times, my heart was broken into tenderness, and I was humbly thankful to God that my heart was not hard; he having promised to visit the contrite ones; which he sometimes fulfilled, to my unspeakable satisfaction; glory to his holy name forever. My heart was also thankful that God was pleased to visit me in my watery travels and troubles, and in my separation from my family and friends, who are much nearer and more valuable to me than all riches, and it was a great cross to my natural inclination to part with them.

The 8th of the fourth month being the first-day of the week, we had a meeting, in which acquaintance with God was exhorted to, showing the benefit of it, and of loving him above all things, and delighting in his law and meditating therein day and night. The 19th in the morning, a strong northerly wind came up and blew so hard that we could not carry sail, but lay to the wind, under our mizen, which was split or torn with the violence of the wind, and the sea rose high, so that it came into the windows of our great cabin. It was very rugged for the time, and though it was mid-summer, was so cold that we were obliged to clothe ourselves as in winter. The 22nd being first-day, we had a comfortable meeting after the storm, wherein the great benefit of true religion was a little opened to our small company, and the Lord, Most High, was praised for our deliverance and preservation. The 26th we sounded, and found about seventy fathom depth of water. The 29th we were abreast the isle of Wight. From the time we left the island of Barbadoes to the time we found ground, was seven weeks. Thus through many perils and dangers we came to Great Britain; for all which mercies and providences, let my soul bless and praise the holy name and mighty power of the Most High.

It was now a time of a very great pressing for seamen, and several men-of-war's boats came on board to press our sailors; but they had prepared a place in the vessel to hide themselves, and the men-of-war's people could not find them. One lieutenant with his men came on board, and seeing us weak handed,

the best of our hands being hid, he asked me if I had any more hands on board? I made him little answer. He then said he was sure I could not bring the ship from Barbadoes without hands. I told him sailors were hard to be got in Barbadoes, either for love or money, to go for London, for fear of being pressed, and I was obliged to take any I could get. He said it was in vain to talk much, but if I would say I had no more hands on board, he would be satisfied; he having a belief that I would speak the truth, though he never saw me before; and he said if I would say there were no more men on board, he would go away, for then he had no more business there: but I made him no answer, not daring to tell a lie. Now I know that there are men on board, said he; so he commanded his men to search the ship to her keel. So they stripped and made a narrow search, and sweated and fretted, but could not find them. He being civil, I made him when he went away, a small present. He wished me well; and so I carried my people safely up to London.

In the beginning of the fifth month I came to London, and lodged at the house of Simeon Warner, in Southwark, and at several kind friends and relations in and about London. The tender and brotherly respect which I received in some of those families, in my sickness, will not, I believe, ever be forgotten while I am in this world; and I hope that He whom I serve with my might and strength, will be their reward. When in the country about London, my residence was mostly at Edmonton, at my dear brother George Chalkley's, who, with my sister and cousins, were a comfort to me both in health and sickness. In London I was often sorely afflicted with the phthisic and asthma, which sometimes made me very uneasy; and though my affairs required me to be often in the city, yet I was obliged to return to the country for air, and both in health and sickness, was kindly and affectionately received and tended by my dear brother, sister, and all my loving cousins. The memory thereof is cordial to me in penning these lines. It may be truly said, we were very joyful in meeting one another, and our sorrow in parting is not easy to be expressed.

In London I sold my vessel, the Barbadoes packet, and settled all my affairs to general satisfaction, so far as I know, on which account I had laboured for several years, and was joyful that Providence had favoured me so far as to see it accomplished: so that now I wholly intend to leave trading by sea, which I never inclined to, only on a principle of justice; for I was fully resolved in my mind that my creditors should be paid their

just debts, though I might lose my life in the pursuit of it. I never was extravagant or indolent, but met with many casualties by fire and water; by the latter I lost many hundreds of pounds for several years together. I would persuade all in their undertakings for a livelihood in this world, to be sure to have an eye to divine Providence, who will not suffer us, if we do well, nor so much as a sparrow, to fall to the ground, without he think it best for us, he knowing what is for our good better than we know ourselves.

When I had paid my debts and in a good degree settled my affairs, I visited several of my relations at Kingsworth, Staines, Guilford, &c.; had a meeting at Market street, and one at Guilford, another at Staines, and one at Longford; in all which I had some service, and my relations were joyful to see me once more, not having expected to see me again. When I had visited meetings in and about London, I went towards the north, in order to visit some places where I had never been, and some that I had been at. The number of meetings and the names of the places where I had meetings, while I was this time in England, are as follows. While I was in and about London, I was at eighteen meetings in that great city, at two of which I was with May Drummond, a virtuous young woman, who hath a good gift in the ministry, and had a gracious opportunity of declaring her conviction to our noble Queen Caroline, our great King George's royal consort. The kind treatment and good reception she had with the queen, spread so in city and country, that many thousands flocked to hear her, and more of the gentry and nobility than ever were known before at our meetings. I had some private conversation with her, which put me in mind of the apostle's exhortation, where he adviseth the primitive Christians, that their words be few and savoury, and that they should be seasoned with grace, for this great reason, that they might administer grace to the hearers; and truly I thought there was the influence of grace in her conduct and conversation, whom I pray God to preserve in Christ to the end.

I had a meeting at the house of my brother with his scholars at Edmonton, and also with his family and others of our relations, which some of us may have occasion to remember. We had seven meetings at Tottenham at sundry times, and four at Hartford; I travelled to Hitchin, from thence to Baldock, and then to Stadtfold and Ashwell. The 7th of the eighth month being the third-day of the week, to Royston, fourth to Ives, fifth to Huntington, sixth to Ramsey. First-day being the 12th of the month, we had a meeting at a



small town named Finding, and the same day in the evening, had a large meeting at Wel-  
lingborough, in Northamptonshire. The 14th  
being the third-day of the week, we had a  
meeting at Northampton, fourth-day at Bray-  
brook, fifth-day at Okeham, the county town  
of Rutland, sixth-day at Long Clackson; and  
first-day being the 19th of the month, I was  
at a large and open meeting at Nottingham,  
where were many people not of our Society,  
who were very sober; third-day had a meet-  
ing at Fairnsfield, fourth-day at Mansfield,  
and fifth at Chesterfield, in Derbyshire; from  
whence we went over the moors and moun-  
tains. Benjamin Bangs, the younger, accom-  
panied me, who came from Stockport to be  
my companion and guide thither: his com-  
pany was pleasant and profitable to me in that  
hilly country, through which we travelled to  
Stockport, where we had three meetings, and  
where I met with my dear, worthy old friend,  
Benjamin Bangs. When we met we em-  
braced each other in Christian love, having  
not seen one another for many years, with  
whom I staid four days. This worthy Friend,  
though upwards of fourscore years of age,  
went with me to Manchester, where we had  
two meetings, and then I went back with him  
to his house. He was a man of extraordi-  
nary character, and well beloved, being a pil-  
lar in the church of Christ.

From Stockport I went to Macclesfield, to  
Joseph Hobson's, where I met with Joshua  
Toft and his brother, two choice ministers of  
Jesus Christ, of whose company I was glad,  
though at that time I was very low and poor  
in my spirit. We had two meetings here on  
the 2nd of the ninth month, being first-day.  
I was at a large meeting at Morley, and in  
the evening, at the meeting at John Leigh's,  
at both which there were many people not of  
our Society, who were very still, and some  
were broken into tenderness. From Morley  
I went to Penketh, where we had a large,  
solid meeting, and had an evening meeting at  
Warrington, where I met with many brethren  
and sisters, who sincerely love our Lord Jesus  
Christ, with whom I was refreshed, particu-  
larly at Gilbert Thompson's and Lawrence  
Calen's. From Warrington I went to Lang-  
tree, Preston and Clifton, where I had meet-  
ings, and so went on to Lancaster. I went  
to Wray, in order to visit my old ship-mate,  
Elizabeth Rawlinson, whose son, Hutton Raw-  
linson, went with me. When I came to Wray,  
they desired me to have a meeting with them;  
and though there was little notice, yet we had  
a large meeting, the neighbours coming in,  
and Christ was preached to them freely; this  
was the 10th in the evening, and second-day  
of the week. Third-day I went to Kendal,

and in the evening, with very little notice, we  
met with several hundreds of people, Friends  
and others. It was a surprise to me, I ex-  
pecting but a few, because of the shortness of  
time; but I acknowledge it was a pleasant  
surprise, to see the willingness and readiness  
of the people to hear the gospel preached.  
Friends here are a great people, and well be-  
loved and esteemed by their neighbours, and  
live in much love and unity. The fourth-day  
many Friends came to see me from divers  
parts, I giving them some notice that I de-  
signed to go no further northward, and has-  
tening to get ready to go to America, betimes  
in the spring; having been from home nearly  
two years; wherefore many of my friends,  
some of whom had been at sea with me, met  
me here. We rejoiced to see one another,  
and after a large and good meeting, took a  
solemn farewell, many of us not expecting to  
see each other any more.

In this journey and travel I endeavoured to  
be, as much as I well could, at such meetings  
as I had never been at before, and because I  
was short in this visit to my friends, some  
were not so well pleased; but my call was  
most to the American shore, where I thought  
my service mostly lay, and in order to return,  
I set my face toward London, and expected  
to meet with my friend and brother in Christ,  
Isaac Pickerell, in Cheshire, who designed to  
accompany me towards the south. I went  
from Kendal to Lancaster, and was at Penketh  
on a first-day, being the 16th of the ninth  
month, which meeting was large and solid.  
We then went to Sutton, where I met with  
Isaac Pickerell, also with our ancient friend  
James Dickinson, and Christopher Wilson, a  
choice young man, his fellow labourer. We  
had meetings at Sutton, Newtown, Chester  
and Shrewsbury. James Dickinson was about  
fourscore years of age, and yet held out in  
travel to admiration, and was lively in preach-  
ing the gospel: he is a worthy elder, of whose  
company I was joyful; at Shrewsbury we  
parted, and Isaac and I went to Colebrook,  
where, on a first-day, we had a solid, good  
meeting. From thence we went to Stour-  
bridge, and after having a meeting there and  
at Broomsgrove, went on to Worcester, where  
we had divers large and solemn meetings: we  
lodged at John Corbin's, who was very kind  
to us, as also were his hopeful children, and  
in great love and unity we both met and  
parted. From Worcester we went to Eves-  
ham, where we had two meetings, and from  
thence to Oddington, and had a large even-  
ing meeting; the people, who were mostly of  
other societies, were very sober, and gave  
good attention. On fifth-day we had a meet-  
ing at Chalbury, and a tender time with a

Friend at Wallingford who was very weak, and expressed his satisfaction and thankfulness for the visit; his children were very tenderly affected also. The good Lord, the great physician of value was with us, and his grace was at that time shed abroad in our hearts. From Wallingford we went to Reading, where my good companion and fellow traveller, Isaac Pickerell, dwelt; we were lovingly received by our friends. I staid here and rested several days, and had several satisfactory meetings with Friends, they being a large people, living much in love and good will. Here Samuel Thornton, of Edmonton, my kinsman, and Isaac Brown, my wife's son, came from London to see me. From Reading, Isaac Pickerell accompanied me to Maidenhead and to Jordan's, at both which places we had meetings. The house and burying ground at Jordan's, are kept in the neatest order of any I ever saw, in which ground lie the bones of our worthy Friends, Isaac Penington, William Penn, Thomas Ellwood, George Bowles, and their wives, as I remember. This meeting is often, if not mostly kept in silence; yet several have been convinced there, through the grace of God and the power of the Holy Ghost, which Christ said he would send to the true believers, and that should abide with the church forever: here my beloved friend Isaac and I parted in much love, having good desires for each other's welfare. From Jordan's I went to my brother's, at Edmonton, where I rested a few days from travelling.

Then a concern came upon me to visit Friends' meetings in the county of Essex, and I went from my brother's to Hartford, and had several meetings there, and one at Ware, which was very large; after which I went to Hartford again, having relations there. Thence I went to Bishopstifford and Stebbing, where I had meetings; and at Braintree, Coggeshall and Halstead, and there were abundance of people at Colne, at an evening meeting we had, where I met with my worthy friend Joshua Toft, and his fellow traveller, Joseph Hobson, we rejoicing to see each other. From Colne I went to Cockfield, which was a very small meeting; then to Colchester, where I staid several days and went to several meetings, as at Rockstead and Manningtree, and then back to Colchester. On first-day I had a large meeting in the afternoon, and after it Friends were for appointing meetings for me to be at in the ensuing week, and desired to know my mind therein. After a little pause I told them I found a full stop in my mind from going to any more meetings at present, and that I would wait some days with them in the city, till I saw further. While we were

sitting together a letter came to me from London, that a Friend, Stephen Payton, had set up my name on the Exchange, in London, as master of the Barbadoes packet, which was the vessel bought of me by John Agar, who sold her to said Stephen Payton, who intended her for Philadelphia, and next morning a messenger was sent for me from London: thus having such a favourable opportunity of returning home, I embraced it, and went on second-day to Witham, where I again met with Joshua Toft and Joseph Hobson at meeting; then to Plaistow, where we had a meeting, and then to Bromley, near Bow, at Joseph Olive's, where we had a meeting with his people and servants, who were many. I thought it was a good time, a divine hand of love was reached out to the young people, and they were advised to give up their hearts to their Creator in their youthful days; several scores of people belong to this family. After this meeting I went to London and prepared for the voyage. When our vessel was loaded, which was chiefly by Israel Pemberton, the younger, who went with us, as did our owner, Stephen Payton, and Isaac Brown and four of my kinsfolks, whose names are Freeman, with several other passengers; in the latter end of the twelfth month my brother and his eldest daughter, Rebecca, with her husband, Samuel Thornton, accompanied me to Gravesend, where our parting with them was very solemn and sorrowful, we not expecting to see one another more.

From Gravesend we sailed the 3d of the first month to the Downs, and from thence down the British channel, and were at sea about nine weeks, which we thought long, having many contrary winds; but after we came on shore, we understood many vessels were much longer. At sea we had meetings, some of which were to my satisfaction. I came very unwell on board; but when at sea, I mended; for which favour I am truly thankful. We landed all well and in health at Philadelphia, in the third month, 1736, where we were received with joy by our relations, friends and acquaintance; it was much the more so, because they had heard I was likely to die. At London I had a sore fit of the asthma or phthisic, three persons sitting up with me for three nights, who I thought would see my end; but the time was not yet come that I must die, though indeed death was no terror to me, hoping my change would be much for the better; for then, I hoped I should be forever with Him whom I loved better than life.

After I had been at home some time I went to Salem, and from thence to Cohansey, and in my return was at Woodbury creek, and had meetings at each place: and soon after I



visited the meetings of Friends at Bristol, Burlington, Trenton and Bordentown, and in my return home, at Middletown. By the way I called to see my ancient friends, Joseph Kirkbride and the widow Warder; she was ninety-two years of age, and perfect in her understanding; she said she did not know for what end the Almighty should prolong her days to that age; but she was satisfied in his will.

In the fifth month I visited the meetings of Friends at Haddonfield, in West Jersey, and at Newton, Haverford, Germantown, Abington, North Wales and Plymouth, and was several times at Philadelphia and Frankford.

After many exercises and large travels by sea and land, my brethren and others not of our Society, expressed their gladness to see me, rejoicing that I was likely to spend my time more on the land, hoping that I would go no more to sea; the which, God willing, I determined, having so settled my affairs that I could stay on shore; and am truly and humbly thankful to the Almighty, that he by his good hand of providence, in his due time, had favoured and helped me so to do.

In the sixth and seventh months I again visited the meetings of Friends at Bristol, Burlington, Byberry, Abington, Horsham, Germantown, Fairhill, and many times at Frankford and Philadelphia.

In the eighth month I was at two meetings at Cohansey, and one at Alloway's creek, where I met with Edward Tyler, a Friend on a religious visit from Europe, and John Sykes, a Friend living near Crosswicks, in Jersey, where we had an open satisfactory meeting; from whence I went to Salem, it being their week-day meeting, which was large and to the edification of many. I was also at Pilesgrove on fifth-day, and at Woodbury creek on sixth-day: in which last meeting the obedient son was encouraged, and the disobedient earnestly called home to his heavenly Father's house. In this journey I had John Bringham, the younger, for my fellow traveller; his father being unwilling that I should go the journey alone.

After I had been at home some time, I, with some others, went to the yearly meeting at Shrewsbury, in East-Jersey, which was on the 23d of the eighth month; it was exceedingly large, and the quietest and most settled meeting that ever I was at there; and many divine truths were delivered therein. From thence I went to Manesquan, and had a meeting, then to Middletown, where we had a meeting in the Baptist meeting house, divers of whom were there, and glad of the meeting; thence to Shrewsbury, and had a meeting on first-day, being the 30th of the month: from whence, on my return home, had meet-

ings at Moses Robin's, Allentown, Crosswicks, Bordentown, and Mansfield; some of which were large, open, and satisfactory. After the last meeting, we went to Burlington, and next day came home, accompanied by Richard Smith, Jr. After being a few days at home, I was sent for to Chester, to the marriage of John Lee, (who had sailed several voyages with me,) next day I went to the week-day meeting at Providence, and on first-day was at Springfield; from whence I returned home.

The 23d of the ninth month, I left home again, and went to Philadelphia, and from thence with Daniel Stanton, John Easton, and John Proud, Jr., (the two latter of Rhode-Island,) to Radnor and Goshen meetings, and by the coldness of the weather, and crossing several creeks, I got a cold, which settled on my lungs, so that, in conversation, I was hoarse; but I was helped in meetings to admiration; for which I was truly thankful to the Almighty, the great helper of his servants and children. We had a meeting with an ancient Friend, who said she had above two hundred who called her mother, being her children by blood and marriage to the fourth generation: we took our leave of her, as not expecting to see each other more, and parted in tenderness of heart. One of this Friend's grandsons went with us to Concord, where, on a first-day, we had a very large meeting, and an evening meeting at Moses Mendenhall's; and the remainder of the week we had meetings at Birmingham, Kennet, New-Garden, Marlborough, and the monthly meeting at Center, on the seventh-day following, at which were many young people; for whose sakes I was drawn, in my exercise of the ministry, to show the rise and design of our meetings of discipline.

First, That the same power which gathered us to be a people, inclined our elders to establish those meetings, and settle them in most parts where we were gathered and had meetings for the worship of God.

Second, They were advised to do the business of them, and speak to their affairs, in the sense of the same power, spirit, and wisdom of Christ, which, as it had raised us, would, as we kept to it, preserve us to be a people to the praise of God's holy name.

Third, They were advised, in doing the business, not to run out into many unnecessary words, which might lead to contention, and spending much time to little purpose; religious affairs being done best in a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the Lord; great evils having arisen in many ages, through hot and long contentions about religion. It is also good to avoid, in matters of difference,

respect of persons, on account of being acquainted or related, so as to be swayed thereby from justice.

Fourth; they were advised to be very careful of giving any just occasion of offence to any, to Jew or Gentile, to Indian or Negro; for, "Woe to them," says our Saviour, "by whom offences come;" and if any will take offence when none is justly given, it is the best way to be patient, and take our Saviour for our example, who got the victory through suffering; a safe way, and glorious in the end. And as to few words, the apostle says, "Let your words be few and savoury, seasoned with grace, that they may administer grace to the hearers."

Fifth; I was engaged for the sake of the youth of both sexes, to show them that a material part of the service of these meetings, is that care be taken therein, to see that persons are clear of prior engagements or entanglements, in relation to marriage, and that they have the consent of parents, or parties concerned, as guardians, &c., and also, that they, and all who belong to our Society, walk orderly in conversation; otherwise they could not be in unity with us, or owned by us, as a Society of religious people. We do not own scandalous persons, or admit them to be married amongst us, without acknowledging their faults and promising amendment for the future, through divine grace and assistance. Also, in those meetings the widows and fatherless are taken care of, that they may be supported and visited, and youths put out apprentices to learn trades, &c.

This meeting concluded with supplication for the rising generation, and for the king and all his subjects, and with thanksgiving and praises to the sacred name of Him who lives forever.

After the abovesaid meeting we went to Wilmington, a newly settled town on Christiana creek, which I believe will be a flourishing place, if the inhabitants take care to live in the fear of God, and seek his glory and the riches of his kingdom, preferring it to any thing of this world. We had a pretty large meeting here, considering the season, for it was very cold, which was held in a large house of William Shipley's; but they are making provision for a meeting house. From this town we went to Newark, and had a comfortable meeting at George Robinson's in the evening, and next morning set out for Philadelphia.

As it was now the winter season, and having been divers times at this season of the year in the warm climates, it was harder for me to bear the cold than usual, so that I staid at and about home pretty much, being often

at Philadelphia, Frankford, Germantown and Abington meetings.

The latter end of the tenth month, on a first-day of the week, I was at a large, open meeting at Darby, in Chester county. After meeting I rode home, about fourteen miles; but it was so cold that my limbs were much benumbed, and were not fully recovered in more than a week. Coming home, between Schuylkill river and Philadelphia, we observed the largest meteor that ever I saw, though I had seen many by sea and land; this was in sight almost a minute, as nearly as I could guess; it was a mighty stream, like a flame of fire, leaving, as it were, sparks of fire behind it, as it went along, and then settled like a star, and disappeared. A few days after this meteor, there appeared in the sky an uncommon redness, with streams like fire.

About this time was buried at Frankford, John Hurford, who was about ninety years of age; at whose burial, the coldness of the season considered, were a pretty many friends, neighbours and relations of the deceased; as also divers from Philadelphia. I was concerned to advise those present to prepare for their final change; that being certain, though the time is uncertain; which, generally, none knows but the Almighty; therefore we ought always to be preparing for our dissolution, and always watching and praying, lest we enter into temptation; as said our dear Lord, "If the good man of the house had known in what hour the thief would come, he would have watched." And we not knowing whether death will come in our youth, in middle, or old age, ought therefore, earnestly to prepare our hearts to meet death, so that we might dwell with God and Christ in his kingdom forever. It was also observed, that though this Friend had lived to a great age, yet that few lived so long, no, not one in a thousand, and many die very young. They were earnestly entreated, in the love of God through Christ, to prepare for their latter end, and not to set their hearts and affections on things below; for, by how much they set their hearts and affections on natural or outward objects, by so much the harder it would be to part with them, when death should come. This meeting ended with prayer for reformation and preservation to the end of life; and praises, yea, high praises were given to Him who had given to all present life, breath and being.

It being exceedingly severe weather, with much rain, wind and snow, there were great floods, so that we could not get over Frankford creek to meeting; wherefore the Friends on the west side met together at my house, and we had a satisfactory, good meeting, in



which we were exhorted to build our religion on the sure foundation; that neither storms, rain, nor winds, might be able to shake us from this foundation, which is Christ, the rock of ages.

This winter we were visited at Frankford with the small-pox, of which many died at Philadelphia, and several in our neighbourhood.

Staying chiefly at home, I spent much of my time in reading and writing, being often sensible of the love and goodness of God, my exceeding great reward; he by the spirit of his Son comforting me, and sometimes melting my heart into tenderness in consideration of his many mercies, which caused me to praise his holy name, who is thereof worthy, beyond expression, forever.

In the first month I went with my friend John Oxley, of Barbadoes, to Bristol, where we had a large meeting; and then over the river Delaware to Burlington quarterly meeting: we were obliged to get to the Jersey shore on the ice, laying boards thereon for about one hundred yards together; and being long on the ice and poorly as to health, I took such a cold that I could not get to meeting next day, but was at the youths' meeting on third-day following. On fourth-day I went to Rancocas meeting, then to a large meeting at Mount Holly, where was a marriage; afterwards to Evesham and Upper Springfield, or Hanover, and then returned to Burlington, and next day was at the monthly meeting there, which, to me, was a good open meeting, wherein church discipline was somewhat treated of, and Friends advised to wait for that spirit which leads into all truth, to guide them in the discipline.

In the second month, 1737, I went to Cohansey, in order to negotiate some affairs, and had three meetings at Greenwich and one at Alloway's creek; and on the 9th of said month, being first-day, was at Salem meeting, which was large and open: and in the evening we had a heavenly meeting at Bartholomew Wyat's.

After my return from Salem, on the 1st of the third month I took a journey to the eastward, having a desire to see Friends in those parts, whom I had divers times visited in the service of the gospel, in my young years; and though now upwards of threescore years of age, was willing to visit them once more before I died, who, in some places where I had formerly travelled, were grown very numerous. I set out with Joseph Gilbert and several other Friends, and we travelled together to Long island, where we parted, and I went to Newtown, where I met with John Fothergill and Samuel Bowne; at which place

we had a meeting, which was appointed on John's account, and his service therein was to the satisfaction and edification of Friends. From thence John went to West Chester, on the main, and I went to Flushing, where we had a large, open meeting: it was a solid, good time, and the sacred name of Him who lives forever, was praised.

From Flushing I went with my old friend and schoolfellow, Joseph Latham, to his house. Our conversation was pleasant and comfortable to each other, wherein we remembered our walking to and from school, in the suburbs of that great and populous city, London; when we were beaten, stoned and abused, only for being the children of those called Quakers. The priests, who had money for preaching, had preached and printed so many lies against our friends, that the common people were almost ready to make a sacrifice of us; they telling us, when we pleaded our innocence by saying we went quietly along the streets to school, that "It was no more sin to kill us, than to kill a dog:" but now, through the grace and favour of the Almighty, we enjoy the exercise of our religion, according to our consciences, free from jails and prisons, in which our primitive friends suffered much; for which we ought to be truly thankful to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

From Joseph Latham's we went to Westbury and Matinicoek, after a meeting at Cowneck, and to New-York, where I had also religious service and a meeting; and from New-York I took my passage in Robert Bowne's sloop, for Newport, on Rhode Island, was two days and nights on the water, and on my arrival at Rhode Island, the brethren lovingly received me, and we were joyful to see each other.

After having had divers good meetings on Rhode Island, I went to Dartmouth, where we had a large, serviceable meeting at a place called Aponyganaset, many hundreds being added to the church since I first visited those parts. From this place I went to Holder Slocum's, and he lent us his shallop to go over to Nantucket; but the wind not favouring, we had a satisfactory meeting at a large farm of his on an island bearing his own name, and after meeting set sail for Nantucket, had several large meetings there, and I rejoiced to see the growth and increase of Friends on this island; where God hath greatly multiplied his people, and made them honourable; glory to his name forever.

The priests, who have money for preaching; the lawyers, who have it for pleading; and the physicians, who have money for giving receipts for health; are poor trades on this island.

I had been at Nantucket about thirty-nine years before, at which time there were only two men and one woman who joined with our friends in profession, and now it was computed there were above a thousand who went to our meetings, they being a sober, religious people; and there is a great increase of Friends in divers other places in New-England; and whereas formerly we were greatly persecuted for our religion, now we are treated with more civility and respect in those parts.

From Nantucket, Nathaniel Starbuck and Elijah Collins went with me, with several other Friends, to the yearly meeting at Rhode Island; which was so very large, that it was difficult to speak so as to be heard all over it; but the last day our friend John Fothergill, who had a high voice, being attended with the divine power, gave good satisfaction to the meeting, and it ended well. After this meeting was over, I went with Benjamin Bagnal, to Boston, and from thence to Lynn and Salem, and had several satisfactory meetings, which tended to unite our hearts together in the love of Christ, and the fellowship of his gospel. From Salem I went with Zaccheus Collins and his wife to their house, and lodged there three nights, and was lovingly entertained, as I was also at many other Friends' houses. From Lynn Zaccheus Collins accompanied me to Boston, where we had a meeting on a fourth-day of the week, and the next day there was a very large meeting, the greatest gathering of people which had been seen at Friends' meeting house for a long time, occasioned by the marriage of John Mifflin, of Philadelphia, to Benjamin Bagnal's eldest daughter.

From Boston I returned to Rhode Island, and had divers meetings at Newport and Portsmouth, wherein our hearts were made glad in Christ, and we were strengthened in our faith in him; blessed be his holy name forever.

From Rhode Island, I went to Conanicut, and to Kingston in the Narraganset country, and had meetings, and then back to Rhode Island again, and by water in company with divers Friends to Greenwich, where I was at two large meetings: at this place they showed me the trees under which about forty years ago I had a meeting; but now they have a pleasant meeting house.

The next first-day, I was at a large, solid, edifying meeting, in a new meeting house at Tiverton. From thence I went to visit Joseph Wanton's wife, who had been long sick; and in her chamber, with several of her friends and relations, I had divers religious seasons, with which she expressed much satisfaction; she died of this sickness, and I was at her burial,

which was large, she being well known, and beloved. Next day I was at an appointed meeting at Portsmouth, which was large, and to satisfaction, for which we blessed the holy name of God. I had many good opportunities on Rhode Island in private families, and was at several meetings over the Beach, at John Easton's, who was about ninety years of age; he had travelled with me when I was a young man; we took leave of each other, not expecting to meet more in this world.

After many meetings on Rhode Island, I took my passage for Long island, in my return homeward; and after a boisterous passage, and being four nights on the water, I got well again to my loving friend Joseph Latham's, where I had left my horse, and on fifth-day had a meeting at Cowneck, where I met with Elijah Collins, Rose Tibbets, and Patience Barker, we rejoicing to see each other, after their long journey by land, and mine by water, they being likewise going for Pennsylvania. These Friends went to Flushing first-day meeting, and I to Westbury, where was a large meeting, in which there was a drunken schoolmaster, who disturbed us, though at last it ended quietly, and I hope well also. The next fourth-day I was at the monthly meeting at Westbury, where many Friends met from divers quarters, and it was a solid good time. We had a meeting at Thomas Rodman's, who was unwell, and had not been at a meeting for some months; he took our visit kindly, expressing his love to us; we had also a meeting at Jeremiah Williams', to good satisfaction. Fifth-day we had a large gathering at Matinicoek, and in the evening a tender broken meeting at Samuel Underhill's, and sixth-day a good one at Newtown, wherein primitive Christianity was opened and experimentally declared to the people; and in the evening we had a good opportunity to declare the truth of Christ at the house of Richard Hallet, among several of his sober neighbours. Next morning being the seventh of the week, we went to West Chester to a yearly meeting, which was much crowded and the people very unsettled, so that it was not so satisfactory as could have been desired. After meeting we went over again to Long island, and then to New-York, where we had a large quiet meeting in the evening. At New-York on third-day morning, divers dear friends accompanied us to the water side, where we solemnly took leave of one another in the love of Christ, and in the fellowship of his gospel; some of us not expecting to see each other any more. Passing over Long and Staten islands to Elizabeth town, we travelled to Rahway, and had a meeting on a fourth-day in the evening, where many neighbours came. After



meeting a certain person was dissatisfied about women's public speaking in religious meetings; Rose Tibbets having publicly exhorted them in this meeting to be religious and to fear God, and having prayed to God for us all, and praised his holy name, the said person desired we would endeavour to satisfy him about it, inasmuch as the apostle Paul forbade it, as he apprehended. To which it was answered, that the apostle Paul only forbade, or did not permit forward or busy women, to speak or ask questions in the church; but advised them to ask their husbands at home, and that doubtless he never intended to debar such godly women, who had a real necessity laid on them, and were concerned by the Almighty, to speak unto or pray for the people, else he would not have showed them how they ought to behave themselves in the service. For if he had any design to hinder such, whom the Almighty should call to this work, then he must have contradicted himself, where he shows how they must behave themselves in their duty of speaking or praying, and he would likewise thereby have opposed the apostle Peter, who said, Now is fulfilled the prophecy of the prophet Joel, that in the latter days sons and daughters should prophesy. So that it is clear and plain, they who would limit or silence those who have a gift from God to preach or pray in public, from the words of the apostle Paul, oppose him to himself, and to the apostle Peter, and also to the prophet Joel.

From Rahway we went to Woodbridge, where we had a meeting, and there I parted with my fellow travellers, having a concern, though much in the cross to my own will, to go back in the woods to a meeting about eight or nine miles off; which meeting was much to my own satisfaction, as well as of those present, as divers of them expressed. From this place I went to Stonybrook, and had a pretty large meeting, considering it was rainy, in the time of the meeting's gathering. At this place, my son-in-law, Isaac Brown, with several Friends, came to meet me, whom I was glad to see, and after meeting went with them to Trenton, and next day to Bristol, it being their third-day meeting, which was large, and after meeting went home to Frankford, and there was lovingly received by my wife and family. In this journey I was from home three months and nine days, had fifty-five meetings, and travelled by land and water above a thousand miles. I may truly say, that therein I was favoured with the divine presence and grace of God by Christ, in a good degree, and also with the fellowship of many sincere believers in him, which in my

return caused my soul to bless his holy name, who lives forever.

In the sixth month, after having had divers meetings at and about home, I went to Darby, Chester and Newcastle, having meetings in each place, which were to the tendering of some mournful souls, and to their comfort and strength. From Newcastle I ferried over Delaware river to Penn's-neck, where I had a meeting, at which were several that had never been at any of our meetings before, who went away well satisfied. From thence I went to Salem monthly meeting, which was very large, and to Cohansey to the third-day meeting, and staid till next first-day meeting, which though small, by reason of rainy, stormy weather, was a very precious time. After I had negociated some affairs at Cohansey, I returned to Salem, where I met with my fellow traveller, Elijah Collins, of Boston, with whom I went on to Philadelphia, and from thence home; having much satisfaction in this journey, in which I had nine meetings, and travelled about one hundred and fifty miles. I cannot be clear in my mind without saying that I did not, nor do I study what to preach to the people. Nor did I, nor do I receive any pay or outward consideration for preaching, it being, as I really believe, contrary to the doctrine of Christ, and his apostles and disciples.

This fall I visited several of the meetings of Friends in Bucks county, and the meetings at and about home, as at Frankford, Philadelphia, Abington, Byberry and Germantown. In the ninth month I was appointed with several other Friends, by our monthly meeting, to visit the families of Friends in Philadelphia. My lot was to visit the upper part of the city, in company with Phebe Morris, Hannah Parrock and Daniel Stanton; in which service we were of one heart and mind, and performed it in pure self-denial, and in the cross of our holy Lord Jesus Christ. And wonderful it was, how the presence and goodness of God went with us from house to house, and opened the states and conditions of the families to us, to the tendering of many hearts, both of parents and children. We visited about forty families of Friends, when the winter setting in, and I being but weakly, having had a sharp spell of the fever, we by consent, were willing to defer the conclusion of this work until longer days and warmer weather.

In this month I was sent to, in order to be at the burial of the wife of Richard Smith, Jr. She was a virtuous woman, and well beloved, at whose funeral were many of her neighbours and friends. It was a very solemn

time, in which meeting it was desired that those who had lost their parents, would live so that they might not be a dishonour to them; for it was observed of some children, after their parents were dead, they grew worse than when they were alive, taking undue liberties, which their fathers and mothers could not have allowed of, which was a sore grief and trouble to their friends, and such as wished them well. Therefore they were exhorted not to do that when their parents were dead, which they would not have done if they were living; which would be heavy on them, and tend to bring a blast on them in this world; and they were desired to consider how they would answer it in the world to come.

It was also observed, that sometimes the death of parents had a good effect on sober young people, they being thereby led more seriously to think on their own mortality, and to consider the great loss of their careful and religious fathers and mothers, and the good example and counsel they gave them. This meeting concluded with a solid, weighty frame of mind in many. From Burlington I went to Mount Holly, had a large meeting at the meeting house, and another in the evening at Mount Holly town, at the house of Thomas Shinn; both of which were open, and some people not of our profession were there, who were well satisfied. I then went to Evesham, Chester and Haddonfield, at all which places I had large meetings, and back to Burlington, and was at their fifth-day meeting. From Burlington I went with Richard Smith, Caleb Raper and Jonathan Wright, to visit a Friend who was sick, after which the said Friends accompanied me to the ferry; and I rode home, where I found my family well, for which I was thankful.

In the fore part of the tenth month, our worthy friend John Fothergill, sailed in the brigantine Joseph, Ralph Loftus, master, for Barbadoes, he having made a third visit to America from Europe, on a religious account. His visit was acceptable and serviceable, and we parted in great love and tenderness. The night before, about the eleventh hour, was an earthquake, which was the greatest known in this province, the whole city of Philadelphia being shaken, and most part of the adjacent provinces, though little or no damage was done thereby, which shows the abundant mercy of a merciful God; as also, if it were the pleasure of his will, how soon he can lay cities and countries waste and desolate, and bury thousands in a moment. But notwithstanding the mighty power of the eternal Jehovah, Oh! how hard are the people's hearts, and how they hate to be reformed, and how

unconcerned are the inhabitants of the land about their eternal peace and well-being! This is really lamentable. Oh! how do earthly mindedness, pride, covetousness and drunkenness abound, with many other evils, which were scarcely known amongst the first settlers of this peaceful, and now plentiful land of Pennsylvania.

The 26th of the twelfth month, being the first-day of the week, was buried at Merion, Edward Jones, aged about ninety-two years. He was one of the first settlers of Pennsylvania, a man much given to hospitality, a lover of good and virtuous people, and was beloved by them. There were many hundreds of people at his funeral. I had a concern to be at this meeting before I left my place at Frankford, and before I heard of this Friend's decease.

The beginning of the first month, being the fifth-day of the week, I was sent to, in order to be at the burial of Hannah, the wife of John Mickle, at Newtown, in West Jersey. My kinsman, Daniel Stanton, was with me. It was a solid, heart melting time; my heart was broken into tenderness with many others. The deceased was much beloved by her friends and neighbours, and there was much mourning among her relations, by whom she will be greatly missed. The people were desired earnestly to prepare for their latter end and final change; and that as we had all reason to hope it was well with our deceased friend, we might likewise have a well grounded hope that it would be well with ourselves, when we came to put off mortality and put on immortality. The meeting ended with fervent supplication for our future well-doing and well-being, both here and hereafter, and praise to the Most High, who is alone worthy forever more.

As soon as I returned to Philadelphia on the sixth-day of the week, I heard of the death of Joseph Kirkbride, at Israel Pemberton's, who told me I was desired to be at his burial. He, his son and William Logan, accompanied me as far as Samuel Bunting's that afternoon, with which journey I was exceedingly tired, so that I could hardly stand or go when I alighted off my horse, but being refreshed with a good night's rest, I went in the morning to the house of my deceased friend. There was a multitude of people at the burial, among whom we had a good opportunity to invite them to lay hold on truth and righteousness, and prepare for another world. They were reminded that neither natural wisdom nor riches, youth nor strength, crowns nor sceptres, could secure them from the stroke of death. Robert Jordan was at this meeting and had good service therein; it concluded in



supplication for the widow and fatherless, and for mankind universally. Fourth-day being the 4th of the first month, I was at Middletown meeting in company with Thomas Brown, wherein the divinity of Christ and his being made flesh, born of a virgin, crucified, dead and buried, and his being raised from the dead by the divine power, were largely opened to the people, and that the same power must be witnessed to reform our lives, and give us the true saving faith in, and knowledge of God the Father, and Christ the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

This month at our general spring meeting, I acquainted Friends that I had a desire once more to see my friends in Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina, if health and strength did permit, and divine Providence favoured, not having yet fully recovered my former health and strength: the meeting consented to my request.

The latter end of the first month I was at the burial of Robert Evan, of North Wales; he was upwards of fourscore years of age, and one of the first settlers there. A man who lived and died in the love of God and his neighbours, of whom I believe it might be truly said, as our Saviour said of Nathaniel: "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile." He was a minister of Christ, full of divine and religious matter. In this month I was at Fairhill, at a meeting appointed for Ruth Courtney and Susannah Hudson, who were on a religious visit from Ireland to Friends in this and the adjacent provinces. It was a good meeting, the Friends speaking to the state thereof.

The beginning of the second month I went over the Delaware, and so to Cohansey, intending home before I set out for my journey to the southward; but my affairs not answering so as to come home, and afterward to reach the yearly meeting of Friends at West river, which I proposed to our general meeting; I wrote to my wife and family that I intended to proceed to West river meeting, it saving me much time and riding; and after having been at several meetings at Cohansey, and at the yearly meeting at Salem, and at a meeting at Pilesgrove; being accompanied by a Friend of Salem, I proceeded and went over Delaware river, and first had a meeting at George's creek, and from thence to the head of Sassafras river, where we had a meeting, but by reason of the wet weather it was small. We travelled to Cecil meeting, and so on to Chester; then to Queen Ann's county, and from thence to Newtown, on Chester river, where we had a large satisfactory meeting; in which it was shown that no Christian might or could break the moral part of the

law; for, said the apostle, it is a school master to bring to Christ, and that those who come to the gospel of Christ, can in no wise break the least commandment of God. For example; the law saith, Thou shalt not forswear thyself; but if a man, according to Christ's gospel, swears not at all, then that man cannot forswear himself. Again the law saith, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but Christ says, love your enemies; the which if we do, there is no doubt but we shall love our neighbours. Those things were largely spoken to and opened in the meeting, and the people, many of whom were not of our Society, were very attentive and sober, and the good hand of the Almighty was amongst us.

From Chester river we crossed Chesapeake bay to the yearly meeting at West river, where we met with our friends Michael Lightfoot, Elizabeth Wyat and Grace Mason, with divers others; Elizabeth and Grace being on their return home from a religious visit to North Carolina and Virginia. We all being far from home and well acquainted, were glad to see one another, being thankful to the Almighty, who had been pleased to preserve us so far on our way. After the meeting was ended at West river, taking leave in the love of Christ of divers Friends, with hearts full of love and eyes full of tears, as never expecting to see one another again, I with my companion and Armiger Trotter, who came up with the Friends from Virginia to West river, set out for Virginia, and having passed over Patuxent river, had a meeting among the family of the Plummers, one of whom, with another Friend, accompanied us to the river Potomac; we rode as nearly as we could compute sixty miles that day. I being heavy and aged and the weather hot, was very much tired, and laid down in my clothes all night, and the next morning ferried over the river Potomac, computed about three miles, and parted with our guides. When over this river we travelled fifteen miles to William Duff's, had a meeting there, and from thence to a meeting of Friends at John Cheagle's, and so to Black creek, had a meeting there, and then went to the monthly meeting of Friends on the west side of James' river, and to the monthly meeting at Nansemond river, and from thence to Carolina, and on a first-day had a large meeting at a new meeting house built to accommodate the yearly meeting; it was a good, solid meeting, and there Friends appointed several meetings for us; after attending which we went to the quarterly meeting for Friends in North Carolina, which was very large. The people were exhorted to overcome sin as Christ overcame,

that they might sit with him in his kingdom, as he overcame, and is set down in the kingdom of God his Father: that subject was largely spoken to, and we had a good opportunity with the people, and the great name of God was exalted over all. After this quarterly meeting we had a meeting at James Wilson's, in the barrens, which was a large, good, and open meeting: in the conclusion thereof, I told them that I came among them in great love, though in a cross to my own will, with respect to my age and the heat of the weather, being willing to see them in that province once more before I left this world; and as I came in love, so I parted with them; desiring them to dwell in love and peace, and then the God of love would be with them.

From Carolina we travelled to Virginia, Zachariah Nixon accompanying us, and had a meeting at the widow Newby's, and then at Nansemond and the Branch; many people were there not of our Society, and were very attentive and sober. Next day being the second of the week, we had a satisfactory meeting at Bennet's creek; then to Chuckatuck, Rasper-neck, Pagan creek, and into Surry county, to Samuel Sebrell's; then to Robert Honicut's, had a meeting there; then to Curl's, up James' river; to Thomas and John Pleasants', and then to the Swamp and Cedar creek; and so on to John Cheagle's.

We came to his house on fifth-day, the 20th of the fifth month; and being unwilling to be idle on sixth and seventh-days, intending to have a meeting at his house on first-day, we appointed one about three miles, and another about six miles off; at which places we had good service: and then had a very large meeting at his house, on first-day, which was, I hope, to pretty general satisfaction, to the religious part of the people. From thence we travelled to William Duff's, and had a meeting at their meeting house; and afterwards William went with us over Potomac river, as far as Piscataway, in Maryland. This river is computed to be nearly four miles over, and when we were about the middle, there was a large swell, and the motion of the boat made our horses fall down, and the boat having much water in it, being very leaky, was near oversetting. Those in the boat were in some concern and consternation, saying, when we came to the shore, that they did not remember they were ever before in the like danger. I apprehend we were in danger; and if the boat had overset, in all likelihood, we might have been drowned. And I then thought I was in the service of Christ, my great master, and I also knew I must die, and I thought I might as well die in his service as my own; so I gave

up my life for Christ's sake, and he gave it to me again. Oh! may I, with all those who sincerely love him, serve him truly all our days, is my desire!

From Piscataway we travelled to Patuxent, to the family of the Plummers, who were ten sons of one father and mother, and were convinced about the time I first had meetings in those parts, and so far as I know, they are all sober men.

After this meeting we went to Gerard Hopkins', then to Patapsco, and had a large meeting, the house being full before the Friends came, so that they could hardly get in; to me it was a good, seasonable opportunity, as was our next in the forest of Gunpowder river; where Friends have built a new meeting house, which, at this time, could not contain the people. From Gunpowder river we went to Bush river, had a good, open meeting, and one at Deer creek, and so over Susquehanna to Elihu Hall's.

At West-Nottingham I parted with my companion, he having about a day's travel home. I had two meetings on first-day at the great meeting house at West-Nottingham, which were very large, and Friends glad to see me once more. After having meetings at Christiana bridge, Wilmington, Center and Kennet, I went to the quarterly meeting of ministers at Concord, and was there first and second-day, and third-day at Darby; all which were very large meetings, and Friends were satisfied and comforted, and I was encouraged in the work and service of the gospel of Christ. From Darby I went home, having been abroad about four months, and rode, by computation, above eleven hundred miles, and was at about seventy meetings.

While I was on this journey, I had an account of the death of my dear and only brother, George Chalkley, a religious, prudent man; he died the 24th of the ninth month, 1737, near the seventieth year of his age, and left behind him a mournful widow and four daughters, all virtuous women.

When in Virginia, I wrote to those of our Society at Opeckon, Shenandoah, &c., many of whom went out of our province to settle in the government of Virginia; to the following effect.

*To Friends of the Monthly Meeting at Opeckon.*

"Virginia, at John Cheagle's, 21st of Fifth mo., 1738.

"Dear Friends, who inhabit Shenandoah and Opeckon,

"Having a concern for your welfare and prosperity, both now and hereafter, and also the prosperity of your children, I had a desire to see you; but being in years and heavy,



and much spent and fatigued with my long journies in Virginia and Carolina, it seems too hard for me to perform a visit in person to you; wherefore I take this way to discharge my mind of what lies weightily thereon: and,

“First; I desire that you be very careful, being far and back inhabitants, to keep a friendly correspondence with the native Indians, giving them no occasion of offence; they being a cruel and merciless enemy, where they think they are wronged or defrauded of their right, as woful experience hath taught, in Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, and especially in New-England, &c., and,

“Second; As divine Providence hath given them and their forefathers the possession of this continent of America, or this wilderness, they have a natural right thereto, in justice and equity; and no people, according to the law of nature and justice, and our own principle, which is according to the glorious gospel of our dear and holy Lord Jesus Christ, ought to take away, or settle on other men’s lands or rights, without consent, or purchasing the same, by agreement of parties concerned; which I suppose in your case is not yet done.

“Third; Therefore my counsel and Christian advice to you, is, my dear friends, that the most reputable among you, do, with speed, endeavour to agree with and purchase your lands of the native Indians or inhabitants. Take example of our worthy and honourable late proprietor, William Penn; who by his wise and religious care in that relation, hath settled a lasting peace and commerce with the natives, and through his prudent management therein, hath been instrumental to plant in peace one of the most flourishing provinces in the world.

“Fourth; Who would run the risk of the lives of their wives and children, for the sparing a little cost and pains? I am concerned to lay these things before you, under an uncommon exercise of mind, that your new and flourishing little settlement may not be laid waste, and if the providence of the Almighty doth not intervene, some of the blood of yourselves, wives or children, be spilled on the ground.

“Fifth; Consider you are in the province of Virginia, holding what rights you have under that government; and the Virginians have made an agreement with the natives, to go as far as the mountains, but no further; and you are over and beyond the mountains, therefore out of that agreement; by which you lie open to the insults and incursions of the southern Indians, who have destroyed many of the inhabitants of Carolina and Vir-

ginia, and even now have destroyed more on the like occasion. The English going beyond the bounds of their agreement, eleven of them were killed by the Indians while we were travelling in Virginia.

“Sixth; If you believe yourselves to be within the bounds of William Penn’s patent from King Charles II., which will be hard for you to prove, you being far to the southward of his line; yet, if done, that is of no consideration with the Indians, without a purchase of them; except you will go about to convince them by fire and sword, contrary to our principles; and if that were done, they would ever be implacable enemies, and the land could never be enjoyed in peace.

“Seventh; Please to note that in Pennsylvania no new settlements are made, without an agreement with the natives; as witness Lancaster county, lately settled; though that is far within the grant of William Penn’s patent from King Charles II., wherefore you lie open to insurrections of the northern as well as southern Indians.

“And lastly, thus having shown my good will to you and to your new settlement, that you might sit every one under your own shady tree, where none might make you afraid, and that you might prosper naturally and spiritually, you and your children; and having in some measure eased my mind of the weight and concern that lay upon me, I subscribe in the love of our holy Lord Jesus Christ,

“Your real friend,

“THOMAS CHALKLEY.”

After my return from this journey, I stayed much at home that winter, travelling being now hard for me, so that I could not perform long journies as formerly, being more broken in the long and hard travelling in this journey, than in divers years before.

In the year 1739, I took several short journies, in Salem and Burlington counties, in West Jersey, and in Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks counties, in Pennsylvania, having many large and comfortable meetings, and some satisfactory service in several of them.

This year the war broke out between Great Britain and Spain; the Spaniards giving great occasion of offence to the British nation; notwithstanding which, King George II. sought to accommodate matters peaceably; but the crown of Spain not complying with the terms agreed on for an accommodation, war was proclaimed; which occasioned much disturbance and distraction in our peaceable province and government. War being destructive to life, health and trade, the peace and prosperity of the people, and absolutely against the doctrine and practice of the Prince of life and

peace, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; a great concern came on my mind to promote his doctrine; in order to which I was largely concerned to treat thereof at the general spring meeting at Philadelphia; with which service divers wise and pious people were well satisfied, though some were offended.

When the meeting was over, having a desire and concern once more to visit Friends in the lower counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, among whom I had not travelled for nearly twenty years, and being now a little better in health than I had been, I set out from my home, and went to Chester, and from thence to Wilmington and Newcastle, where we had meetings; William Hammond being with me. We had meetings at George's creek, Duck creek, and Little creek, and proceeded to Motherkill, where I had a large, open time, in preaching the gospel to the people, which divers of them received with gladness. There were many, not of our Society, who were very sober and attentive, a door being open among them; yet, notwithstanding there may be much openness both in speakers and hearers, I have observed with sorrow, that there are but few who retain the truth so as to be really converted; many are convinced, but few converted and come to be regenerated or born again, as our Saviour taught.

From Motherkill I went back to Little creek and Duck creek, and from thence to Appoquinimink to the burial of a Friend's son, who died of the small-pox; on which occasion we had a solid meeting, the mournful relations being thankful for our company. I then went to John M'Cool's, and to Newcastle; where we had a large, open meeting, to the satisfaction of divers; though I was very weakly and poorly, as to my health, so that it was hard for me to stoop to take any thing from the ground, and with difficulty I walked from the Friend's house to the meeting; but being helped by grace and carried through the service of the meeting beyond my expectation, was, with divers others, truly thankful to God the Father, and Christ, my Lord and Saviour.

From Newcastle I went to Wilmington, had a meeting there, and to Newark, to the marriage of Alexander Seaton. The meeting was uncommonly large, and to general satisfaction.

From Newark I went to Center monthly meeting, and to Kennet, where was a very large meeting. Here divers who had professed among us, refrained coming to the public meetings for divine worship; with whom, next day we had a meeting, wherein the evil consequence of forsaking the assembling ourselves together was spoken to, and that it would be a great hurt to the young and rising generation,

and themselves also; being a bad example to them, and contrary to the advice and counsel of the holy apostle, "Not to forsake the assembling ourselves together, as the manner of some is."

From Kennet I went to Concord, to the burial of Benjamin Mendenhall, where we had a large and solid meeting, several lively testimonies being borne therein. This Friend was a worthy elder and a serviceable man in our Society, and one of the early settlers in Pennsylvania; a man given to hospitality, and a good example to his family, and hath left divers hopeful children surviving him.

The night before this meeting I lodged at the widow Gilpin's, whose husband, Joseph Gilpin, was lately deceased. There was true Christian love and friendship between us for above fifty years. When first I saw Joseph in Pennsylvania, he lived in a cave in the earth, where we enjoyed each other's company in the love and fear of God. This Friend had fifteen children, whom he lived to see brought up to the states of men and women, and all but two married well, and to his mind.

From Concord I went to Wilmington, and after meeting to Newcastle, where with George Hogg, I went over the river Delaware into Penn's-neck, and had a meeting at James Wilson's. Then to Salem and Cohansey, where I had several meetings at Greenwich, and at the head of Alloway's creek; also at David Davis's, where the people kindly lent us the benches of their meeting house, and many of them came, and were very attentive; after which I went to Pilesgrove, and had a meeting there, and to Woodbury creek, and from thence home, having travelled about five hundred miles in this journey. I staid at and about home for some time.

I was at the yearly meeting at Burlington in the seventh month; in going to which my horse started and threw me, and hurt my shoulder and hip badly, of which I did not recover for above half a year.

This meeting was very large, and though I was outwardly in pain, yet in the sense of the love and goodness of God and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, I was, with many others, much comforted in spirit.

From Burlington I travelled to Shrewsbury, having several meetings by the way; as at Bordentown, Crosswicks, Trenton, &c. This journey I rode in much pain; but the satisfaction I had in meetings, through the spirit and power of the Most High, made amends for all the labour and pain I underwent. I bless the sacred name of God, and may I do it forever! I made what haste I could home, being in pain with my fall, and tarried at home most of the



winter, which was one of the longest and hardest known in these parts by some of the oldest livers; people being frozen to death in several places, and many sheep and cattle perishing, and much of the winter grain killed with the frost, so that there was some apprehension of a want of bread: all which I took to be warnings of the just and righteous judgments of God for the ingratitude, pride, and other sins and iniquities of the people, of which I was at many times and places, concerned to put them in mind. How well would it be if the people would lay the judgments of the Most High to heart; and when they are abroad in the earth, that the inhabitants thereof would learn righteousness!

After this winter I was at a general meeting at Germantown, and at meetings at North Wales, Horsham and Byberry, and from thence, with Joseph Gilbert, went to Burlington, and was at a marriage, and then returned home.

In the second month I was under a religious engagement to visit the meetings of Friends in Gloucester and Salem counties, in West Jersey; and the 19th of said month I went over Delaware river, and was at Haddonfield on a first-day, and third-day at Chester, fourth-day had a meeting at the house of Josiah Foster, and fifth-day at Evesham; from which meeting I went to John Estaugh's, Ebenezer Large and Samuel Jordan being with me. In the morning we went to Woodbury creek meeting, and next day down to Salem, in order for the yearly meeting, which began on the 26th of the second month, and was an extraordinarily solid meeting, the divine presence and glory being richly manifested amongst us.

From Salem I went in company with John Evans and Elizabeth Stevens, to Alloway's creek and Cohansey, where we had meetings, I believe to the satisfaction of many. Here I parted with said Friends, and not being well, I staid at Greenwich, and they went to David Davis's, in order for Pilesgrove meeting.

The 3d of the third month, being the first of the week, I was at Cohansey meeting, which was solid and weighty; in which the mighty works of God and his wonderful power were set forth to the people in divers respects.

First; As to the work of the creation of the heavens and the earth, and of man to govern in the earth, reserving to himself the government of man, to whom he gave a law, for the breach of which he was turned out of paradise, and brought death into the world.

Second; Notwithstanding man's fall, God had love, mercy and compassion towards him, and promised that the seed of the woman

should bruise the head of the serpent, who led them astray; which seed is Christ, whom all are commanded to hear, believe and follow, in the practice of his holy doctrine, which is contained in his words spoken to his immediate disciples and apostles, and likewise made known and revealed in our hearts.

Third; That now in our day his righteous judgments are abroad in the earth, as the sword, and a threatening of famine, or want of bread: all which was spoken in the tender love and fear of God and faith of Christ, and all were entreated to lay these things to heart, and "turn to the Lord, and he will have mercy; and to our God, and he will abundantly pardon." In this meeting God was glorified and his name magnified, through the assistance of the spirit of his dear Son, our Lord.

From Cohansey I went to Salem, and to David Davis's, where we had a meeting, at which were several people of divers professions, who were satisfied and edified therein; and thence we went to Pilesgrove meeting, afterwards into Penn's-neck, and had a good open meeting at the widow Hugh's, and so to Woodbury creek meeting, which I hope was serviceable. After this I went home with my friend James Lord's widow, who, with Joseph Clews and her sister Ann Cooper, went with me to Gloucester jail, where we visited one under sentence of death for stealing. I asked him if he truly repented of that sin of stealing, of which he had been so often guilty? He told me he hoped he had, and was willing to die. He was recommended to the grace of God, and to keep in an humble frame of mind, and beg mercy of the Almighty for the sake of Christ, for all his sins. While a Friend was praying by him, he was broken into tenderness.

Here the aforesaid Friends parted from me; I crossing the river Delaware to Philadelphia, and so home to Frankford. I was at ten meetings in this journey, besides the yearly meeting at Salem, and travelled about one hundred and fifty miles; but travelling was painful to my body: for now I more and more felt the effects of many old falls and bruises, which much disabled and hurt me in riding.

In the fourth month I was at several meetings about or near home, as at Fairhill, Germantown, a meeting at Thomas Roberts'; and also at Philadelphia. In the beginning of the fifth month I visited Friends' meetings at Darby, Merion and Haverford; at the last place the meeting was large and very open; wherein the mighty power of God was exalted over all, and it was plainly manifested, that if there was any virtue, or any good gift or genius in the creature, it derived its excellency from the

Creator; and that man, in his best capacity, in either natural or spiritual attainments, has no cause to boast or glory in any thing which he, as an instrument in the divine hand, might help to perform; wherefore we ought to humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, attributing no glory to self, or the creature; but all glory and praise to the Creator, who is in and over all blessed forever.

The 20th of the fifth month, I set forward on a journey, in order to visit Friends at and near Burlington, and was next day at a meeting at Bristol, which was large, considering the heat of the weather, and the shortness of the notice. On fourth-day, the 22nd, I was at Mount Holly, at the burial of our ancient friend, Restored Lippincot: he was, as I understood, nearly a hundred years of age, and had upwards of two hundred children, grand-children, and great-grand-children, many of whom were at his funeral; the meeting was large, and thought to be serviceable. After this meeting, I went with a few choice Friends to visit Susanna Fearon, who had been long ill; in which visit we were favoured with the divine presence and goodness of the Most High; for which we returned him thanks and praise; we then went to Burlington, and next day had a meeting, which was an acceptable opportunity to many.

Next first-day, being the 27th of the month, we had a good solid meeting at Trenton; and I went, with divers Friends, to Bristol, and so home to Frankford; and was thankful to the Almighty for the grace which he was pleased to bestow upon me, a poor worm; and that, considering the extreme heat, I had my health better than usual. After coming home, I visited meetings at Philadelphia, Haddonfield, Frankford, &c.

In the sixth month there was a great mortality in Philadelphia, and many were taken away; on a fifth-day I was concerned to put the people in mind of it, and of their own mortality, and exhorted them to prepare for it, they not knowing whose turn it might be next, nor the hour when death might come to their own habitations; and was concerned in the same way, at several large burials. In the meeting at Philadelphia, they were told it was better to fall into the hands of the Lord than into the hands of men: and that since we had been settled in this province of Pennsylvania, we were preserved from the hands of men; there having never been an enemy in it, in a warlike way; our dependence being in Providence, and our principle against war and against spilling human blood by wars and fighting, according to the doctrine of Christ, the peaceable Saviour; wherefore I believe the hand of God was manifested in preserving

us in peace; yet I would not be understood to be against the magistrates exercising the power committed to them, according to just law; but national wars, woful experience teacheth, are destructive to the peaceable religion of Jesus, to trade, wealth, health and happiness. Our dear Lord preached peace to the people, and against wars; telling his followers, That they must love and pray for their enemies, and rather take a stroke or a blow, than give one; and that they should not resist evil; which peaceable doctrine of Christ, the Jews could not away with; no, no, by no means: "Oh!" say they, "if we let this man alone, the Romans will come and take away our place and nation;" just as the people now say in this province, to those peaceable men, who, for the sake of Christ and his doctrine, cannot use the sword; "The Romans will come and take our country, if we do not build forts and castles, and have military preparations." I wish it were not true, that some who profess this peaceable principle, too much endeavour to smother, stifle, and keep under this peaceable doctrine, through a slavish fear and distrusting divine Providence, which may cause his hand to deliver us to the Romans indeed; at which I should not wonder, since we distrust Him who hath hitherto preserved us, without our preparing for war, for more than fifty years. To which I know it is objected; "But now there are abundance of people who are not of that principle." I answer, then why did they come among us, if they could not trust themselves with our principles, which they knew, or might have known, if they would? The king gave the province, and the government of it, to our worthy proprietor, William Penn; who was a man of this peaceable principle; for which the heathens loved him and honour his name and memory to this day, and those of his Society and principles; whereof I am a living witness. The sense of the sweetness and social life that the first settlers of the province of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia lived in, makes me express myself in this manner. Oh! that the inhabitants of the city and country, did but live and dwell in that first love, and hold it fast; then I believe that the Almighty would not suffer any to take our crown: which crown is righteousness, peace and love, through true faith; which true faith works by love in Christ Jesus.

On the last day of the fifth month, I acquainted my friends of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, with a concern I had been some time under, to visit the people in the Virgin islands, and more particularly in Anguilla and Tortola; in order to preach the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ freely, to



those who might have a desire to hear, as the Lord should be pleased to open my way. My friends having unity with me therein, at their next meeting gave me a certificate of their concurrence: soon after which, having settled my affairs and taken leave of my dear wife and daughter, and the rest of my family and friends, on the 19th day of the seventh month I embarked at Philadelphia in the sloop John, Peter Blunder, master, bound for the island of Tortola.

We sailed down the river and came to anchor near Christiana creek that night, in which there was a violent storm, which drove several vessels on the marshes; so that when the tide ebbed, one might walk round them. Next day we sailed to Reedy island, where we waited for a fair wind: we sailed down the bay in company with two sloops, one bound for Bermuda, the other for the island of Christopher's; and left the Capes on the 23d day of the month, and in eighteen days from that time fell in with the island of Thomas, and in one day more turned up to Tortola.

In this voyage we saw nine sail of vessels; but spoke with none of them: had a rough passage, the wind being high and contrary above a week, and much rain; yet through the mercy and grace of God, I was preserved above all fear, except the holy fear of the living Lord, in which I blessed his holy name.

On the 12th day of the eighth month, John Pickering, the owner of the sloop, who was likewise governor of the island, with his spouse, met me at the water side, and lovingly embraced me, and led me up to their house, where we had a meeting the same evening; and on the 15th of the month, being the fifth-day of the week, we had a large, satisfactory meeting, at which were many people, divers of them not of our profession; and I think the good hand of the Lord was with us. I was concerned in this meeting to show that the last dispensation of God to mankind, in and through his dear Son, is a spiritual dispensation; a dispensation of pure, divine love, which is to last and be with the true believers in Christ forever, according to his own doctrine in the New Testament.

On the first-day of the week and the 18th of the month, we had another meeting, larger than the former, and the governor told me he had never seen so large a gathering on the island, on any occasion. My spirit was much set at liberty in this meeting, and great openness and brokenness was among the people, so that the gospel was freely and largely declared to them. The case of Cornelius and of the apostle Peter going to his house, was treated of, with other matters tending to edifi-

cation. I was so affected with the power, spirit and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that when the meeting was over I withdrew, and in private poured out my soul before the Lord, and begged that he would be pleased to manifest his power and glorious gospel more and more. At this meeting there was a woman who had suffered much for going to meetings; her husband being a proud, haughty man, had beaten her to the drawing of blood; he also drew his sword and presented his pistol, with threatenings to kill her; but she thanked God that she was resigned to lose her life for Christ's sake. She expressed some words in supplication in this meeting in a broken manner. There was also a young woman, whose father had turned her out of doors for coming to Friends' meetings.

I went with the governor and his wife, to visit a few families up in the mountains, and had a meeting, in which was great brokenness and tenderness in the time of prayer.

On second-day we visited several families in the division called the road, to which we went by water in a coble, somewhat like our canoes; there were four of these in company, five persons in two of them, and seven in the other two. In this visiting of families, the people came and filled the rooms, and we had seasonable meetings, in which the people were so loving and well affected, that we could seldom go in a friendly way to visit our friends, but they would presently fill their rooms, and we scarcely could depart, without having a time of worship.

Next day we went to visit a young man's habitation, and the neighbours coming in as usual, we had a good meeting.

I cannot but note that the hand of the Lord God was with us, and I felt his visitation as fresh and lively as ever; for which I was truly thankful, and thought if I never saw my habitation again, I was satisfied in this gospel call and religious visit; though being in years, it was sometimes a little troublesome to the flesh; being in the sixty-sixth year of my age, and stiff in all my limbs from hurts with many falls and bruises. As to my health, I had it better now than for several years past; for which I am humbly thankful to Him, in whom we live and have our being; glory to his name, through his dear Son.

Third and fourth-days, visited several families, and had divers good opportunities: in one of those meetings, a young man named Jeremiah Martin, spoke a few words in prayer; in which season we were, I think, all broken into tenderness; so that in truth, we might say, that the power and Spirit of Christ was with and among us, and his great name was praised.

Fifth-day being the week-day meeting, it was larger than was ever known on a week-day in that place; there being divers Friends who came from an island called Joseph Vandike's, and many neighbours and sober people, who were very attentive.

Sixth-day was at several people's houses, and had religious meetings; which we could not well avoid, the people were so loving and desirous to hear what might be spoken to them; many of them being like thirsty ground wanting rain, and our good and gracious Lord gave us celestial showers, which were refreshing to us, and thankfully received.

Seventh-day I went with several Friends to the house of one who, with his wife, had been at our meeting on fifth-day; he kindly invited me to his house; his name was Blake; he and his wife were loving; and though he had formerly written against Friends, he was now better informed. From his house I went to Townsend Bishop's, and there being many Friends from another island, we had a most comfortable, tender evening meeting, in which we offered up a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to the holy name of the living eternal God, and his dear Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through the influence of the holy Spirit, one God over all blessed forever.

On the first-day of the week, being the 25th of the month, we had a larger meeting than ordinary; and in expectation of larger meetings than usual, the governor, John Pickering, had made several new forms to accommodate the people at his own house, which he sent six miles on men's heads, the roads not being passable for carts, &c. This I think worth noting, that their zeal may be had in remembrance, and that others may be stirred up to more religious concern, who will scarcely go six steps to a religious meeting, or will not go at all. In this meeting I was concerned to speak of and set forth the doctrine of Christ, which he preached on the mount, contained in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of Matthew; and to press the people to come to the practice of what is there commanded by the great Author of the Christian religion; and to show that the despised Quakers had learned, out of that excellent sermon, much of their religion, which displeases many people, and divers of the great men of the world; and to urge them to regard the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men. In this meeting, Dorcas, the wife of John Pickering, spoke to the people in public testimony, to which they gave good attention.

After meeting we returned by water from the Road Harbour to Fat Hog bay, where

John Pickering lives, being upwards of twenty of us in company, in three cobsles.

These two weeks I spent in the island of Tortola, to my great satisfaction.

The Journal of this worthy Friend ending here, the following supplement is collected from some notes sent by a Friend of that island, giving an account of his further services, sickness and death.

#### THE SUPPLEMENT.

On the second-day of the third week of his being among us, he visited some Friends in the neighbourhood, and likewise the man who had treated his wife so cruelly for coming to Friends' meetings.

On third-day he was employed chiefly in writing to his family and friends in Philadelphia.

On fourth-day some Friends from the Road came to see him, which prevented his going out to visit the neighbours as usual.

On fifth-day morning, being the 29th of the eighth month, he found himself much indisposed; yet he went to our week-day meeting, about a quarter of a mile. When the meeting broke up, he had a hot fever upon him. Doctor Turnbull, the chief physician in our island, thought it proper to take some blood from him, and he being very willing, it was done that afternoon, and the fever abated some time that night; and next day he walked about, and made no complaint until about eight o'clock in the evening. About this time the fever returned, and continued very severe till first-day morning, when the doctor advised him to take a vomit, which he declined that day, being desirous of attending the meeting which was held at my house, and was a large, sweet, and tender meeting; in which he spoke to us concerning temptations, and how Christ was tempted, and how to withstand them; and afterwards on the parable of the great supper, and other subjects; ending his testimony with the words of the apostle Paul, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness:" which words, and most part of this last sermon, were delivered in great brokenness; from whence I judged he was sensible that he had not long to live, though I believe he was not afraid to die.

On second-day morning the fever abated a little, and he complied with the doctor's prescription of taking a vomit, which seemed to have its proper effect; but that night the fever returned, and continued on him until he died;



which was between two and three o'clock on fourth-day morning, the 4th day of the ninth month, being speechless about seven hours before.

A general invitation was given to Friends and others to his funeral; where three testimonies were borne, all in great brokenness, under a just sense of our great loss. After which he was decently interred on the evening of the said day, in a piece of ground which is since given to Friends for a burial place, and on which a meeting house is built by John Pickering, the governor of the island at that time.

It is said in the Scriptures, that the righteous are taken away, and no man layeth it to

heart; but I hope it may be truly said, this was not the case at this time; for Friends in general, much lamented their great loss, in being so soon deprived of so instructive a friend and elder, whose care over us was very great; and who, by his loving and exemplary life, and tenderness to people of all ranks and professions, engaged the love and respect of almost all the people in the island. We are fully assured that his labour among us was not in vain, and that many have felt the good effects of it; so that we believe some of the last words he spoke in public, may justly be applied to him, and that he now enjoys a crown of righteousness.

## GOD'S GREAT LOVE UNTO MANKIND,

THROUGH JESUS CHRIST, OUR LORD.

And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying this (i. e. Christ) is my beloved Son, hear ye him. *Luke ix. 35.*

If ye love me, keep my commandments. *John xiv. 16.*

For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believed in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. *John iii. 16.*

### PREFACE.

IN sincerity and unfeigned love, both to God and man, were these lines penned. I desire thee to peruse them in the same love, and then, peradventure, thou mayest find some sweetness in them. Expect not learned phrases or florid expressions; for many times heavenly matter is hid in mean sentences, or wrapped up in plain expressions. It sometimes pleases God to reveal the mysteries of his kingdom, through the grace of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, to babes and sucklings; and he oftentimes ordains praise out of their mouths; one of which, reader, I desire thou mayest be.

My intent in writing these sheets, is, that they, through the help of God's grace and the good Spirit of Christ, may stir up true love in thee; first to God and Christ, and then to man: so thou wilt be fit to be espoused to him, who is altogether lovely, that is Christ, which is the desire of him who is thy friend, more in heart than word.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

I HAVE been concerned for the good and welfare of the children of men from my youthful days, and tasted of the infinite love of God, in and through his dear Son, the holy Lamb Jesus, who laid down his life for the sins of the world; and in my tender years reaped great benefit, through faith in and obedience unto him. And I have found by experience, that one without the other, to wit, faith without works, will not answer the end of the great love of Christ Jesus, our Lord, who offered himself a sacrifice for all mankind; not for people to live in sin, but to take away the sin of the world. In a word, "Faith without works is dead." I found it so, and so must all true believers in the Son of God.

Christ first loved us and paid that debt for us, which, of ourselves, we were not able to do. Oh! his infinite love hath oftentimes melted my soul into tenderness.

Methinks it is a great pity that the sons of men should requite evil for good, or disobedience for such gracious obedience. I would to God, that all believers in Christ would live in that fear of God and that love to Christ, which keep the heart clean; because nothing un-

clean can enter the kingdom of heaven. I do not mean a slavish fear; but fear that is wrought by love: for they who love the Lord, the great, everlasting God, will fear to offend him.

This is the matter that chiefly concerns my mind at this time; the necessity of love to God and Christ, and one another. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things that God hath prepared for them that love him." For my part I cannot pretend to tell thee, Oh, man! to the full; but only a little to hint at it: it is "Joy unspeakable, and full of glory:" but then we must love him, so as to keep his commandments. This is the work that I am very earnest in pressing people to, whether youth or aged: it is not too soon for the young, nor too late for the aged, to begin this work of obedience, through faith and love to God and Christ, if his spirit is reproving or striving in them. But it is more honourable and acceptable, for a man to give up the strength of his days to serve the Lord and to remember his Creator in the days of his youth, before sin is rooted and grown in him; for then it will be much more labour to get the root of unrighteousness plucked up.

In that ability which God hath given me, I would endeavour to stir up all to serve him, and to be in good earnest, and not to put the day of God, even the mighty Jehovah, afar off; but to love the Lord unfeignedly, and with true obedience; since that sacrifice only is acceptable to him; that is to say, to love him in deed and in truth, more than in word and with tongue. The Lord by his servant, complained against a people in old time; "They draw nigh to me with their mouths, and with their lips they do honour me:" but their great misery was, their hearts were far from him. They did not love him with their whole hearts; this was their fault: this thing is also a great evil in the sight of God, in our age; and is too frequent in England, the land of my nativity, as also in other islands and places beyond the seas. What lamentation shall be taken up, for such as do so mock the Lord, the great God of love! Surely he will render vengeance, as in flames of fire, upon all the wicked and ungodly, and those that forget him. It is not by saying, but by doing, that we are justified, through faith in Christ; not he that saith, Lord, Lord, only, but he that doth his will also, shall enter the kingdom.

The will of God and of Christ his Son, is, that we should love him above all; and in loving him, we shall love one another; for Christ saw the great need there was of loving God above all, and also of loving one an-

other; therefore he answered thus to him that asked which was the greatest commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind."

"This, says Christ, is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

If these two great commandments were obeyed, it would answer God's great love to us, in sending his Son to bless us. Oh! the glory of God, how it would shine! it would make the young men as valiants of Israel, and the old men as captains of thousands; then Christ would reign gloriously indeed, in the hearts of the children of men; here the Lamb and his followers, who walk in the light, and in that commandment, that burns as a lamp, would get the victory over the devil and his followers. But, on the contrary, the great error of mankind, is that they talk of God and Christ, in words; but deny him in works: nay, some will not stick to say, it is impossible to keep the commands of Christ. It is too commonly spoken, and also believed, that there is no perfection on this side the grave; contrary to the saying of Christ, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven, is perfect." Yet, say they, it is impossible; which is as much as to say, Christ is a hard master, in commanding what cannot be done; consequently, out of their own mouths they will be condemned; for Christ is not a hard master; I testify it against all such unholy and imperfect believers, in solid fear before the Lord; but according to such people's faith and belief, he must needs be hard. Oh that people would so love God and his dear Son, as to strive to do his commands; for it is impossible they should obey if they neither believe nor endeavour. Let such know, that "Many shall seek, and shall not enter;" much less shall they enter if they do not seek. But we must strive in obedience to his will, and by his assistance, not in our own natural will, "to enter in at the strait gate:" man would enter in with all his pleasant things, and in all his bravery and gallantry; but God's will is, that he should be brought low, that he might exalt him. Oh this self is a great enemy to mankind.

My intention is, to awaken people out of the sleep of sin, which is death; and to stir them up to righteousness, and love to the Lord and their neighbour, even with their whole heart; for this my heart breathes to, and supplicates the Lord of heaven; then would the end of my labour, in his love, be



answered. Great is the love of God, in sending his Son, and also in sending his servants, and stirring them up, to arouse people out of the sleep of security, that they might see the danger they are in, and how near they lie to the brink of the pit of burning. Oh that people would but seriously consider that which is showed and told them in the love of the Lord, that it might be laid to heart. Whether they will hear, or forbear, God will be clear, and his servants also will be clear. But if we not only hear, but also obey, that peace which passeth the understanding of men, and which our Lord giveth to his followers, will be our portion, and the lot of our inheritance forever; but this is on condition of our obedience, and keeping the commands of God; "If ye love me, keep my commandments," saith the Lord.

If people live in saying, and not in doing, in professing, and confessing, yet still living in pride and high-mindedness and in sin, it is apparent they do not love Christ Jesus, according to his own words, neither doth he justify them; for it is only the doers that he will justify. The apostle John says, "If a man says he loves God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a liar;" and by plain Scripture testimony, such are not of God. Moreover, if he says he loves Christ, yet keepeth not his sayings, he is also a liar, and the truth is not in him, or, Christ is not in him; who said "I am the truth;" and thus man becomes reprobate. Paul, writing to the brethren, saith, "Examine yourselves, whether you be in the faith, prove your ownelves; know ye not your ownelves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" Which indwelling of Christ is a great mystery to many; although Christ within, which the apostles preached, is the hope of the saints' glory. And how earnest was Christ in prayer to his Father, that his followers might be one in him, and united together in one. Such is the love of Christ to his church; and what remains on the church's part, since Christ has done his part? Surely is, that we love him again; for, saith John, "He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love." They that dwell in enmity, are not the children of God, but the children of satan, who always hated the appearance of Christ, the light of the world; and still stirreth up those who are led by his dark spirit, to war against him and his seed in his children, who said, "I am the light of the world."

But it is as Christ hath said, "Men love darkness rather than light;" and how strange is it, seeing the one is so glorious, and the other so miserable? The reason is as Christ hath showed, "because their deeds are evil." This is indeed the very cause; for if their

deeds were good, they would love the light, Christ Jesus, the Lord of life and glory; and bring their deeds to him, that he might judge them: who will give righteous judgment to every man according to his works. The righteous will have their portion in the resurrection of life, joy and peace in the Holy Ghost; but the wicked in the resurrection of damnation. Oh! that I might be instrumental in the hand of the Lord to open the eyes of some who are spiritually blind, that they might see the beauty and the great glory of the dear Son of God, that most excellent light whom God hath prepared, according to good old Simeon's testimony of him. "Thou hast, says he, prepared him a light to enlighten the gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel." A glorious light indeed! Truly, methinks every body should be in love with him. For my part, he is my chiefest joy. I would not part with him for all the pomp and vain glory of the world; neither would I have the shining beams and glorious rays, which comfort me for well doing, and discover and reprove me for the contrary, clouded from my sight and understanding, for the finest gold, or choicest rubies. Such is my love to Christ, the bridegroom of souls; but by the way, it hath cost me many a tear, and many groanings in my spirit, before I came thus to enjoy Christ, who is the beloved of all the redeemed. May I never give him cause to withdraw himself from dwelling in me. Oh! the universal love of Christ: it is everlasting to them that are open hearted unto him, and to all that will hear his voice, so as to obey it; for, says he, "I stand at the door and knock," that is the door of the heart of man; "if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." And John says, "And we have known and believed the love that God hath to us: God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." A heavenly habitation and glorious dwelling place! Who would not endeavour to dwell in love, and forsake enmity, that they might attain unto such eternal happiness, as to have their abode with the Lord.

This fulfilleth the words of Christ: "For he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." How was he to be in them? A comforter for well-doing, that they might have the hope of glory; and a reprover for sin, self-righteousness, and wrong judgment. Indeed it was the great love of God in thus sending his beloved Son, a light into this dark world, to show people their evil deeds, and to condemn sin in the flesh: for he is the sinful world's condemnation, as well as a Saviour and justifier of the righteous and holy believer. The

Jews of old hated him, and many of them did intend to darken his bright and shining light; but some of the Jews believed on him, and after they came truly to believe on his name, spread his gospel of truth and glad tidings amongst the children of men, and also suffered for his name's sake. It is also said, "He came unto his own, and his own received him not; but as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name." But many of those that call themselves by his name, trample upon his light and appearance, and despise the spirit of his grace, which is a swift witness against evil, and lets men see what is good, and what is bad, comforts for the one, and brings judgment and condemnation for the other. I can truly say, I would with my whole heart, that God did dwell a comforter in all, or Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or Holy Spirit, which are all one, but this can never be, while sin remains and has an evil root in mankind. "An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit." By this we may know Christians from anti-christians, and lovers of Christ from them that love him not: if we love him we become subjects to him, subject to do his will. It is a dignified station to be subjects of the King of heaven, and if we love him unfeignedly, with all our might and mind, and our neighbours as ourselves, and with the sword of the spirit valiantly encounter the devil, then shall we be his subjects, and Christ will receive us into his warfare, and through him we shall be victorious, for the Lamb and his followers will have the victory. I would press people in love into this warfare, having commission from my Master and Lord, by showing them what anxiety and distress of mind they will procure to themselves, by living in enmity to the Lord and his saints. Oh! my soul, I charge thee, with all those that have any regard to the holy Jesus, obey the commands of the Lord, and love his followers, or thy neighbour as thyself. Let his universal spirit of love to all dwell in thee.

I would have all to cast down at his footstool, that which they glory in, that is not right in his sight, and do like the poor penitent woman, who lay and wept at his feet. She thought all, little enough to part with to get into his favour. Christ himself was meek and lowly; "Learn of me," said he. All power in heaven and earth was given unto him; "Take me, said he, for an example;" when he washed his servants' feet. Seeing his love was so great to them, and is also to us, let us love him again, not with feigned love, but with love that may manifest us to be his followers; and in it let us love one

another; for this intent our Lord issued forth his royal command, which is this, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you, that ye also love one another: by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love for one another." Christ's love was unfeigned to his disciples, nay, to all the world in general: for what greater love can there be, than for a man to lay down his life for his friend; and he not only laid down his life for his friends, but for his enemies also. So that his love was great and unfeigned; we ought with the same love to love him again, since he loved us first; and this cannot be without obedience to his commands. Thus we should love him and one another with true love, which is exceedingly precious; it thinks no evil, and we may be sure will not do any willingly or knowingly. If a man seeth his neighbour or brother in that which is not right, he prayeth to the Lord to help him, and tenderly admonisheth him; yea, if having this love, he woundeth, his wounds are faithful, for "Faithful are the wounds of a friend."

He that is thus endued with love, is not hindered from reproving his brother, but if there be a cause, it rather stirs him up to be faithful therein, without respect of persons. The love that is raised in them that love the Lord above all, is great to the sons and daughters of men: it doth wonderful things; it is valiant for God; it overcomes its enemies: it is not overcome with evil, but it often overcomes evil with good: it smiteth sin in the gate, that is, in its first appearance, before it be entered into man, so as to subject him thereunto; it gets victory over the devil; for he cannot stand before God's love. I would to God that people did but know the virtue of love to Christ, and one another in him; it would cause them, for the enjoyment thereof, to forsake all manner of enmity one against another, and all things else, how near or dear soever; yea, though they were as a right hand or a right eye, they would be forsaken for its sake, and for the sake of him who first loved us. Then we should strive, through the ability of his grace, even the grace or spirit which he told Paul was sufficient for him, to love him again, and our neighbour as ourself; but this cursed self is loved too much and our neighbour too little.

Paul, the apostle of Christ, after his conversion, did not hate his neighbours, nor was he in enmity with them. When he was Saul, he oppressed and injured his nearest neighbours and chief friends; for his blind zeal was part of that body of sin and death that was upon him, and from which, by the help of Christ's grace, he was delivered, and came



to love his enemies, and for their good hazarded his life; and, for his love to Christ, laid it down, as many holy martyrs have done since. Surely they had not much regard for self, then! It is a common expression now-a-days, "Every one for himself, and God for us all;" but if every one were for his neighbour or his brother, as much as for himself, God would be more for us all. This self-love is an abomination in the sight of the Lord, and the great eternal God abhors it; therefore were the first and second commandments given forth, and if all people would obey these, the whole law and the prophets, yea, and the gospel too, would be fulfilled.

Self-love is a great enemy to man, and very much hinders his eternal happiness; it shutteth the ear from hearing the cause of the widow and fatherless, or of the needy, and drowns the cry of the oppressed; to which we ought not only to lend an ear, but also to administer relief according to their necessity, and our ability. Mankind are too apt to join with that which is pleasant to the eye, and agreeable to the lust of the heart; like Dives, the rich glutton of old, who loved self better than poor Lazarus, but do not consider that which is lasting, and would do them good forever. How shall I express the excellent glory and eternal sweetness of this love to the Lord and our neighbour? Oh! how is my soul grieved, and how doth my spirit mourn before the Lord, when I see any walk contrary to the commands of Christ, or who are in enmity to the truth, and in hatred one to another, even from my tender years, ever since God Almighty opened my understanding, and made known to me him that is true. And my cry hath been many times to him, to keep and preserve me in his true love and fear, to the end of my days; in love both to him and to the brethren, more especially to those that do his will, although there is universal love in my heart to all. Christ said, "For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." Therefore my love is more singly unto those. The apostle also thus writes concerning love to the brethren: "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren; he that loveth not his brother, abideth in death." Are they then in death that are at enmity with the brethren? Assuredly they are, for this enmity is sin; "And the wages of sin is death;" and those that are therein, are dead while they live. I wish and heartily pray to the God and Father of spirits, that from the snares of death his people may forever be preserved.

Some people are too apt to judge one another, and to speak evil of things they know

not, except by report and supposition, which too often lets in enmity, and is not according to the mind of Christ, but is a snare of the enemy of man's salvation. Surely if people were sensible thereof, they would not so hardly censure one another; for indeed we ought to be well satisfied before we give judgment, and then it ought to be in love, and not in enmity. It is better to suffer, than to censure; to be judged, than to judge. "Judge not, that ye be not judged," said the Judge of heaven and earth. But people are too much possessed with uncharitableness and revenge one towards another, and are not so ready to forgive one another their trespasses, as the Almighty is to forgive them: though to forgive one another their trespasses be every Christian's duty, without which we cannot justly expect God to forgive us our trespasses, as Christ taught.

Persecution for righteousness sake, also is another branch of that corrupt tree, which never did, and never will bring forth good fruit, but must be cut down by the axe of God's power, which is laid to the root of every corrupt tree, in order to cut it down; and the Lord will burn it with unquenchable fire. It is the true church's lot to be persecuted, but she never persecutes any: for he that is her High Priest for ever, commanded quite the contrary, viz: Love to enemies, and to do good to them that hated them, to pray for them that despitefully used and persecuted them. They were also to rejoice, and to be exceeding glad when all manner of evil was spoken falsely against them for Christ's sake; because great should be their reward in heaven; and Christ observes, that so they persecuted the prophets.

Many are rebelling against God, and doing despite to the spirit of grace in their own hearts, and trespassing one against another, not living in love, but in enmity against God and one another. The judgment of man is terrible to the rebellious, how much more if men rebel against God, our Saviour, will his judgment be just and dreadful, as he hath not only power to kill the body, but can afterwards cast the soul into hell! Oh! that the sons and daughters of men, would but fear to offend him, the King of eternal glory. Israel of old, his own peculiar people, did fear and tremble before him; even all their host, his presence was so dreadful. And a noble king made a decree, that men should fear and tremble before the living God.

Oh! that all would work out their salvation with fear and trembling, according to Scripture testimony, and as people truly love the Lord, they would fear exceedingly to offend him; also if one man did truly love another,

he would very unwillingly offend him. So if we love Christ in deed and in truth, we should fear to offend him, and must of necessity love one another also: so shall we fulfil the great commands, that the whole law and the prophets hang on.

I have many times been grieved, when I have heard cursing and swearing, and the Lord's name taken in vain, which too much abound; and such too little consider that God will not hold them guiltless. This is far from obeying him. The deep sense of this great sin, is a deep concern on my mind: vengeance from heaven is, and will be the portion of all such who thus violate the mind and will of God. Judgment, judgment is the lot and inheritance of all the wicked, who remain and live in wickedness. Although the Lord is slow to anger, and of great loving kindness, and his mercy endureth forever, to them that truly repent of evil, and do that which is good, yet he has also prepared weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, for them that continually live in sin. There is a possibility of sinning, until there is no more mercy or grace for man: witness the words of God; "My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh." But those who are willing to put the day of God afar off, are ready to say, Christ is our advocate with the Father; he maketh intercession for our sins; very well, but it is conditionally, it is if thou wilt repent and sin no more. Mark that well; repentance without sinning no more, will not do. Confession is very good, but forsaking sin is abundantly better: confession without forsaking, will stand in little stead in the day of account.

Drunkenness is a great sin, first against God, and secondly, the abuse of God's mercies, and good creatures; and by it, men are often fitted for any business their master the devil may call them to: so that this great sin ought to be strictly watched against. Surely if men had any good desires in their hearts, or any love to God, they would refrain from such great wickedness. I admire how people can expect mercy from God, or the intercession of Christ, when by their sins they are piercing his sides, and putting him to open shame. How can such expect he will intercede for them, when they have dealt so shamefully with him, and grieved him, and from time to time disobeyed his voice? Suppose a man stood condemned before a judge, and that at the judge's right hand there sat one in power, whom this poor condemned person hopes will intercede for him; and yet the poor wretch does to him as before mentioned. What grounds can he have to hope for intercession, clemency, or lenity, while he

believes he can do no otherwise than sin against him all his days? For my part, I think his faith, hope, and belief are but vain; without any reason or ground. But he that loveth Christ Jesus, the Lord of life and glory, so as to keep his commandments, the Lord will love him, and intercede for him, and make himself known unto him; according to his words which he spake, "He that hath my commandments, and keeps them, he it is that loveth me, and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my father; and I will love him, and manifest myself unto him."

Covetousness, which is idolatry, is also another great snare of the enemy, and many are caught therein. It is in vain for the covetous to say, he hath a share in the love of God; for he hath neither love to the Lord, nor to his neighbour. A poor naked man might ask him long enough for relief, or for his coat, before he would give him his hand to help, or coat either; or any manner of relief; although Christ expressly commanded, "Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not thou away." How can any be so hard hearted, as to see his brother's or his neighbour's poverty, and not administer of his ability to the necessity of the needy? The covetous or miserable man may say, I have children, or a family to take care of; yet too often covetousness brings a curse, and not a blessing, upon family and children also. Perhaps some may say, that charity begins at home. But let him remember, that if it doth begin there, the consequence most commonly is very bad, when it ends there. Every Christian hath need to have charity in a two-fold sense, or else there is no proper pretence to Christianity; in short, covetousness is out of the love either to God or man.

All these, with abundance more, that I shall forbear to mention, are eminent snares of the devil; and he layeth them according to the propensity of man or woman, and suits them to their nature. He colours them finely, and puts a pleasant gloss upon them, to betray thy soul, and keep it in bondage forever.

It is he that tells the murderer, the thief and the robber, that it is better to live a merry life and short, than to take pains and care all one's lifetime.

It is he also who tells the whoremongers and drunkards, that so many people are in these practices, because it is natural for people to be so overcome: but he doth not tell them that by nature all are children of wrath, and that without this lustful nature be overcome, there is no salvation.

It is he that tells the swearers, they are so used to it, that it is impossible for them to



leave it off. He never bids them repent and forsake, that they might find mercy with God and Christ that died for them; but died not that they should live in sin.

It is the devil tells the covetous it is good to be saving, and not to spend all his substance in gluttony and pride; he will bid him hate pride, and that he should not give much alms, though rich in this world, for that proud people do it only in ambition, and to be seen of men: but he will not tell him, it is a sin to be covetous. He also tells the proud that they are counted happy, and that pride is counted good for promoting the commonwealth, and that it is as good to be out of the world as out of the fashion; he tells them that pride is neatness; and it is admirable how many pretty excuses he has, to keep people in pride. He doth not tell them that Christ the Lord, was meek and lowly, and that they should take him for an example. He, the Lord, did not come in splendor and glory, outwardly, but plain in speech and also in apparel, being clothed and adorned with the robes of righteousness and love. This is my beloved! may he be thine also, gentle reader. Oh! how lovely is he! he is the chiefest of tens of thousands. Oh! ye children of men, both sons and daughters! do not offend Christ, by disobeying him, the bridegroom of the righteous; but I beseech you, in his sweet and tender love, if you have offended him by sinning against him, Oh! for the Lord's sake, and your own soul's sake, do so no more; but unfeignedly repent; and then in his time, when he hath tried you, and found you faithful, he will embrace you with the sweet embraces of his love.

If the poor creature did but love the Lord its Maker above all, and its fellow creature as itself, the enemy of mankind would be overcome, and we be made more than conquerors, through him that loved us, even Christ Jesus, our Lord; and man and woman would see all those evil things to be abominable, and many more which I have not mentioned, insomuch that self would be abhorred as in dust and ashes, and the Lord would be loved and glorified above all, for which end he created mankind. But certain it is, that this end cannot be answered, nor the Lord so loved, without sin be forsaken, and hated; for the devil is the author of sin, and Christ of righteousness.

Christ says, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." And again, "I am the light of the world." Oh! saith my soul, in love and good will to the sons and daughters of men, that they would but walk in the way of truth, and in the true light of the world; then they would see clearly the snares of satan; which that every one, especially those that profess Chris-

tianity, may do, and escape the same, is the very desire of my soul: even so prayeth he, who through the spirit of Jesus Christ, and the ability of his grace, labours for the salvation of mankind;

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

*An Exhortation to youth and others, being part of a letter from Thomas Chalkley, to a Friend in Dublin.*

LET the young men and maidens diligently read the holy Scriptures; and whenever they come to a passage that affects them, let them not only turn down that leaf, but let them be sure that it hath place in their hearts: and when they read of a good man or woman, let them earnestly pray and fervently cry to the Lord, the great God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and God of the righteous in all ages, that he would please to make them like those his dear children and servants. Oh! that young people might not forget this great command of God, "Honour thy parents, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." How many stubborn youths hath the Lord cut off in their prime, and in the flower of their days; and on the other hand, how hath the Almighty blessed, prospered, preserved and honoured those who have been obedient to their parents, and honoured them and their elders! And let the young men and maidens note this, that none truly honour their parents and elders, but those who are pious and virtuous; such were Joseph, Samuel, David and Solomon; as also King Josiah, who began to reign at eight years old. God Almighty gives to many a sense of his grace at that age, and thereabouts; he ordaineth praise many times out of the mouths of babes and sucklings. Let the youth endeavour to follow those good and great men; and for their instruction, I shall say something of the above five worthies.

First, in particular, beginning with Joseph. His father sent him to his brethren; he went willingly, though his brethren hated him; and when it was in his power to hurt them, he rendered them good for their evil; a good example for both young and old. And when tempted to sin by his mistress in Egypt, he said, "How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?" who highly favoured him for his piety, virtue and chastity.

Secondly, Samuel, for whom his mother prayed earnestly to the Lord; and when he had given him to her, she gave him to God again: a good pattern for all mothers. When he was but a little lad, the Almighty called

him, and he thought it had been Eli; and said, "Thou calledst me?" "No," said the old man, "I did not call thee; lie down again." He did not grumble, as many of our youth do: when the Lord called again, he willingly ran to Eli; he did not love his bed so much as obedience, and said, "Thou didst call me;" Eli observing that God had spoken to the child, said to him, "when he calleth again, say, Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." Let old ones mind this, and encourage their youth to answer the call of God betimes: God called again, and he answered, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." The Lord, by his grace, calls to little ones, many times in the midst of their play, and sometimes in their beds. Oh! that our youth may do and say as little Samuel; that they may grow as he did, and be in favour both with God and man.

Thirdly, David, his father's youngest son, kept his sheep, and in that innocent employ the Lord was with him. His father sent him to his brethren; but Eliab, his eldest brother, frowned upon him, and reviled him. He only made this soft reply; "Is there not a cause?" He overcame the great Philistine, in the name of the God of Israel; and God highly exalted him for his uprightness, sincerity and piety, which were very great; for notwithstanding Saul would have killed him; yet when David had him in his power, he spared him, insomuch that Saul wept, and said, "If a man find his enemy, will he let him go?" And there was loving greeting between them: so he overcame the evil of Saul's heart, by the good that was in his, according to those holy expressions of the apostle Paul, "Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good." Words worthy to be written in letters of gold, and more worthy to be observed and practised.

Fourthly, Solomon, who asked of God wisdom, being in his own eyes but as a little child, said unto the Lord, "Give unto thy servant an understanding heart:" which request God granted him, and gave him also riches and honour. Oh! see the benefit of pleasing God, young men and young women.

Fifthly, Josiah, a young prince and king. How zealous was he for God's service and worship! What a wonderful reformation he made in the land, and how was he lamented at his death, as generally all good, and zealous men and women are, whether old or young.

Having touched a little upon the young men, let me remember the young women also: as for example, Ruth and Abigail, two discreet young women; the first very loving, kind, and true to Naomi, her mother-in-law: a good pattern for all daughters-in-law: "Entreat me

not," said she, "to leave thee; for where thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; and where thou diest, there will I be buried; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God," and the Lord abundantly rewarded her for this godly resolution. Boaz had a sense of her virtue and piety, and said, "All the city of my people do know, that thou art a virtuous woman." Which doubtless was a strong motive for him to love her; and that love commonly lasts till death: whereas when money is a motive, it often happens that many evils attend.

Consider also wise Abigail, her ingenious speech to David, and contrivance to hinder him from shedding blood; which he was coming to do, thinking he had cause, but was prevented by her wisdom. This was a great motive to him to love her, after Nabal's death, and to take her to wife. She was no proud woman; "For, said she, let thy handmaid serve to wash the feet of the servants of my lord."

As there are many good examples in holy Scripture, whereby young people might be stirred up to virtue; so also there are examples of the judgments of God on disobedient, impious, vain and ungodly men and women, even young and old. Let our youth consider, I beseech them, wicked, disobedient Absalom, and poor Dinah: also the prince and the Moabitish damsel, whom zealous Phineas slew; for God was angry, and is angry with the wicked every day.

The before mentioned good men and women were in the time of the law; and let me add to them, the holy pattern and good example of our great Lord and blessed master, who loved righteousness, and hated wickedness, therefore he was highly exalted, and anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows: he had the heathen given him for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession: and what is more, all power in heaven and earth.

Oh! dear young men and maidens! he is our great pattern, whom we ought to take for our example; walking in all humility and reverence: Christ saith, "He that will be my disciple, that is his scholar, must take up his cross, deny himself, and follow me." Oh! blessed pattern! Oh! glorious example! let us follow him whilst we have breath; for it is always well for them that follow him. What think ye, young men and maidens! had it not been well for that rich young man, had he left all, and followed dear Jesus: be ye your own judges; look on your pattern Christ Jesus, when he was but twelve years old; see what he was doing, forget not that saying which his mother laid up in her



heart, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" I can say through some experience, it is good business. Let me tell you for your edification, I have served my master, holy Jesus, and followed him several years according to the best of my understanding, and I have always found him a good master; his service is sweet, and his work is delightful. I have a great deal more to say for my Lord and Master, but my design is brevity: "His yoke is easy, and his burthen is light." He hath said it, and I have experienced it. Wherefore I am the more free to invite you to follow him, and be his scholars. An eminent servant and scholar of his said, "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." The apostle Paul exhorts Timothy, a young scholar, and his son in the faith, to be a good example to others; as also his son Titus. We are also told of four young women, who were prophetesses, and divers others; a more particular account of whose exemplary lives and actions is recorded in the holy Scripture for our learning; unto which, with the grace of God in the heart, I recommend all young men and women, and conclude this small token of my very dear love in Christ, our holy Lord and master, desiring the above may be as so many patterns for them to follow.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

*A loving invitation to young and old, in Holland and elsewhere, to seek and love Almighty God, and to prepare in time for their eternal welfare.*

#### PREFACE.

HAVING from my childhood been a lover of the Dutch, and that love being increased by travelling in Holland and Germany, it came weightily on my mind to invite and persuade this people, with others into whose hands this may come, and especially the youth, to love, serve, and fear the Lord, the Almighty, the great Jehovah, and that they first seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness, as Christ exhorts or commands. Those weighty expressions, with the large promise thereto annexed, are well worth the due notice and consideration of all, both youth and aged; but seem to be very apt to the condition of those that are just entering into the affairs of the world. Oh! that the youth had but faith in the blessed Lord Jesus, and owned his pure doctrine, now in their tender years; and in the prime of their days. "That they would remember their Creator in the days of their youth, before the evil days come;" that in their blooming spring time,

they might be like lovely branches, and growing trees of righteousness, bearing much good fruit of piety and virtue; in which, saith our Lord Jesus Christ, "is your heavenly Father glorified." This is the real and hearty desire of my soul, for the youth of this and all generations, in all nations throughout the world: the universal love of God flows in my soul, like a living stream, to all my fellow mortals. The great love of God in Christ Jesus, our Lord and Master, is abundantly and universally shed abroad to all nations, through his eternal Spirit and grace in the hearts of the sons and daughters of men, in order to draw, lead, and guide men and women from earth to heaven.

Being desirous according to my measure, to promote truth and righteousness in the earth, and having been sensible of the love, mercy and goodness of God, in my very young and tender years, I am willing, for the sake of well inclined young men and women, to send this loving invitation: and am desirous that it might be translated into the Dutch language; hoping it may be beneficial to some well inclined souls, to stir them up to seek, serve, and love Almighty God. Amen.

So wisheth and heartily prayeth, a friend to, and lover of all mankind.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

It is a thing truly excellent for mortals to love, serve, and fear him that made them, and gave unto all life and being: and to begin this work betimes, is very advantageous to the never dying soul. It is an indispensable duty, which is incumbent upon every one, male and female; and whoever is found in the neglect thereof, will certainly have cause to repent it; and unless they repent before they go hence, and see man no more, will be miserable to all eternity. This solid consideration hath often been weighty on my mind, and I could not be clear, as I thought, in the sight of God, without laying it before men and women.

Truth commands us, reason persuades us, and example is very powerful and inviting, that the children of men would be wise to salvation, and embrace the love of God in his dear and well beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who himself said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." Oh! surely here is a threefold cord, i. e., truth, reason, and example, which is not easily broken: God Almighty grant, for Christ's sake, that by it poor souls may be drawn to him, even now in their tender years: To-day, to-day, if any will hear the voice of the Lord, let them not harden their hearts; for that is provoking to

him that made us. How know we whether he who made the heavens, will be pleased to give us another hour? How know we, but that after this day we may never open our eyes, till we open them in eternity? Oh! eternity, eternity, that boundless ocean! who can fathom those words, for ever and ever? What will this world and all its glories and vanities signify, or avail to poor souls, when lying on a dying bed.

It will therefore be well for both old and young to note this:

First; The old, because it is not likely they should have many days, according to the course of nature and a common proverb, i. e., the young may die, but the old must die.

Second; The young, because they know not but that they may die to-morrow.

In the great and notable day of the Most High, heavenly things will be found serious and solid truths, and not toys and trifles, nor indifferent; when he shall come as in flames of fire, to render vengeance, which is his only, upon all the workers of iniquity, and shall come to judge the secrets of all hearts by that great and just Judge, the Lord Jesus Christ.

Wherefore, let me prevail with some poor souls, now in time, to lay the truth to heart, and to be found in the work of God in their day; that so for their pains here, they may receive their penny hereafter; and that enlivening, that quickening answer of "well done," may be their portion, and the glorious lot of their inheritance: "Come, ye blessed; well done, good and faithful servant: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Oh! powerful voice and heart ravishing sentence! enough to make one alive, though dead; and exceedingly joyful, though sorrowful even to death. This divine favour and grace, wherewith the Most High will favour those that love him and faithfully serve him, in that great and notable day, will far exceed the favour of kings and princes: for those that get the latter, can only be happy, or so accounted, in this world, which is but momentary; and those who are living and sensible witnesses of the former, are certainly happy, even in this world, although men may not see it, and likewise everlastingly happy in that world which is to come. To be sensible of God's grace in the heart, and to follow the holy teaching of it, is preferable to all things here below, it will make one more wise and more comely, than all outward learning, beauty, or parts whatever. God Almighty grant, I beseech him, that all our young men, our rich men, our wise men, may glory only in him, according to the language of the spirit in the holy Scriptures, "Let not the young or strong

man glory in his youth or strength, nor the rich man in his riches, nor the wise man in his wisdom; but he who glories, let him glory in the Lord;" or in this, "That he knows the Lord." Let the wits of the age consider this well; let the boaster and disputer rightly note this, and he will have cause to bow before heaven's Majesty. What becomes of the young man's and young woman's strength and lovely beauty, when their heads are laid in the cold grave? What will become of, or of what service to him will be, the riches of the rich man, when he shall receive his summons to his long home? May he not then say, Oh! that I had been as industrious to get heaven and peace with my Maker, as I have been to get this world. Let all worldly minded men and women remember the expostulation of Christ Jesus with the rich young man. This is not to hinder any in their outward concerns: for the heart of a man may be in heaven, though his hands may be in his employment.

And as to the wise man: pray what will become of his great wit, his acquired parts, his arguments and criticisms, when pale faced death shall look him in the face, and strike him with his sharp arrow? Then he will find, that it had been much better for him, had he lived well, although he had not talked so much, or so well. To talk well, is good; but to live well is much better. To talk finely, and live badly, is of little worth. Oh! that the great Master workman of all, may drive home this nail, in the heart of him whose eye shall look thereon, by his mighty hammer, the hammer of his word, his heart breaking, heart melting, and heart piercing word; according to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the holy Scriptures, "Is not my word as a fire? Is not my word as a hammer? Is not my word as a sword?" i. e. to burn, to break, to cut down all manner of sin: not to destroy man, but sin in man. Hear further the language of the Holy Spirit; "Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend up into heaven, to fetch it down from above? Or who shall go down into the deep, or beyond the seas, to fetch it from thence? But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, in thy heart, and in thy mouth that thou mayest do it." This was, and is, and ever will be, the doctrine of the gospel; from which people may perceive that Christ Jesus is near to them; near to save, near to deliver, near to redeem. The great Jehovah, the blessed Jesus, the holy divine Spirit, is not a God afar off, but a God near at hand, and a present and sure help in the needful time. Oh! blessed be his name for ever and ever.



I appeal to the consciences of all men, whether they have not, or do not sensibly witness something of a nature contrary to sin and unrighteousness, to reprove them and convince them of the evil of their ways and doings, perhaps sometimes in the midst of their vanity, in the song, in the dance, or in the game; or sometimes after a debauch, or for their pride, either in mind or in apparel, for overreaching, or covetousness; all which, with all manner of evils, are of the devil. And the King of heaven is lifting up his holy and righteous spirit as a standard against it, and against him who is the author of it. Let this his convincing grace take place in thy heart, Oh mortal man! for know of a truth, it is the grace of God to thy soul; for infallible proof of which, besides the experience of the faithful, take these two texts of holy Scripture, the doctrine of which will stand forever, notwithstanding all the opposition of man; "I will pray the Father, says Christ, and he will send you another comforter, even the Spirit of truth, that he may abide with you forever; and when he is come, he shall convince the world of sin." Again, "The grace of God which brings salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly, in this present world." Why should the Almighty show to men the evil of their ways? Why does he not let them run on in their vanities, without control? Oh! ye children of men! it is his mere grace and mercy to the precious, dear bought, and never dying souls of poor mortal mankind; for he would have none to perish. If any perish, their destruction is of themselves, but their help is of the Lord. Oh! that people would be entreated and persuaded, through loving invitation, to follow the Lord fully, and do his work faithfully.

I humbly beg of the Lord, the great God, and Father of spirits, and of our dear Lord Jesus, that this may be instrumental, in his hand, to draw some poor seeking, travailing soul from earth towards heaven; the which, if it doth, let the praises be given to God alone, through his well beloved Son.

First, then: As to truth, I would hope few in this generation, who profess Christianity, need to say, What is truth? God Almighty, Christ Jesus, the Holy Spirit, is that infinite, divine truth, which will endure forever; and he hath said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind and with all thy strength." He is richly worthy thereof: this is his law which is to endure forever; and he who doth and teacheth it, is to be called great in the kingdom of God; and that it might not be forgotten, he

wrote it on stony tables; which law, Jacob's seed broke and transgressed. Wherefore, thus saith the Lord, who spoke by the prophet, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts." There it is written in large characters, very plain and legible, and easy to be read of mankind. Moses, the man of God, was an instrument to promote the law outwardly, written on tables of stone, among the children of Israel: so Christ Jesus, in this gospel-day, is promoting and proclaiming the power of this law inwardly engraven in men's heart by God's finger, throughout the whole world. This great law of love, in which all the law and the prophets are contained, Christ not only lived in, and declared to mortals; but he also died in it, and for us sealed his holy, glorious testimony and doctrine, with his most precious blood. This is he, of whom the voice from the most excellent glory said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." This is he, of whom the former law-giver said, "The Lord your God shall raise up a prophet from amongst your brethren, him shall ye hear in all things." This is he who said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." This is he who said, "He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you:" and again, "I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him and sup with him, and he with me." His love is wonderful; he not only commands obedience, but invites to it. Who can be so hard hearted, and so cruel to him and themselves also, as to slight and refuse such heavenly offers of infinite love, grace and mercy? The spirit and the bride say, come; and all that are athirst may come and drink freely, and buy heavenly milk and rich wine, without money or any outward price.

Secondly, Touching reason: it is very reasonable that we should serve and love God Almighty, in the space of time that we have in this world, and work the works of piety and virtue, because there is solid peace therein: here none can make afraid, but the soul is calm and quiet, being anchored in a safe harbour. Here no law can take hold of us. If any should imagine that there are no future rewards or punishments, which no mortal can do without blushing or self-condemnation, as I conceive; yet a life of holiness is a much better life, even for the body, for its health and most sweet repose, and for pleasure that is solid, and not flashy; and for its outward tranquillity in every respect. I appeal to the reasoning wits of the age, whether the above be not a great and undeniable truth: besides, all true men and women, in practising as above, have a living

hope and faith, through and in Christ, of a glorious rest in eternity, which is very reasonable to believe. Christ wrought such wonderful works and mighty miracles, which before were never wrought by man on earth; so that those must needs be self-condemned that believe not in him, his works and grace. There is no writ nor wit in the whole world, that can, or ever will be able to make void, or lay waste the mighty and miraculous works of truth, which were done by the blessed Jesus. Moses was a mighty man of God, and highly favoured and greatly beloved of him, and did many mighty works; yet Christ exceeded him, as also did his dispensation. Moses went through the sea: Christ went upon the sea. Moses prayed for bread from heaven, and it was given in abundance; Christ with a few small fishes and seven loaves, fed many thousands, which was unreasonable to expect, but from a divine hand. Moses prayed for water for the people: Christ made wine, and admirable wine too, even of water. Moses preached the law and judgment to Israel only; but Christ Jesus preached grace, mercy, peace and truth, not only to Israel, but also to all the world, through divine faith in God, in and through repentance, and the work of the spirit. Oh! is not here reason and truth pleading with, and persuading poor creatures to love, serve and follow, reverence and fear, their Creator.

It is likely some such doctrine as this might better please the sparks of the age, and the jolly young men and maidens up and down in the world, viz: "Rejoice, Oh! young man and young woman, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth; follow the desire of thy heart, and the sight of thine eyes." But let them remember, that for all these things God will bring them to judgment: they must surely come to judgment. They will have it inwardly and secretly in their hearts, here in this world, notwithstanding they may endeavour to hide it from men; but they cannot hide it from Heaven, from the all-seeing, heart-piercing eye of the holy One: "He who inhabits eternity, whose dwelling is in the light; and whose eye goes through the earth, beholding the good and the evil;" sees them at all times, and without repentance they will have condemnation without end, in the world that is to come. Let the youth and aged seriously consider it.

And further, let them call to mind the great and heavy judgments that have fallen upon wicked and ungodly men, many of which were foretold by the messengers of heaven, and came to pass according to their sayings, viz: the flood of waters, which destroyed the old world, which the very Indians in America have a notable idea of, handed down to them

by the tradition of their fathers to this day. The destruction of the land and inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the thousands of thousands that have been destroyed in battles, which will still be, and continue to the world's end, unless people come into the love of God, which will teach them to love one another, and into the faith and doctrine of the Prince of Peace, which is, "To do unto all men, as we would have them do unto us," and to "do good for evil;" which to be sure is not to destroy. Likewise the destruction of Jerusalem and scattering of the Jews, the seed of faithful Abraham; and divers terrible earthquakes, which have happened in these latter ages of the world; some of the dreadful ruins of which I have seen in my travels. Surely there is much reason to walk in reverence and holy fear before the great Lord of all: he who made the heavens and the earth, the seas and the fountains of water, and hath given life and breath to all that move therein, can take it from them at his pleasure, in the twinkling of an eye.

Oh! happy are all those who live and dwell in the holy fear of God, and in the self-denying life of Jesus: no greater happiness or felicity, than to be one of these. Let my soul dwell here, and be in unity and fellowship with all such forever.

As to the third and last part of the argument, viz: example; which, as the proverb says, is above precept. Good example is very taking with many, and often happens to be very affecting to the younger sort more particularly: for they look out much at others, and take great notice of the words and conduct of their elders and superiors. Jacob was a good example to his great family: he was a pious affectionate father, a loving husband, a faithful servant, and an obedient son: the history of his life and travels in holy Scripture is affecting. He sought God betimes; and how humble, how lowly did he behave himself in his pilgrimage! his father and mother called him, and bid him go; he does it without any replies to the contrary; not like some of the youth of this age. Being benighted on his way, he lays himself down; his pillow was hard, but his bed large, and the heavens were his curtains; his sleep was sweet, and his dream precious. In which sleep he sees angels; and when he awakes, he says, "Surely this is none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven." The condition of his covenant with his Maker, as to outward things, was as small as well could be, viz: Bread to eat, and raiment to put on, and the presence of his Maker, with his blessing. This was when he was about to set up for himself in the world: his mind was not



high, neither sought he after great things; notwithstanding which, the Almighty gave him abundance. So onward he went, and came to Laban, and became his servant. I could wish that all young people, who are servants, would follow his steps in faithfulness, then might they be a blessing to their masters, as he was to his. I ever observed in my travels, having travelled much in divers nations, and made many observations, that Almighty God hath greatly blessed obedient, industrious children and servants; which observation, I hope will be of good use to the world, if well considered. And on the other hand, I have taken notice of the contrary, and have perfectly understood, that God's hand hath been manifestly against those who have been disobedient and ill natured, and idle; which may be an useful caution to all. The Lord blessed the good service and faithful industry of this his servant, with great increase; as also with many children, for whom he was concerned even to the very last; and like a pious and godly father, prayed to the Lord for their preservation, and was zealously concerned to cleanse his family from superstition and idolatry; and call them to go up to Bethel, the house of God. Oh! that all heads of families would be concerned for their posterity, and seek God and the things of his kingdom, for their children and servants, more than the things of this world; there being too much care for the one, and too little for the other, generally speaking; so that there is need of this caution. This good man was not only concerned for his family in his life, but even at his death also: waiting for the salvation of God, and being sensible of it, he very livingly and sensibly blessed his seed, and was opened in faith to speak exactly to each of their states and conditions. I refer to the history of it in holy Scripture, the which I believe will be affecting to pious minds. What a race he left behind! all his twelve sons were patriarchs, and fathers of many people, who were highly favoured of God, and had been to this day, had they walked in the steps of their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; from whom came many valiant and noble men for God; as Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Josiah, Elijah, and Elisha; also the holy blessed Star and Sun of righteousness, Holy Jesus, whom the degenerate offspring of good old Israel, slew and hanged on a tree. The holy apostles also, were great examples of virtue; as well as the blessed martyrs, and many modern good men might be brought in for inviting examples, to stir up the minds of men and women, to serve, love and follow the Lord, and to believe in him, and in his

dear Son, and in the appearance of his grace working in the soul, in order to convince and convert them.

To be particular in all the above instances, would swell this far beyond what is intended; and considering the many and large volumes that are in the world, though a large door is opened before me, yet I am now willing to conclude, and recommend the work, with the reader, to the grace of God, in and through his dear Son Christ Jesus, our great example: to whom with the Father, through the divine Spirit, be glory forever.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

Written at Frederickstadt, in Holstein.

*Some observations on Christ's sermon on the mount.*

#### PREFACE.

CHRIST being the great author of the Christian religion, some observations on the sermon which he preached on the mount, may be acceptable to some of his followers; especially such who desire to fulfil his holy will, and not to rest satisfied in a mere form and show of religion.

And also considering that it is the greatest collection of his words left us in the New Testament by the evangelists, in any one place, I was in hopes some observations thereon might tend to promote the reading of it in the holy Scriptures.

But the great aim I had in this undertaking, was, that the professors of the name of holy Jesus might live and walk in his truth, and in the doctrine which he has there laid down for his followers to practise; and that in so doing, they might have peace to their souls here, and rest in the kingdom of glory forever.

It is by some accounted and looked upon in youth to be a commendable and worthy practice to write down sermons, and to copy and read them over; and I believe it will be generally acknowledged, that there was never any sermon that can be compared with this preached in the mount, and recorded by the evangelist Matthew, in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters; which if our young and rising generation would often read, and sometimes write down, but be sure to practise; this would be truly noble in them. If they find they want inward strength to perform the duties it prescribes, let them seek it in secret at the hand of the Almighty, in whom is everlasting strength; and it is recorded in holy Scripture, "That he gives liberally, and upbraideth not." He will not upbraid thee, because thou art but

a child, or tender in years. Oh, therefore, seek him betimes! for it is written, "They who seek him early shall find him."

If Christians would walk according to this holy sermon, it would help to heal their differences, and to soften them in their sentiments one to another. All parties will confess that the doctrine in this sermon is good, and ought to be promoted amongst all who profess the worthy name of the Lord Jesus; and whoever walks contrary to this rule must needs be in the wrong.

The general end of preachers is, or should be, to have their doctrine taken notice of, and put in practice; and this being counsel from the "Wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God and Saviour, the everlasting Father, and Prince of Peace," we should take more than ordinary notice of it.

Considering also, that he not only spake his doctrine, but lived in it; and not only lived in, but died in it and for it, and us also, we are deeply engaged to hear him with an obedient heart and ear. "This, says the voice from the most excellent glory, is my beloved Son, hear ye him." And Moses, the man of God, says, "He that will not hear him, shall be destroyed from amongst the people:" viz. From an inheritance with the saints in the kingdom of God, and his Christ.

I have carefully transcribed the sermon, verbatim, and made some observations on it afterwards, I think on every verse a little, as I found openness to it on my mind; and it is recommended to the serious perusal and consideration of all those who tenderly and unfeignedly love our Lord Jesus Christ.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

"AND seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him, and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying," &c.

Our Lord seeing the multitudes, for the advancing his Father's glory, his own kingdom, and the good of souls, went up into the mountain, and sat in the power of the Father; and when so sat down, his disciples came unto him; which shows the necessity of coming to Christ, to hear his word; and that Christians ought to assemble themselves before him, that he may speak to them either immediately, or by his ministers if he pleases to enlarge the heart of any of them to declare his word; and as his disciples then personally came unto him, so now we ought to come to him in spirit; and when but two or three are so come to him, he is as really present spiritually, as he was personally in the mount. And as this meeting in the mount was powerful and glorious,

so will all those be, in measure, where Jesus is really present in spirit.

"And he opened his mouth, and taught them." Thus when true believers meet before Christ, he teaches them, and opens the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and speaks truly to the state of the people, even now spiritually, as he did then vocally; and his word is with power and great glory. Oh! may all his servants and ministers, who are sensible of his divine call, minister according to their several gifts and capacities, in his power, and by his holy and divine authority. This must change the hearts of poor mortals, and forward the work of reformation, which, with godly sorrow it may be truly said, goes on but too slowly in this world. Christ being thus set in the power of his Father, opened his mouth and let fall a shower of blessings on those hearts who were prepared to receive them. For his great love and tender compassion are generally manifested to poor souls when they, with love and zeal to him, and for the honour of his great name, assemble before him. He begins and says,

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

It is a safe and blessed state, to be spiritually poor, and to be rightly sensible of it before the Most High. For then we are nothing, and have nothing, but from the Lord: and without him man sees himself undone: his soul must starve, he must go naked, if the Almighty do not feed and clothe him. When people see themselves poor and wretched, miserable, blind, and naked, without Christ, notwithstanding all the fine things they may enjoy in this world, which is of a fading nature; Oh! then how the soul cries and begs for mercy and grace. A dry form of words will not satisfy it, but it begs with tears, Lord help me, or I perish! Save me, or I am undone forever! Here the soul humbly approaches the throne of grace by prayer; and if an answer is not quickly received, for such a soul is apt to think the time long, it waits patiently with that servant of God, who said, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him:" for I know there is no help for me but from thee, Oh! my God, and my Saviour, saith the truly poor soul. The food which must keep life in me, is thy word: and the raiment which I want, is thy righteousness, as thou wroughtest it for me, and workest it in me also. The Lord looks with a compassionate eye on such souls, and doth not use to turn them away empty; but as they abide in the patience, waiting for his appearance in hope, he assures them of the kingdom; and a great change is witnessed; for the blessing of Christ makes them rich, which adds no sorrow with



it. Their greatest sorrow was, and is, for want of it; now their treasure and heart is in heaven, and heavenly things are their chiefest delight; now they are clothed with Christ's righteousness, he hath put it upon them, and they show it in the sight of men, a thorough change being wrought both within and without also; "The holy Spirit bearing witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God;" and Christ says theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted."

The mourning here spoken of, is of a godly sort, which may sometimes appear outwardly. First, The soul may mourn for its own sins and iniquities. Second, For want of a Saviour: and Third, For the iniquities of others. "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; and since we have all sinned, we have all need to mourn before the Lord, and bow ourselves before the Most High; and when he sees that we are humbled before him, he will comfort us. Christ will send the Comforter, the Spirit of truth in his name, who will come unto us; and when he is come, we may plainly know that it is he, by what he doth, according to Christ's own rule, which is infallible and certain. He says, "When he is come, he will reprove, or convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; of sin, because they believe not on me; of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more; and of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged." Thus, according to Christ, that which shows us our sins, which convinces us of them, is the Spirit of truth, the Comforter; and after we have mourned for the sins of which he convinces us, then he comforts us with inward comfort and consolation. This Comforter also convinceth us of our formal righteousness, when it is only formal, without the power of Christ; and then the soul mourns after the life and power of godliness, which indeed is great gain, with true contentment; and hath the promise of the things of this life, and of that also which is to come. Here we are comforted by the Spirit in the promise, in which we have faith to believe in Christ, that he will verily do as he hath promised. It also convinceth us of judgment, when we judge with a wrong judgment; and when we mourn for our mistake, he makes us sensible of his righteous judgment, which judges the prince of this world, who is judged by Christ; and then instead of mourning, we are ready to sing with the saints of old, "Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God, for true and righteous are his judgments, for he hath judged the beast which did

corrupt the earth, and hath revenged the blood of his servants at her hands."

The soul being truly in love with Christ, and he being absent from it in some sense; or if he seem to stay a great while from it, although it be only to prove it; this makes it mourn like the spouse in the Canticles, who sets forth the beauty, and excellent parts and comeliness of her beloved, and her sorrow is, that he has withdrawn himself; and well may a soul be sorrowful, when Christ spiritually withdraws himself. The children of the bride chamber mourn in the bridegroom's absence, but rejoice in his presence, who is the very perfection of beauty and holiness. But the soul abiding in his love, seeking him and waiting for him, in his own time he will certainly come to that soul; for he is the truth who said, "Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted."

Again, pious souls cannot but mourn for the sins and abominations of the times, which are a great exercise to them, and affect them with sorrow and mourning; but they are comforted with blessed promises, which the Holy Ghost, at times, immediately applies to their souls, as recorded in the holy Scripture; and let it be remembered, that all our good times are in the hands of the Lord. It is recorded in the holy Scripture, that God would have his people comfortably spoken to; and that he would "give them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified."

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth."

Be not high minded, saith one of his servants; and another saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Again, "The meek will he teach his way, and the meek, will he guide in judgment;" as the holy Scripture witnesseth. Well said our holy Saviour, that the meek should be blessed: grace is given to them, and God is their teacher and their guide in judgment; a most blessed gift, teacher, and guide. It is a great blessing indeed, to receive grace from Almighty God, to be taught his ways, and to have the holy One to be our guide in judgment. He who has all power in heaven and in earth committed into his hand, says that the meek "shall inherit the earth:" they have the truest enjoyment of all the things of this life; whereas the proud and scornful are a burthen to themselves and others, and hardly any thing pleases them, or is good enough for them; when, on the other hand, the meek and contented mind hath a continual feast.

"Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled."

Let it be remembered, that as our mortal bodies cannot enjoy health long, without a natural appetite to meat and drink, so our souls cannot live unto holiness without a spiritual hunger and an inward thirst after the righteousness which Christ puts upon his saints; not by imputation only, but actually also. Such souls he will fill, as Mary witnessed and bore her testimony to the truth thereof, viz: "He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away." When we are emptied of sin and self, there is room for the Almighty to pour his spirit into us. If we would fill any thing, it must first be emptied; so must we be empty, if we hunger and thirst after righteousness: then shall we truly pray to our heavenly Father for divine food, and it will be our meat and drink to do his will; and we shall delight to feed upon his word; as Christ says, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." This is holy food for the soul, which nourishes and keeps it alive unto God; without this it is dead, notwithstanding it may have the name of a living soul. As this hunger and thirst, or desire, must be spiritual, so must the food be also; "It being the spirit that quickens," and gives life; wherefore let a spiritual hunger and thirst after God and his righteousness, be in the soul. A righteous man being greatly athirst after the living Lord, cries out, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so doth my soul after the living God." And this holy thirst was greatly satisfied, so that his heart was many times sweetly opened to praise the Lord. It is true we have an adversary, that would be filling us with many things, fleshly, worldly, and satanical; but we are to shut our hearts against him, to keep out all those things, and to stand open to Christ, empty before him. If we find our adversary too hard for us, we are to flee and cry to the Lord for succour and help, who is a God not only afar off, but also near at hand, a present help in the needful time, as many of his servants and children have experienced. Wherefore, to be hungry and thirsty after Christ and his righteousness, entitles us to his gracious promise, who says they shall be filled.

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

It is highly necessary for mortals to show mercy in all their words and actions one to another; and also to the creatures which God hath made for the use of man. It is usually said, that a merciful man is merciful to his beast, which generally is true; and if men

are merciful to their beasts, how much more ought they to be merciful one to another. Where mercy is to be extended, it ought not to be done sparingly, since thereby, according to Christ's blessed doctrine, we are to obtain mercy. That servant who showed no mercy to his fellow, had no mercy showed to him from his lord. It is also recorded, in the name of the Lord, "He hath shown unto thee, O man! what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God." By which it appears that we are not just in the sight of God, if we are cruel and unmerciful one to another. And we ought not only to be merciful, but to love it, which, if we are truly humble, we shall certainly do. Mercy will lessen, and not magnify weakness, failings, or small and trivial things, one in another; and sometimes, as the case may require, larger things. Yet there is room for seasonable reproof and correction; but mercy must be mixed with justice, else the correction may end in tyranny. We ought to be gentle to all men, which is a token of true gentility; so to be truly merciful, is to be blessed, and to obtain mercy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

By which we may understand, that we are to take care of our hearts, and to keep a strict watch over them; and not admit unclean or unchaste thoughts, or sinful desires, to have an entrance therein. And if at unawares, they should at any time enter, we must not entertain or love them, but turn them out; for we, in this, should be like our heavenly Father, of purer eyes than to behold iniquity with any allowance or approbation: otherwise it will hinder us from seeing God, and from the sweet enjoyment of his most precious presence, and from beholding the only begotten of the Father, and the fulness of his grace and truth, which we cannot see if our hearts are impure. We have an instance in the scribes and pharisees, who, though they were outwardly righteous and clean, yet within were very impure, so that they could not see God, though he was in Christ reconciling the world to himself: notwithstanding their nice discerning eyes, yet they could not see him, for the impurity of their hearts; which was so great, that they murdered the just One, their hearts being full of deceit and hypocrisy. "Make clean the inside, and the outside will be clean also," says Christ: from whence it appears, that a true Christian must be clean both within and without. The beginning of the work of purity and sanctity, must be within; and being innocent and pure in heart, we shall then see the glory of the Father, the lovely



beauty of the Son, and the power of the Holy Ghost, or Spirit.

"Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

This peace-making is excellent work, and a blessed calling; what pity it is, that there are not workmen in the world who would set themselves heartily to it, which if they did, in a right spirit, God would certainly prosper the work in their hands, and plentifully reward them with his own peace, which passeth the understanding of the natural man. If our ingenious men, our men and women of skill and good natural parts, would take a little pains, nay, when the case requires it, a great deal, the Almighty would richly reward them. This work is not too mean even for princes and nobles; no, not even the greatest monarchs on earth, unless it be too mean for them to be called the children of God. And if the children of God are peace makers, what, and whose children are they, who break the peace of nations, communities and families? Wherefore, we should seek peace with all men, and ensue it, or sue for it, by our continual seeking of it, being a precious jewel, when found; and though this office may seem a little unthankful at first, yet in the end it brings forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness, as many so labouring have witnessed. And Christ, to encourage the work, says, "They shall be called the children of God;" which are the words of the King of kings; and if the princes of this world would promote this work among themselves, it would save a vast expense of treasure and of blood; and as these peace makers are to be called the children of God, they who are truly concerned herein, are not only so called, but are so in deed and in truth.

"Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

Persecution may be considered in relation to calumny and reproach, and in imprisonments, confinements, or the like, or taking away life or goods on a religious account, for conscientious scruples, &c. What sad work hath there been on this account in the world, not among Turks and Jews only, but among professors of Christianity, which is indeed a great reproach to that holy name. Persecution for righteousness sake, is not fit for Turks or Jews, much less for the professors of our meek Lord; his dispensation and gospel being absolutely the reverse of it, which is a shameful sin to all men, in all nations. However, the persecuted have this comfort in the midst of all their sufferings, they are blessed of Christ their Lord; who himself suffered for them, and they are promised by

him the kingdom of heaven. By which doctrine it may be safely concluded, that the members of his true church never persecuted any, though they have been often persecuted; but the eyes of many are now open to see the evil of it, and a spirit of moderation begins to grow and spring in divers parts of the earth.

It is to be desired, that the moderation of Christians might more and more increase, and appear to all men; because God is at hand, who will justify the innocent, whom he knows better than any man, because he sees their hearts, and he will condemn none but the guilty. How shall the Jews be converted, or the Turks be convinced of the verity of the Christian religion, while its professors are tearing and rending one another: had it not been for the immoderation and persecution among professors of Christ in christendom, so called, it is probable Christianity would have made far greater progress in the four quarters of the world long before this time, than it hath done. Persecution hath been proposed by the immoderate, to allay heats and divisions, and cure breaches; but the ancient history of persecution, and the modern practice of it, fully convince us, that it hath always tended to make the hot, hotter, the divisions greater, and the breach wider, and so the contention to grow endless; which nothing will end, but a calm and quiet temper, the mind being cooled by the gentle influences of the holy Spirit of Christ, the immaculate Lamb; who came not to destroy, or devour, but to seek and to save that which was lost and gone astray, that he might bring them home to his fold of rest, in his Father's kingdom.

"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.

"Rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets, who were before you."

There is a persecution as before hinted, by calumny and reproach, or reviling, by evil speaking and falsities, which, for the most part, it is better patiently and quietly to suffer for Christ's sake, and if we are abused to appeal to him; for many times words beget words, till at last it comes to prejudice, and breaks the unity and peace of brethren and families. So that in a general way one had better suffer the calumnies and reproaches of evil men, with a tender concern for God's glory, resting in the blessing of Christ, and that thou wilt most surely feel if thou canst appeal to him on this wise, "Lord, thou knowest I suffer this wrong for thy sake." In such sufferings there is an inward joy, a

spiritual rejoicing; and the heart of the persecuted is abundantly more glad, through the blessing and goodness of Christ, than the persecutor, whose conscience accuseth him in secret. And as to personal persecution, it is no more than the prophets, and our Lord suffered before us: and with that consideration Christ comforts his suffering seed: Those who suffer with him and his seed, these have the promise of reigning with him; and himself hath promised them a reward, no less than the kingdom of heaven.

"Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot by men."

Here Christ sheweth that his followers must season the earth, by living a savoury life, and by walking according to his doctrine, which is wonderfully set forth in this excellent sermon. If we live up to those holy rules, we shall be serviceable in our generation, and our lives will teach the people as well as our words, and better too, by how much example is better than precept. And indeed Christians ought to be careful in both; in life to live holy, and in words to be sparing, observing to "Let their words be few and savoury, and seasoned with grace, that they may minister grace to the hearers." Thus should we season the world, and salt it with the salt of the covenant; but if we lose this savour of grace, and take a liberty which Christ and his truth do not allow of, speaking things at random, which are not convenient or edifying, but altogether unsavoury; then, according to our Master who is in heaven, we are good for nothing but to be cast out, i. e., out of the church, to be trampled upon by men, as in truth we deserve: not that our bodies are to be killed or destroyed; for the door of the church is always open to receive true penitents. But for this end and good purpose we are chastened of the Lord, that the soul may be saved in the day of the Lord. And those who know godly sorrow for their sins, and turn from the evil of their ways by amendment of life, those Christ forgives, and adviseth his church to do the same, saying, "If he repent, forgive him;" which repentance is best manifested by a new life and a holy and blameless conversation.

"Ye are the light of the world: a city set on a hill cannot be hid."

True and faithful Christians are indeed as stars in God's firmament, which are of excellent use to people in the night, and more especially when they are not clouded, and in a particular manner to those who travel on the seas, for when they have not seen the sun

for a season, then they are good guides to the sea-faring man; and likewise in the wilderness on the land. This world is like a wilderness, and like the troubled sea, to some poor souls; and good men and good women are serviceable, to reprove and instruct in righteousness: "Such, says Daniel the prophet, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars, for ever and ever." And these are like a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid.

"Neither do men light a candle, and set it under a bushel; but on a candlestick, and it giveth light to all that are in the house."

Men, when divinely enlightened by the grace and spirit of Christ, ought to exert themselves to their Master's glory and excite others, and stir them up to their duty; and to endeavour, as much as in them lies, to promote the kingdom and interest of our dear Lord. For men are God's candles, as the Scripture saith, "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord;" and this candle is often lighted by Christ, who "Lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and is the true light of the great Father of lights. The great and good end of Christ's lighting man's spirit, and illuminating him with divine light, is, that he may shine out to others in a good conversation and a holy life, which is serviceable to others and himself also, and answers the end of Him who enlightened him by the fire of his word, or with a coal from his holy altar; being thus lighted and walking in it, as the nations of them that are saved, shall walk in the light of the Lamb. Here all the house, or society, is truly lighted by such lights; and those who have received greater gifts, or degrees of divine light from Christ, than some others, and may have a larger share of natural or acquired parts, ought not to hide it, as our Lord phrases it, under a bushel, but put it in its proper place, on a candlestick; and as the candle is of little use when it is put out, therefore we ought to be very careful to keep to watchfulness and prayer, that it be kept lighted in time of darkness; for "The candle of the wicked is often put out."

"Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

Since there is a bright and shining nature and quality in the holy lives of Christ's servants, and in the conversation of his faithful followers, therefore it should be manifest and appear before men; our lamp should be burning and our light shining; and we should take care to keep holy oil in our vessels, that therewith our lamps may be supplied, otherwise folly instead of wisdom will appear in our conversations, which will be a hindrance,



when our great bridegroom cometh, to our entrance into life, or God's kingdom, and greatly hindereth our Master's glory, of which we are by all means, to endeavour the furtherance. Men generally take more notice of our evil works, and when an evil eye is open, will sooner see them, than our good ones; so that we had need to be very careful, and keep a holy watch in our conversations, that our light may so shine, that our Father who is in heaven may be glorified, in our bringing forth much good fruit.

"Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

"For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot, or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."

The excellency of the dispensation of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, is wonderful! having no tendency to destroy the law of God given by Moses; for Christ's doctrine comes up through it, fulfils it, and goes beyond it, in perfection and in the beauty of holiness, and in the life and power of pure religion.

"For I say unto you, except your righteousness shall exceed that of the scribes and pharisees, ye shall in no case enter the kingdom of heaven."

Those scribes and pharisees had a righteousness, but it was one of their own making, an outside one only; whereas, within they were full of deceit and hypocrisy; they cried up righteousness in words, and yet cried out against him who taught it in the greatest purity, and sought his destruction; they were notable examples to all persecutors for religion. Our Lord and his servants did not speak against outward holiness, but that the inside should be the same; for living righteousness leads to inward and outward purity, which is manifest by its fruit; and those fruits are fruits of the spirit, which are, Love, meekness, temperance, patience, experience, hope and charity, or brotherly love; of which those people showed very little to Christ. He was sensible of their envy and malice, which were very contrary fruits to holiness; and therefore he tells them that hear him, that their "Righteousness must exceed that of the scribes and pharisees, or they in no case shall enter the kingdom of heaven."

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment.

"But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council; but whosoever shall

say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire."

Here we may learn that the law provided nothing against anger, only in this case, against shedding of blood, and many times if anger is too much kindled it sets the soul on fire of hell, if it be not timely quenched. People, as it grows hotter, call one another out of their names; and take the name of the Lord in vain, break the third commandment, swearing by him, and cursing men. We may plainly see by Christ's doctrine, that anger, without cause, is dangerous. Soft words from a sedate mind will wonderfully help in this case: it is not easily conceived what a mighty advantage satan hath upon one that is angry without a cause: and we are often apt to think we have cause when we have none at all; and then we make work for repentance, without which we are in danger of hell fire. Wherefore every true Christian ought to watch against the evil of anger; and yet there may be anger where there is real cause, without sin.

"Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee;

"Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."

The Christian religion admits of no malice or guile; the worship of it is in spirit and truth, and love, without hypocrisy, without deceit or hatred: if we come with these to the altar, they will hinder our acceptance. Though we may indeed have a gift, we are to seek reconciliation, and not say, let him come to me, I will not go to him; but Christ tells us we must go to him; and if thou go to the offended in a meek and Christian spirit, and seek reconciliation, if thy brother will not be reconciled, if the fault be in him, thou hast done thy duty, and thy gift will be received, and Christ will manifest himself to thee by his grace and spirit. But yet art thou to seek for peace, he having ordained it, and laid it as a duty incumbent on thee.

"Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.

"Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."

It is plain from hence, that Jesus is for a quick and speedy end to differences; "Agree with him quickly;" for it is of dangerous consequence to let disagreements lay long, they eat like a canker, and they destroy the very nature of religion. Personal differences are a great hurt to families, to churches,

and to nations and countries, especially when espoused by parties; then what rending, tearing and devouring work it makes: wherefore take Christ's counsel and agree quickly. If the difference be on the account of debt, and the debt be just, it is better to offer up one's self and all that he has in the world, than to stand out with one's adversary, till it come to the utmost extremity; and for Christians to go to law one with another, is contrary to the apostle's advice; and oftentimes the gainer of the cause loses by going to law; so that it is good to agree quickly; it being profitable so to do, both spiritually and naturally.

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery.

"But I say unto you, whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

The law was against adultery; but the gospel is against lust; and where there is no lust, there can be no adultery; for then the occasion of adultery is taken away; and the cause being taken away, the effect of course ceaseth. Behold the chaste and pure doctrine of Christ, and his holy dispensation, greatly excelling the law, or Mosaic dispensation! Our blessed Saviour doth not admit of an unchaste or lustful looking upon women; much less of immodest salutations, touches, embraces, or discourses, which all tend to beget lust in the hearts of men; and lust conceived, brings forth sin; and sin when finished, brings forth death to the soul.

"And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

"And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

Christ compares the sinful lusts and inclinations, which are the cause of men's destruction, and their being cast into hell, to a right eye, or a right hand, two of the most useful and serviceable members of the body; not that he intended that we should cut off our natural members, but that we should cut off these sinful lusts, and cast them from us, though they were as a right eye, or hand. It is very much against nature, and very painful to pull out an eye, or cut off a hand; so sin of many kinds, is very agreeable to the natural man, and it is very hard for him to part with it; he pleads the use of it, and when Christ the physician of the soul, comes to put his knife to it, which is his word, poor man is too apt to fly from it, and to shrink from under

its stroke: the holy baptist, John, understanding our Lord's doctrine, and being sensible of the powerful working of Christ's word and spirit, says, "Now also the axe is laid to the root of the trees, every tree therefore, which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."

"Again ye have heard, that it hath been said by them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths.

"But I say unto you, swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is God's throne:

"Nor by the earth, for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king.

"Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.

"But let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil."

It was allowed to the Jews to vow to the Lord, and swear by his name, provided they performed their vows and oaths. But here our Lord prohibits and abolishes all swearing, with an "I say unto you, swear not at all." Though swearing Christians will have it that he here prohibits only vain swearing, or common swearing; this cannot be, because the oaths he here speaks of were solemn, and to the Lord. And the apostle James tells us, "We must not swear by any oath." Neither did the primitive Christians swear at all; and Christians ought to be so just in their conversation, as that their solemn words or promises would give them credit without any need of oaths. If more than yea, yea, and nay, nay, be evil, it must also be evil to require more, and that it is evil if it be more, as all vows and oaths are, we have Christ for our author, a good foundation to build upon.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

"But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.

"And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

There was liberty by the law of Moses, for a man to revenge himself, if he had an injury done to him; but Christ teacheth patient suffering; we are not to give any offence, but we are to take them quietly for his sake, in which Jesus was an excellent example to us, whose sufferings were not for himself, but for us; he turned his cheek to the smiter, and his face to those that plucked off the hair. To a man of courage and choler,



this indeed is no small cross; but he must deny himself, and take up Christ's cross daily, and follow him, if he will be his disciple: and as for the law, it is better never to meddle with it, in a general way; and if thy coat by law is taken away, thou hadst better give him thy cloak, than stand another trial with him: and it is much if thou art not a gainer by so doing. But the gain is not urged as the motive; but obedience to Christ, our great Lord and good Master; who said, "If ye love me, keep my commandments."

"Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away."

We are here to suppose the asker to be in real want and necessity, and the borrower also to stand in need, and the asked to be in a capacity and of ability to supply and assist the asker and borrower; and in such case we are by no means to refuse to give him that asketh, nor turn away from him who would borrow of us. If we are not in a capacity to supply, we are yet to use mild and friendly expressions; for Christians should be courteous and kind to all, and particularly to the distressed. And if we think the askers or borrowers are not worthy or deserving for their own sakes, we should, if need be, give and lend for Christ's sake, and in obedience to him, though it cross our own inclinations.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.

"But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you, and persecute you.

"That ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven, for he maketh his sun to rise upon the evil, and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just, and on the unjust."

The Hebrews had liberty to hate their enemies, but no people, by any dispensation, had liberty to hate their neighbours or friends; so that those who are in that state, are far beyond the line of truth. But, says our holy Lawgiver, "I say unto you, love your enemies." If we love our enemies, we can in no wise destroy them, although it were in our power. Again, "Bless them that curse you." But, alas! how apt are men, and even those who would think it hard to be told they are disobedient to Christ, to render railing for railing, and cursing for cursing, instead of blessing. Do good to them who hate you. If we are sensible that any body hates us, and have demonstration of it, for sometimes we imagine it, when it is not so, yet are we to do them all the good turns we can. And pray for them

who despitefully use you, and persecute you. Thus we are not to render evil for evil, but to overcome the evil with that which is good. Sweet was our Lord's example to us in this, when he said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." If spiteful persecutors really know what they do, when they persecute the just, their damnation must needs be very great; but if we do good for evil, as Christ hath taught, then are we the children of our heavenly Father, "Who maketh his sun to rise on the evil, and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just, and on the unjust."

"For if ye love them who love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?"

"And if ye salute your brethren only, what do you more than others? do not even the publicans so?"

Our virtue is much more shining in loving those who do not love us, than in loving those who do. It is natural for us to love those who love us, and we should be ungrateful if we did not; but the reward is greater, if we love them who do not love us, which must be manifested in deeds, as well as words; for saying and doing sometimes are two things, which made the apostle say, "Our love must not be with word, and with tongue only, but in deed and in truth."

As to friendly and hearty salutations, that may be necessary or needful, we should not only manifest them to our brethren, but as occasion requires to all, it being a shining virtue in Christians to be kind to strangers, and to show forth a generous and loving temper and deportment to such as may not be of us; though not in a flattering, modish, or complimentary way, but hearty and respectful, according to the plainness of Christ and the simplicity of his gospel, without respect of persons, respect being too generally, shown to high, more than to them of low degree. As we are not to refuse our friendly salutations to the great, or the rich, so we are not to neglect the poor, for the publicans do so.

"Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

Christ would have us to be perfect in the practice of his doctrine, and to live up to it in perfect obedience, according to the best of our judgment and understanding, and not to do his work by halves, but honestly and perfectly, according to the measure of grace received. Some have received twice, some thrice so much as some others, as the parable of the talents plainly sheweth; but whatever discoveries or manifestations of grace, light, or truth, we have received, we ought to walk up to them perfectly; "Even as your Father which is in

heaven is perfect." As the Almighty is perfect in his love, justice, mercy, grace and truth, unto poor mortals, in Christ Jesus, his only begotten, and in all his works; so ought we to be perfect in our known duty: as it is written, "Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy." So must we be according to the degree of grace received.

It is supposed that no body will imagine that any mortal can come up in degree with the Almighty, but according to our measure, gift, and degree of grace received, we are to be holy and perfect, as God, our heavenly Father, and Christ, our dear Lord, are so in fullness.

"Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them, otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.

"Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do, in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men: verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

"But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth:

"That thine alms may be in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly."

The Christian religion, in its purity, according to the doctrine of the founder of it, is a compassionate religion, and full of pity, as well as piety. It is a holy composition of charity and goodness. The apostle thus describes it: "Pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and widows, in their affliction; and to keep himself unspotted from the world." This is pure religion, and this is the Christian religion: happy are those who walk up to it, and live according to the precepts of Him who dictated them; then the widows and the fatherless would not be neglected; the poor would be very generously taken care of, and our garments kept clean, and all done as secretly as may be. For when we proclaim our alms-deeds and charity, we lose our reward from our heavenly Father. Also when alms are given, it ought to be done in the spirit of love and meekness, and so received; else the receiver loses a second benefit, and the giver his heavenly reward. To give to the poor is to lend to Him that made us, and we shall have good and greater measure returned us again. If we hope to have the gates of Christ's kingdom opened to us at last, our hearts must also be opened to the poor and needy, when in distress; remembering the words of Christ, where he says to some who were waiting for, and wanting an entrance into the kingdom, "I was hungry,

and ye gave me no meat; I was naked, and ye clothed me not. I was sick and in prison, and ye visited me not." They answered, "Lord, when saw we thee hungry, naked, sick, or in prison, and did not feed thee, clothe thee, and visit thee?" He answers, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not to me." He sympathises with his poorest and meanest members, whatever others do, and takes that which is done to them, as if done to himself, whether it be good or bad. We should be good to all, but especially to Christ's members, or the household of the faithful keepers of his commandments. Our alms being thus distributed, according to our ability, and the necessities of the object, without ostentation, and in secret, our munificent Father, who sees in secret, will openly reward us.

How many rich men are there in the world, who have made great and costly entertainments for their rich friends, neighbours and relations; and if their substance be so great, that it is not felt by them, they had the more need to remember the poor; when they never so much as spare the tithe of it to them, though the poor have ten times the need of it; and though Christ says, "When thou makest a feast, invite not thy rich friends, for they will invite thee again; but call the poor, the lame, and the blind," &c.

"And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men; verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

"But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

"But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking.

"Be not ye therefore like unto them; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before you ask him."

Prayer is absolutely necessary for the being and well-being of a Christian; an outside formal Christian may use the form, though unreformed; but it availeth little without reformation. Private prayer, according to Christ's rule, is effectual and rewardable, agreeable to his doctrine. He also speaks against hypocrisy and loving to be seen of men, with a command not to be like unto those who do so. "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet." When we feel and are sensible of a divine call, this must of course be the right and best time, for Christ has not set us a distinct hour,



then we are to enter into the closet of an humble heart or mind, or some secret place in private. This is Christ's order for particular persons in a general way; but is not intended to prevent such who are rightly concerned to pray in the public assemblies or gatherings of the church; for we have Christ for our example, who prayed openly and publicly with his disciples.

"But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think to be heard for their much speaking." Formal repetitions of prayer, repeated day by day, when they are not according, but contrary, to the states of those by whom they are read or repeated, must needs be vain, and people may vainly make use of the Lord's own form in that case, though it is the best in the world, and to think to be heard for much speaking, is to run into the error of the heathen. "Be not ye," says Christ, "therefore like unto them; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him." Prayer is a gift from God and from Christ, and as we wait on God in Christ's name and power, he will give us that gift, when he sees we stand in need of it, or that it will be for our edification. For he has promised to pour out the spirit of prayer and of supplication upon his people. A great apostle said, "If he prayed, he would pray with the spirit." In another place he says, "We know not what we should pray for, as we ought; but the spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings that cannot be uttered." Likewise, "The spirit also helpeth our infirmities." Since there is no form like that of Christ's, it is here set down, that people might take diligent care to learn it, and to teach it to their children. But if they learn it rightly, they must also learn to live in it: that is, live according to it; otherwise they will mock, instead of serving Him, who made both it and them for his own honour, and the glory of his name.

"After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name:

"Thy kingdom come: thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

"Give us this day our daily bread.

"And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.

"And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

"For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.

"But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."

A short form and but few words, but of

excellent composition. And truly happy are those, who live so in their conversation, that they may, when they use them, do it without falsehood, or deceit; enjoying the answer of peace in the practice of it, and the sense of grace influencing the soul.

First; "Our Father who art in heaven." The great Creator, our universal Father, hath made us and all nations, of one blood; but there is another, and a nearer relation to him than this, to be a child of God by regeneration. If we live in an unregenerate state, in our sins and lusts, all which are of satan, then Christ says, "Ye are of your father the devil; and the lusts of your father ye will do;" and in another place, he says, "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." It is into this relation that the soul ought to come, who can truly and religiously say, "Our Father," &c.

Second; "Hallowed be thy name." Do we sanctify the holy name of the God of the whole earth? Do we religiously observe to fear and serve him? Do we profane his awful name, by taking it in vain, and living in sin and vanity? This instead of hallowing and sanctifying his name, is to dishonour and reproach it on our part, though he will hallow and honour his own name in justice and judgment, on profane and ungodly livers, at the last day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead by Jesus Christ. God will not be mocked; such as every one sows, such shall they reap, whether sin unto death, or righteousness unto life.

Third; "Thy kingdom come." His kingdom is a kingdom of righteousness. Happy souls! who seek the righteousness of it betimes and continue in it to the end. If this kingdom come, satan's, which is a kingdom of sin and unrighteousness, must needs fall.

Oh! that the rising generation might be strong to overcome the wicked one, and to be instruments to pull down his kingdom, and promote the kingdom of God and his Christ. If we do not believe that satan's power and kingdom may and ought to be destroyed in us, how can we pray without hypocrisy for the coming of God's holy kingdom? Believing we must live and die in sin, is a great support to satan's kingdom, and a great hindrance of the coming of the kingdom of the dear Son of God.

Fourth; "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Most certainly the will of God is punctually and perfectly done in heaven; and hardly any who make use of this blessed form but believe it is so; but it is the misery of many souls, to believe it not possible for them to do God's will here on earth, as it is

done in heaven. So that such pray in unbelief, or without a true faith; and the apostle says, "What is not of faith is sin." Is it not also charging Christ with commanding that which cannot be done? It is worthy our sedate consideration. He hath shown grace, and ought in justice to reap it from all mortals. The great sower, Christ, sows in all sorts of men or grounds: the grace of God appears to all men, and teaches them to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, to live soberly, and righteously, and godly, in the present world. But antichrist teaches that it cannot be done here on earth as in heaven.

Fifth; "Give us this day our daily bread." We not being capable, without his blessing, of procuring bread for our bodies or souls, either natural or supernatural; and because our souls cannot live without the last, no more than our bodies without the first, therefore we ought to pray to our heavenly and most holy Father for both, without doubting; and this should be done daily, either in words, holy sighing, or spiritual groans, the Almighty knowing the language of the soul in the one, as well as in the other.

Sixth; "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." Or, as one of the evangelists hath it, "Our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us;" which is to the same end and purpose. If a debtor is indebted to us, and happens, through some accident or other, to be insolvent, and hath not wherewith to pay, we are to forgive him, else how can we expect God to forgive us. For we are all his debtors, and have nothing that we can call our own, to pay that great debt which we owe to him, our mighty creditor; who might lawfully cast us into an eternal jail. But, Oh! his infinite mercy and love to us poor mortals: he would have us to imitate him, and forgive one another, as we expect he should forgive us. And since offences and trespasses will come, we must forgive, and the more freely, when the person offending, sues for it, by humble petition, to the offended. If we forgive not, neither will our heavenly Father forgive us our trespasses.

Seventh; "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."

That is, lead us into truth and righteousness, which is the same with leading us out of sin, and out of temptation: for we pray to be led out of it, by praying not to be led into it; seeing we are not to understand that the Almighty will tempt any man to evil. "If," says the apostle, "any man is tempted, let him not say that he is tempted of God, for God tempteth no man, but he is tempted

when he is drawn away of his own lust." Though he doth sometimes permit and suffer us to be tempted, and when we fall into divers temptations, and escape them, we have cause to be joyful, and thankful that we are delivered out of them, and give the glory to God, who is the great preserver of men: whose "is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."

"Moreover, when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance, for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast; verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

"But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face.

"That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly."

Christ would have all our works of piety, virtue and charity, all our religious duties done in the divine love and filial fear of God, and not for vain glory, or ostentation. And truly, without we expect our reward from men, there is no need of an outward, hypocritical show, in such duties as that is of fasting, when truly called to it, and truly performed. This the Jews were much in the practice of; but many of them being formal hypocrites in it, our Lord reprehends them, and warns his hearers to shun the like deceit; and tells them, if they fast secretly, their heavenly Father will reward them openly: yet we must not be open sinners, or private ones either: for open or public sin is damning, if not repented of and forsaken, as well as private deceit.

"Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal.

"But lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal.

"For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

Earthly treasures are very apt to take up the mind and draw it from heaven, and because Christ would have his children to be in heaven with him, in tender love he adviseth them not to lay up for themselves riches or treasure on earth. If it be said we lay it up for our children, it may be said also, it is the same snare for them, as to the parents, and sometimes a greater; and when it is gotten, it is liable to many casualties, and creates a great deal of care and trouble. Wherefore Christ tenderly adviseth to seek after, and lay up treasure of another nature, in a safer and better place, which will not be liable to the



like casualties, and urgeth us to it, with this great reason; "For where your treasure is, there will your hearts be also." Oh! may every true Christian's treasure and heart be there forever.

"The light of the body is the eye, if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.

"But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness: if therefore the light which is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness."

It is not good to look on men or things with an evil eye; but singly to look on one's self and others, in the fear of God, having a single eye to his glory; and then being enlightened by his divine light, we shall discern between good and evil. Whereas if there be any double dealings, or looking or thinking; or if ungodly self be in the bottom, and not the glory of God; then our light will be darkness, and that darkness will be very great; as it is said in the holy Scriptures, a double minded man is unstable in all his ways: so that our Saviour's doctrine is good; to have a single eye, and to avoid all double dealing.

"No man can serve two masters; for he will either hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other: ye cannot serve God and mammon."

We cannot give our hearts to God and to this world, and the things of it also, so as to set our affections on both, for the apostle saith, "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." And again, "The love of money is the root of all evil;" i. e., the inordinate love of it, and seeking after it, more than for our Maker and Saviour. Then let us despise the world and the things of it, in comparison of our God and our Saviour. We do not understand by those words of Christ, that he intended to debar us from seeking a comfortable accommodation for ourselves and families in this world; but that we should not set our hearts and affections upon it; for we cannot equally affect both heaven and earth.

"Therefore I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on: is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?"

"Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?"

Christ would have us without anxious thoughts about our living in this world, i. e., about our eating, drinking and clothing, and tells us, "That the life is more than meat,

and the body than raiment;" by which he shows us, that he who gave the life, will, by his providence, support it: and as he hath formed the body, he will form that which must feed it; and that we might the more depend upon God's providence, he teaches us by the fowls of the air, which neither sow nor reap, nor gather into barns, and yet their great Creator feedeth them; and asks, if we are not much better than they? So that we being more noble creatures, need not doubt of the care and providence of God, and his blessing on the labour of our hands; though our hearts are not concerned unnecessarily about it, but we have freely given them to God, and his Christ, our Saviour.

"Which of you by taking thought, can add one cubit to his stature."

The farmers or planters, cannot by their thoughtfulness, cause their corn, fruits, or cattle, to multiply or grow; nor the tradesman his custom, goods, or business, without a proper application, which our Saviour is not against, only he would have us without an encumbered and over-caring mind. The merchant likewise, by all his thoughtfulness, cannot bring home his ship from afar, nor carry her safe to her desired port. All things on this wise are in the hands of Almighty God, and it is our duty to trust in him, and to depend upon his divine providence, for meat, drink and clothing, for happiness here, and hereafter, forever.

"And why take ye thought for raiment? consider the lilies of the field how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin.

"And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these.

"Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, Oh! ye of little faith.

"Therefore take no thought, saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed?

"For after all these things do the gentiles seek; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

Many people now, as well as then, are very fond of their clothing, and love to be gay and fashionable therein; and some are not a little proud of their clothes, and are thoughtful how they may deck themselves to be admired. Our Lord, who was meek and lowly of heart, sends us to the lily to consider her beauty and glory and innocent thoughtlessness, declaring that Solomon, in all his grandeur and splendour, was not arrayed like one of these: for this is a natural sweetness and gaiety the lily is clad with; but Solomon's,

as also most men's and women's, is generally but artificial. If God so clothe the grass of the earth, will he not clothe us; if we believe not, we must have but very little true faith. So that it would be much better for us to consult how we shall please God and honour him, and his holy Son and divine name, than to consult what we shall eat or drink, or how, or wherewith we shall be clothed, which things the gentiles sought after, more than after God. But we, knowing that our heavenly Father seeth that we have need of all these things, should chiefly leave it to him, and first seek his kingdom and righteousness.

"But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.

"Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself: sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Here is a glorious gospel promise; upon seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, all these things shall be added to us, viz: meat, drink and raiment, the necessary things that we want to support us while we are in this world. But let us remember it must be our first work, it must be the chief desire of our souls. It must be first in several senses; first, as to our young and tender years; first, in the morning of every day; first, in respect of all other things. First, as it hath pleased God to give us a being in this world, and being in the prime and flower of our years, we should then devote our souls to God and his work and service, and enter into covenant with him, with full purpose of heart, to keep the same truly and inviolably; for it would be better not to make a covenant, than to make it and break it. Neither should we slight or put off the work of God till we are in our declining years, as though we would give him only the refuse and broken end of our days, and conclude it will better become us when we are old, to serve him. Oh, no! learn the fear of God truly, and practise it when thou art young, and thou wilt not easily depart from it when thou art old. Thou wilt find it hard to get into a holy life and conversation, when thou hast been spending thy youth in vanity and folly; therefore, "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the evil day come." The autumn of man's years is in divers respects called the evil day. Oh! it is exceedingly sweet and precious to see an innocent life, and modest, sober conversation in youth, when they are in their blooming years, seasoned with grace and truth. When youth is laden with the fruits of grace, and of

the holy Spirit, how pleasant is the taste of it; it relishes well with all men, and naturally brings praise to God, as well as peace to the soul. May the youth of this present generation, as also generations to come, be such holy plants, that God's right hand may be seen in planting them: when after being fruitful, and doing the work and service of their day, and answering the noble end of God in making and planting them in this world, they may be transplanted into the eternal kingdom of heaven; which, doubtless, they will, who first seek his kingdom and the righteousness of it.

Second; If we consider that our life and being is daily granted to us, and we are supported by the goodness and providence of Almighty God every day, is it but just that he should have the first of our thoughts, in the morning of the day, as well as the last in the evening. The royal psalmist saith, "If I prefer not Jerusalem before my chiefest joy, then let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth;" much more ought we to prefer our Creator to all things, and to have our thoughts on him, first in all things, and every day.

Third; What are the things of this world in comparison of those that are to come; all these are fading and transitory; but the things of that which is to come, are durable and permanent; and therefore ought to be first and chief in our minds. That which is chief in our hearts, may be said to have the first place there. "One thing," says a servant of God, "have I desired, and that will I seek after, that I might dwell in the house of God all the days of my life." This is the first thing we are to seek for. As for the morrow, we need not to be too thoughtful or anxious concerning it, for we know not whether we shall live to enjoy it, so that as Christ says, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

"Judge not, that ye be not judged:

"For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

A great and wise expression, from a righteous and just Judge; the Judge of heaven and of earth, to whom all power in both is given; by which we may easily perceive we are to be very careful in our judgment and censure of others, and that we be not rash and censorious therein; considering that with what judgment we judge our fellow mortals, with such shall we also be judged ourselves, and that measure which we measure out to others, shall be filled to us again. When it comes to our turn to be judged, or censured by others, for any thing which we have done or said,



we are ready then to cry out for charity; are we so careful to be charitable in judging and censuring others!

It is better to suspend personal judgment, without we could see the hearts of men; and if we think we do, then to imitate God and Christ, and mix mercy and love with judgment; rashness and extremes in judgment, being commonly hurtful.

"And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

"Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, and behold a beam is in thine own eye.

"Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

True it is, that the transgressions of others are very afflicting to those who fear God, and this passage is not intended to hinder the good from reproving the evil; but shows us that we must be clear of evil in ourselves when we reprove others, else the guilt of hypocrisy will be laid at our door. We are to look more at our own failings, than at the failings of others, and to take special care that we are clear of that for which we reprove others; and is it not deceit, to set up for reformers of others, when there are great defects in ourselves? It is too general a fault in poor mortals to be quicker sighted to see the faults of others, than their own. Our Saviour's words to the Jews, who brought the woman to him, and told him, by their law she ought to die, are worthy of notice; he answers, "He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her." They being guilty, and convicted of sin in their own consciences, left her to Christ, and went their way: and when we have done what we can to convince others of sin, we must leave them to Christ at last; whether we are in sin or without it; but we shall be the better able to help to reform others, if we are clear from guilt in our own hearts.

"Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you."

When we see the biting and persecuting nature, and dirty, selfish spirit of men, it is to little purpose, generally, to cast before them the precious pearl of truth, or to show unto them the deep mysteries of the kingdom of God, or the light of life, they being in a brutish spirit; but when people are sober, and show forth humanity and moderation, then are holy things valuable to them, and the things of Christ's kingdom and his doctrine, precious in their eyes. Wherefore it greatly

behoveth Christ's ministers to minister that to the people which is suitable for them, and rightly to divide between the precious and the vile, and to give to every one their portion, according to their deeds; mercy to whom mercy, and judgment to whom judgment belongs; without partiality, and without hypocrisy or deceit; and not to flatter and daub those who are in the doggish and swinish nature.

"Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.

"For every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.

"Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?"

"Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?"

"If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?"

Our kind and tender Redeemer would stir up and provoke souls to prayer and supplication; he has been liberal in his holy advice; and to stir us up to it, here are moving expressions, if thy heart be open to receive them. Could we have easier terms if we were to make them ourselves with the Lord, than to ask, and have; seek, and find; knock, and the gates are opened; provided we ask in faith, tenderly, and seek in humility, and knock with divine wisdom and submission? Our Lord's own practice shows that we should be tender, submissive, and fervent in prayer; and then the fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much with the Lord. Christ urgeth us to it, and brings ourselves for example. "What man is there among you, who if his son ask bread, or a fish, will he give him a stone, or a serpent?" Surely no: no father would deal thus with his child; but when his child is hungry, and asks bread, he gives it to him: so when the Almighty sees our hunger, and we tenderly seek divine assistance and refreshment from him, he, in his own time, satisfies such souls with bread from above, and the thirsty with living water out of the wells of salvation. Oh! blessed be his holy name for evermore. Evil men know how to give good things to their children, therefore we may well conclude that our heavenly Father knows how to give with much more discretion and understanding the good things of his kingdom, to true asking, seeking, knocking, or praying souls.

"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets."

Well may this be called the golden rule; for if we square our lives and actions by it, it will certainly mete us out the true way to happiness and glory. We are generally apt to say, when any one doth ill to another, "Would he be willing to be served so himself?" And if we follow this rule in all our concerns, it will be well; whether in relation to public or private business; whether in trade or religion, or in our domestic affairs: the law and the prophets point at it, and our Saviour plainly lays it down as a rule for us to walk by.

"Enter ye in at the strait gate; for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be who go in thereat.

"Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be who find it."

It is afflicting to consider how natural it is for people to walk in this broad way, and they who walk in it, are many; for here is room for people to walk if they are proud, whoremongers, adulterers, thieves, swearers, liars, drunkards, covetous, or in any other evil course of life; but let them know, it leadeth to destruction, and the end is eternal misery, and their many companions will administer no consolation to them, when they lift up their eyes in hell. And whereas the way that leads to life is called strait, it is only strait to flesh and blood, or the will of unregenerate man. Oh! it is a pleasant way, exceedingly pleasant, when brethren walk together in love and unity. The enemy of mankind would persuade souls, that it is narrower than it really is, when they have some faint inclinations to make trial of it. It may truly be said, "Blessed are the undefiled in this way, who walk in the law of the Lord:" For, "His ways are ways of pleasantness, and all his paths are peace." And although the way to the kingdom is strait and narrow, yet there are hills and vallies therein as well as plains, until we get through the gate of glory: there shall we know no more sorrow, nor pain; but shall praise and glorify God and the Lamb forever.

"Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing; but inwardly they are ravening wolves.

"Ye shall know them by their fruits; do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

"Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

"A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

"Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

"Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."

The great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, shows the care which he takes of his sheep, and forewarns them to be careful of false prophets and deceivers; who, though they may clothe themselves with words like the true ones, yet inwardly they would destroy all who do not join with them, or receive them; and they are for biting the poor harmless sheep of Christ, and if they could, or it were in their power, would devour them, their minds being in the ravening nature. But our holy and all-wise Bishop, that we might be preserved from them, tells us how we may infallibly know them; saying, "Ye shall know them by their fruits; do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" says Christ: Surely no. That is altogether unnatural, as well as unreasonable and impossible. In the grape there is a sweet and pleasant nourishment, those fruits being cordial and wholesome; but it is bad meddling with thistles and thorns, they being generally very unprofitable to mankind, and hurt the good seed wherever they grow among it. Well, where must we go for the grapes and the figs? To be sure we must go to the vine, and the fig-tree: Christ is this vine, and his people are the branches, who bring forth such fruit, according to the divine life or sap which they receive, as he taught, and teaches to his followers. So that if men's words be like the words of angels, if they have never so great parts and endowments; yet if their fruit be evil, if they live in sin and do iniquity, and bring forth the fruits of malice and rage, or devouring persecution, they then are none of Christ's sheep, though they may have their clothing: "For every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; and a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit." So if the fruit be evil, the tree is certainly corrupt.

Our Lord elsewhere saith, "Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good also: and to be made truly good, since we are all corrupt by nature, and in the fall, we must be cut off from that nature, and grafted into Christ, who said, "I am the vine, and ye are the branches;" and then our lives and fruits will be changed. "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit: and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire." That axe which John speaks of, will be laid to the roots of the corrupt trees, and will hew them down, and they will be cast into the fire, as Christ speaks. It is not destroying the bodies of men that Christ speaks of, but an



inward work in the soul, showing the powerful nature of the dispensation of the gospel of Christ, which is not material cutting, or burning with material fire, or sword: but Christ's word is a fire and sword to cut down and burn up the evil nature in man. The apostle confirms this doctrine of his Master thus, "He that doth righteousness is righteous, but he that sinneth is of the devil." The apostle is plain and full, as is Christ, who repeats his doctrine over again, with, "Wherefore by thy fruits ye shall know them."

"Not every one that saith unto me, Lord! Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven."

It is not our profession that will give us admittance into heaven, or a name of religion, or religious performances, if we love sin and unrighteousness; nor is it our praying, preaching, hearing, reading, or discoursing of, or arguing for Christ, if we do the works of satan; for there are many who may go further than this, and yet not have admittance into the kingdom of God and our blessed Lord Jesus, as is plainly manifest in the next verse.

"Many will say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name have done many wonderful works."

"And then I will profess to them, I know ye not; depart from me, ye workers of iniquity."

So that professing Christ's own name, and prophesying therein, without working the works of God, will not do. Nay, though they may cast out devils, which indeed is a great work.

Christ speaks about the strong man armed, who kept the house till a stronger than he came; who, when he came, spoiled his goods and dispossessed him, but coming again, found the house, or heart, swept and garnished: swept from many immoralities, and garnished with self-righteousness and carnal security; and the man off his watch and not at home with Christ, who is stronger than satan: he then re-enters, and seven worse spirits with him. So that we had need to be on our watch, and keep near to Christ, lest after all our experience and wondrous works, our last state be worse than our beginning, and we be shut out of the kingdom in the end. For these say, that they have done many wonderful works in Christ's name: so that we may work miraculous things, and be sensible of wonderful power and strength from Christ; and yet, without persevering in the way of holiness and self-denial, may fall short of heaven. Wherefore it is of dangerous con-

sequence to live in sin and iniquity; or to lean towards it, so as to plead for it, or believe we cannot live without it while in this world. For if we live and die in it, we may justly, according to the above doctrine of Christ, expect that he will say unto us in the great day; "Depart from me, ye that work iniquity."

"Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, who built his house upon a rock."

"And the rains descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock."

Oh! what excellent sayings and doctrine, what holy precepts has Christ here recommended to the professors of his name, and to them who believe in him and the Almighty Father and Maker of heaven and earth. Surely we are greatly beholden to our Lord Jesus Christ for those divine sayings. But to commend them or to read them, or hear them only, is doing but little; the keeping and the doing of them is the main thing; the thing that is needful; and to press the practice of them, Jesus has made this apt comparison.

First; "He who hears them, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man." And indeed it is great wisdom to keep them, that is, to practise them, and as great folly to live contrary to them and plead against them.

Second; "Who built his house upon a rock." This rock is Christ, the rock of ages, and his Holy Spirit, or the Holy Ghost, as Christ said to Peter, when Christ was revealed to him: "Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven:" "Thou art Peter," or a stone or rock: thou art a man, though thy name signifies a rock, and as thy name signifies a rock, so "On this rock I will build my church; the gates of hell cannot prevail against it." Peter was one who heard these sayings and did them, when he had received the Holy Ghost, or Spirit; for which every true believer ought to pray continually, until he receive it; through the help of which he may, without doubt, keep those holy sayings. For of ourselves, without it, we cannot do any real good, either in speaking, thinking, or acting.

Third; "And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon the house, and it fell not; because it was founded upon a rock."

If rain from above be poured out in wrath on man, for sin and iniquity, and floods of persecution, or the windy words of men come upon this house, it will stand: if sickness and

death itself, and many other storms, that we may meet with in this world, should beat against our building, we being built upon the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, shall surely stand them all, and live through all, if we hear or read Christ's sayings, and practise the same; we are on the rock, and shall not fall for that reason.

"And every one who heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand.

"And the rains descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it."

If we read or hear these sayings, or doctrine of Christ, and do not dwell in the life of it, nor practise the same, it were better we knew it not. For our Saviour saith, "He who knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." It is great folly to be sensible of Christ's holy will and doctrine, and not to do it: if we profess Christianity, and build our profession on Christ, and yet do not observe to keep his sayings, the foundation of our building will be very loose and sandy: and when those rains, and floods, and winds, which Christ speaks of, shall descend and beat against this building, it must needs fall, and the higher the building is, the greater will be the fall of it.

Thus ended the best sermon that ever was preached; in which is set forth the great truths of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, with blessings and rewards to the righteous, and holy believers in him, who put in practice his precepts; and reproof to the disobedient and unfaithful; with promises of the kingdom of heaven to one, and to the other, a being shut out of it.

"And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, that the people were astonished at his doctrine.

"For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes."

They were astonished at his doctrine, and well they might be, for it excelled even the law, and went beyond it, as when he tells them, it was said of old time, or in the law, "Thou shalt not kill:" he taught that we must not be angry without a cause. And whereas the law gives liberty to hate our enemies; he charges us to love them, and pray for them, and do good to them; again the law prohibits adultery; Christ prohibits lusts, both in the eye and in the heart. And whereas the law commanded to perform their oaths to the Lord; Christ commands not to swear at all. Now those who are not angry, it is not likely

should kill; those who love their enemies cannot hate or destroy them; those who have not lusts in their hearts or eyes, cannot commit adultery; and those who never swear, cannot forswear themselves: all which he taught with divine power and authority from above. He was not dry and formal like the scribes: so likewise his ministers, and the preachers of his gospel, should wait on him, to be endued with a measure of his divine spirit and holy grace, that the hearers might be edified, and the Father, Son, and Spirit, might have the glory, who over all is worthy forever.

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*Some truly tender scruples of conscience, about that form of prayer, called the Common Prayer, as used by the members of the Church of England.*

I AM not against reading the holy Scripture, either privately or openly, but would encourage it in all Christians and true believers in Christ: and we ought to excite one another thereto, and more especially to put in practice what we read to be our duty; otherwise the holy letter will kill, as said the apostle, which is to be understood when we practise contrary to what we read therein. As for example, where our Lord saith, "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof, in the day of judgment." Again, "God will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his name in vain." "That servant that knew his Lord's will, and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." These, and many more portions of holy Scripture, are condemning and killing to those who live in sin and evil, which the letter is absolutely against, and without true repentance, accompanied with amendment of life, though the holy Bible be read every day, it will but add to our condemnation. But if people truly repent of the evil of their ways, and awake to righteousness, and sin not, as the holy Scriptures themselves hold, and Christ taught, then unto such souls they are as a rich treasure, and as a cabinet full of precious jewels, able to make the man of God wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ, by the influence of the Holy Ghost, or Spirit. It is not the reading divinely inspired writings, or the Bible, which is scrupled, but the formal reading of formal composed prayers and songs, at set times, instituted by such whose principle is that there is now no divine revelation, and that we cannot live without sinning, while we are in this world, according to the tenor of the common prayer; holding, that we sin as long as we live, as if God's power were not stronger to preserve out of sin, than the



devil's to keep us in sin, contrary to the work and doctrine of the holy apostles, who were sent of God to turn people from satan's power, to the power of God; whose glorious, eternal power, is above the power of sin, death, and the devil.

I wish to write a few words concerning some unsound words, and also some Scripture expressions perverted to a wrong use, in the common prayer.

First; As to that expression in the common prayer, that "We are miserable sinners."

Second; And that "We are full of bruises and putrifying sores."

Third; And "From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, there is no soundness in us."

Fourth; And that "We have left undone the things which we ought to do, and do those things which we ought not to do;" and these to be repeated for life.

First, then, If people must be miserable sinners all their days, to what end did Christ come into the world and preach the gospel, and suffer death, the painful death of the cross? Did he not come to put an end to sin, and to destroy the works of the devil, whose works are sin? Did he not preach against sin, both within and without? Witness the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the evangelist Matthew. Yea, his birth, life, preaching, suffering, death and resurrection, and ascension into glory, were all against sin, the devil, death and darkness, and all the works and deeds thereof. Christ died for our sins, and we should die to them, and live to him: he came to save us from the act of sin, as well as the imputation of it; and takes away the guilt of sin on condition of true repentance and amendment of life, as the doctrine of Christ and his apostles largely and plainly demonstrates, as any who are come to the years of discretion, and who can but read the holy Scriptures, may plainly discover.

The apostle saith, "Whatsoever things are holy, whatsoever things are pure, just, and of good report, seek after those things." And again, "No unclean thing can enter the kingdom of heaven;" but certainly all sin is unclean. Read over the holy Scriptures, from the beginning to the end, their nature and tendency is against all sin; and as it is true, that we all have been sinners, surely therefore all true Christians and true believers in Christ, have cause reverently to bow, and to be truly and humbly thankful, that Christ, our great Lord, by offering himself for us, hath taken away that imputation; so that now through faith and belief in Christ, accompanied with true repentance and amendment of life, the imputation of our former sins is taken

away; for this cause we praise God and adore his eternal majesty for ever.

Second; As to the word "miserable," a Christian may indeed be poor; but since Christ is come to make us happy and comfortable, through the hope of eternal salvation, in his name and power, as we are not to think ourselves better than we are, so we cannot say nor think we are miserable, unless we are without God and Christ; and then we are miserable indeed; but no mortal can be miserable who hath Christ; "For he that hath the Son, hath life (eternal life) abiding in him." To be truly in Christ, is to be truly happy; this doctrine is as clear as the sun at noon-day, or as a morning without clouds. When the soul comes to see itself undone without a Saviour, and sees sin to be exceeding sinful, and is ready to cry to the Almighty, Lord help or I perish! save me, or I am undone forever! then it seeth itself miserable; but it is for want of Christ: and when Christ is come into the soul, then its misery vanisheth, or flieth away. But from day to day and week to week, yea, all the days of one's life to be miserable sinners, is a miserable case indeed, destroying the very nature of Christianity: wherefore some tender conscientious souls, cannot join with such miserable sinners and sayers, who neither say nor do that which they ought.

Third; As to these sayings, "We are full of bruises and putrifying sores, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, and there is no soundness in us."

If a congregation of such people as these say truly, and if they do not say truly, what will the consequence be, let the wise in heart judge; can such a people be the church of Christ, or his spouse, or beautiful bride? Christ saith, "If the inside be clean, the outside will be clean also; and he came to cleanse the souls of poor mortals, and to heal them, and wash them from sin, and he doth it by his spiritual baptism, and the fire of his word. The abovesaid church and people, do both "Promise and vow, that they will forsake the devil and all his works, the pomp and vanity of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh, and walk in God's holy will and commandments, all the days of their lives," which is the very highest pitch of perfection any man or Christian can attain in this life; and yet contrary to those vows and solemn covenants, they tell the Almighty, from time to time, that they are unsound, nay, that there is no soundness in them; but that they are putrified from head to foot, and by their common practice, intend to tell him so as long as they live in this life: this is unsound work indeed: and truly those who are tenderly con-

scientious, may well scruple to join with it, or with those who are in such ways, words and works.

Those bruised, putrified, sore and unsound souls, are therefore in Christian love, tenderly advised to come to Christ, the physician of value, and great doctor of the soul, that he may heal them, and wash their sinful souls and unsound hearts, "By the washing of regeneration, and renewing of his word and spirit." "Ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you," saith our Saviour. They were cleansed by putting his word in practice; for, saith Christ, "He that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him to a wise man;" so consequently, he that doeth them not, is foolish, sinful, and unclean.

Fourth; And further, say they, "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done." Doing the truth and that which is right, is what we ought to do; and committing sin, is that which we ought not to do: certainly any man would think it mockery, if his children or servants should serve him so from time to time, and make a common practice of it. By this confession, if it be genuine, it appears they must needs know better than they practise, they knowing what they ought to do, but not doing it; and our Lord Jesus Christ saith positively, "He that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes:" and again, "Be ye not like the scribes and pharisees; for they say, and do not; therefore be ye not like unto them."

But what can be expected from those who say they sin in their best duties? If so, they sin whenever they read the common prayers; and by the same rule, the oftener they read them, the oftener they sin; wherefore, how can a sincere, devout soul, who unfeignedly loves the Lord Jesus Christ, so as to keep his commandments, for that is to love him truly, and according to his own definition of it; "If ye love me, keep my commandments," saith Christ; I say, how can any such sincere soul join with such wrong doers and sayers? It must needs be an unsafe practice to do what we know should not be done; the nature of such doings being provoking, either to God or man: what man in the world would like it, in either son or servant?

Oh! what would become of poor, degenerate man, if the Lord Almighty were not very indulgent, if he were not a God gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great loving kindness to poor mortals!

Fifth; And as to their singing David's psalms in metre; how often do they sing that which is not true as to themselves, and also

that which is not according, but contrary to their states and conditions? As when they sing, "That they water their couch with their tears," and that "they practise what they know;" when they confess they "Do that which they ought not to do, and leave undone that which they ought to do."

The apostle said he would "Sing with the spirit, and with the understanding also." And again, "We know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered." In the primitive times of Christianity, they prayed and sung as they were helped by the Holy Ghost, or Spirit, and not by book, or stinted or set forms; but, Oh! the primitive soundness of Christianity is too much lost and defaced; and therefore some who desire to come again to the primitive soundness and purity of the Christian religion, scruple to join with such unsound formalities, and that conscientiously, for the reasons above, and more which might be given.

When such scruples are mentioned, the members of the church of England usually reply, that the Scriptures vindicate them in their form, which, how well they do so, let it be freely and fairly examined, not for contention, but for edification in the pure love of Jesus.

First; "The Scripture saith, that there was a people that was full of bruises and putrefying sores," &c.

Answer. But that was in the time of the law, when the people had transgressed the law, and were under the law; for had they done their duty, and kept the law, they could not truly have said so. They were then indeed gone astray like the lost sheep, and that brought them into that sore, putrefied state, and bruised condition, and "Their law did not make the comers thereunto perfect; yet, as saith the apostle, the bringing in of a better hope did," which was the hope of the gospel. The apostle preaches perfection under the gospel dispensation, though some of our worldly wise men will not allow of it; and I hope we are not under the law, but under grace; the law of the spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, doth set the true believers free from the law of sin and death; so that a true Christian cannot say truly, with the false and rebellious Jews, of whom the prophet there speaks, "That he is full of putrefying sores, and that there is no soundness in him, and say it all the days of his life."

Second; Again the Scripture saith, "I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me."

Answer. The psalmist was at that time under deep convictions for the sins he had



been guilty of in the matter of Uriah; but by his expressions in the ninth, tenth and eleventh verses of the same psalm, it is plain he believed a better state attainable. And surely these expressions cannot be applicable to all men, at all times. No, surely, if we believe Christ and the holy Scriptures, whose doctrine is holy, and commands holiness, in both Testaments. And if people would walk in the holy light of Christ, who enlightens every man that cometh into the world, as recorded in the holy Scriptures, they would then be cleansed from their sin, from both the act and the imputation, as saith the apostle; "If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, then have we fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin."

Third; "There is none that doth good, no not one."

Answer. It is beyond all doubt the apostle spoke of the people in their unconverted state; for if they had been come to the work of conversion and regeneration, they must, and it is impossible but that they should do some good; and though there was a time that none did good, it was under the law, and not under grace; and spoken of the unbelievers, and not of believers: especially since Christ has brought a covenant of grace, in order to teach and help us to live righteous, virtuous, holy, religious, and sober lives and conversations.

Fourth; They object the words of our Saviour to the young man in the gospel, where he calls Christ good master, asking him, "What good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?" Christ answered, "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God."

Answer. And true it is, in our Lord's sense, for comparing men to Christ, who is God, there is none good; the young man thought he had been speaking to a man like himself, and knew not that he was speaking to the good and gracious Son of the most high God. But if we compare men with men, it must be granted that there is some good men, women and children, in that sense; and our Lord sheweth how we may know these good men, women and children. "By their fruits ye shall know them; men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles: a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can an evil tree bring forth good fruit; wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them." How plain is the doctrine of Christ, if people would but lend an obedient ear, and give him a faithful and sincere heart, and serve him in a pure mind, without deceit or guile, taking up his holy cross, to the corrupt will of man, in true

self-denial. The Scripture says, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness:" where then is the sin, when God has cleansed us from all unrighteousness? Indeed it is very meet, and our duty to confess our sins; they truly say, that,

Fifth; "The Scripture in sundry places excites us to confess our sins."

Answer. For poor mortals have all sinned, and by this sinful nature, we are all children of wrath, and this is a strong and mighty motive for us in truth to confess our sins, because God is so just and merciful to forgive and pass by our iniquities; and indeed if the weight of our sins were upon us, and the true sense of the heinousness of sin and evil, it would certainly bow us in deep reverence and humility before the throne of grace, and melt our spirits into tenderness before the Most High. Then it is that he forgives us, and cleanseth us from all iniquity, and would, according to the apostle's doctrine, "Purify us to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works," and against bad works and words, and thoughts also: and when God hath so cleansed the soul, then, of course, these common, and often repeated, dry confessions, full of sin and putrefaction, must fall, and we should fear to offend any more. Let it be tenderly, and in Christian love, asked, how often do our common prayer people go into their closets, or privately retire into some secret place, and there pour out their cries and tears to the Almighty, and humbly confess their faults to him alone? I ask, would not such an exercise be more acceptable to God, than a popular repetition, daily and formally made? This I leave to the consideration of all sober Christians, and to the judgment of the truly pious. And how like mockery it looks, that as soon as they come from their prayers and confessions, many of them will vainly laugh, and be full of idle words and discourse, and some of them curse and swear, and take the awful and sacred name which they have been addressing, or pretending to address, in vain, and profane that holy name of God and Christ, which they have been using in their devotion. To this I have been an eye and ear witness, many a time, to the sorrow and grief of my soul, and which hath, in part, occasioned these lines; also hoping it may be a motive to stir up some to more holy living, and that the name of God and Christ might be glorified, and the precious dear-bought soul saved. Let us also remember that the holy Scripture doth abundantly require and command us to forsake our sins; the text says, "He that confesseth and forsaketh his sins, shall have mercy."

Sixth; And whereas the apostle John, in his first general epistle, writes, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves;" from whence it is objected, we ought always to confess our sins.

Answer. Yes, we should do so whenever we commit any, or knowingly do evil; but when the Almighty hath cleansed us from all unrighteousness, then our sins are done away by the grace of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and we are washed by regeneration; then it cannot be true to say we are miserable and putrefied sinners, when at the same time also Christ hath purified and sanctified his church and people.

That is true which St. John saith, when opening and explaining the eighth verse, "If we say we have not sinned, we make him, (i. e., God) a liar;" for all have sinned! So it is plain that he speaks of the state of man before he comes to the work of conversion, or to be renewed by grace; for when we come truly to know Christ, and to see and believe in him, we witness a change from our corrupt and evil nature, and sinful course of life, which is clear, from the same apostle's words, which I shall transcribe for the information and edification of any who may see this.

The first general epistle of John, the beloved disciple of our Lord, says, "Whosoever abideth in him (i. e., Christ) sinneth not: whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither known him. Little children, let no man deceive you: he who doeth righteousness, is righteous, even as he is righteous: he who committeth sin, is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness, is not of God;" and as above, "he who committeth sin, is of the devil."

This is naked truth, without any covering, and the very sum and substance of pure religion. Oh! that all true Christians would lay it to heart, and ponder it in their minds, and then resolve whether they will be sinners to the end of their days, or whether they will repent, and turn from the evil of their ways; the latter of which, that poor mortals may come to witness for themselves, is the desire and prayer of my soul.

If it be further objected, "That our Saviour taught his disciples a form;" he did so; and a glorious form it is; and they did as they prayed, and were taught of Christ, and so

they did it truly, and in true faith, believing they should witness what they said and prayed to be fulfilled. "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen."

Christ said to some of old, "Ye are of your father the devil, because his works ye do." And all sin is his work, and by our works we are manifest, whether we are the children of God, or of the devil.

*A letter to a Friend in Ireland, containing a relation of some sorrowful instances of the sad effects of intemperance, as a warning to young people.*

#### PREFACE.

Temperate reader,

THE longer we live in the world, the more we see the danger and many mischiefs, miseries and inconveniences, intemperance occasions to mankind, not only in eating, clothing, buying and selling, &c., but particularly in that great sin of drinking to excess. And though a risk is run of incurring the displeasure of some ill-natured over-lovers of strong liquors, the which hath been experienced by the author, through some of the former impressions; yet they having found such general acceptance in many parts of the world, and being serviceable to people of all persuasions, for the further service of poor mortals, I venture to put forth this tenth edition, with this additional preface, in order, if possible, to persuade all rational souls to forsake so destructive and vile an evil.

First; Then, in the aged it hath these bad effects, viz: they are bad examples to the youth, who when reprov'd, may reply, My father before me loved strong liquors, as well as I: he loved a glass of wine; he loved a bowl of punch; he loved good cider and good ale, and would be merry with it, and why may not I, as well as he? He was a wise, good man, when he was sober; and pray where is the harm of loving good liquor, and being merry?

What can we say to the youth of such parents that will avail, while their parents show them such evil examples? And as it is in that, so it is in all other evils, parents' examples are very hurtful in evil things, though very helpful in that which is good. If a man



sees a youth to be out of order, and reproves him for being in drink, evil speaking, pride, covetousness, &c., and he guilty of the same, his child may answer, Why father, I had not done so, if I had not seen thee, or you, do it! And it being an incumbent duty in a father, mother, master, or mistress, to reprove their youth for evil; if we are not clear in ourselves of what we reprove in our children or servants, and our children or servants miscarry through our bad example, what a melancholy reflection will that be to us, if rightly considered! which indeed would be this, I have been instrumental to my poor child's ruin and destruction! A melancholy reflection to any sober Christian.

Also, except there is a large income, instead of taking care to put the youth in a reputable way to live in the world, it brings them to poverty: and if there is a large estate, it puts them in the way to spend it. And, Oh! how many are spending their precious time in taverns and ordinaries, and at the same time their wives and children suffering and weeping at home? And some sober, modest women, would suffer unspeakable hardships before they would expose their husbands.

Second; Concerning the youth, it mightily hurts them, as it doth the aged also, as to their religion, reputation, health and estate, &c.

First; As to their religion, it not only clouds their understanding and darkens the nobility thereof, but it unfits them for all and every religious duty.

Second; Some who value a good name, had rather lose their lives, than lose their reputation through immoderate drinking. For if the youth be single, and addicted to immoderate drinking, no wise and virtuous person will tie themselves to them for life, by marriage; which state of life, to a wise and virtuous pair, is far exceeding in happiness all other company or conversation whatsoever. It is better to be one of these than to enjoy a kingdom: and on the other hand, it is better to be a slave, than to be married to an intemperate person.

Third; Intemperance destroys the health of the body, which we generally esteem before wealth. And if a man were a king, prince, or duke, if he did not enjoy his health, what good would all his honour, power, and wealth, do him? Oh! what abundance of young people have destroyed themselves by this sin! As it is written: "The wicked do not live out half their days:" and where this sin is growing general in a country, that country is growing to its ruin and destruction. It wastes the people, decays trade, and is very destructive to religion, and an inlet to Atheism. Good people are afraid to live in

such a country; bad people flock to it, and often make their exit in it.

Fourth; And many a fair estate has been embezzled and spent through intemperance, which honest parents, with great labour, care and industry, have got together, and left to their sons and daughters, who have extravagantly spent it upon their lusts; and thereby have brought infamy on themselves, their fathers, and their posterity, whenever it has pleased God that they have left any behind them; besides, which is worst of all, dishonouring God, and bringing a scandal on the Christian religion.

Some of our wise kings and queens in Great Britain, being sorrowfully affected with the heinousness of this great sin, have made strict laws against intemperance: and where the legislative authority makes little or no provision against it, or when they do make any, do not take care to put it in practice, such a state or colony must needs be in a declining condition. And for particular families and persons, we may see too much of this evil in our neighbourhoods, almost in all parts of the world, which causes sober and truly religious Christians to mourn, and humbly to bow before the most high God, begging of him, for Christ's sake, that he, by his mighty power, would be pleased to reform the unregenerate world.

This is the prayer and fervent desire of an entire lover of mankind, both body and soul, and who desires their welfare in this, and in the world to come.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

Barbadoes, 7th of First month, 1718-19.

My dear friend,

It is long since I had a line from thee: but not long since I thought of thee, and thine, with Friends of your nation; where I know that the Lord hath a seed, who love him, and desire to serve him, and are accounted to him for a chosen generation; and that this generation may spread and prosper in the earth, is at times, my earnest travail in spirit both night and day. There is also an exercise upon my mind for the offspring of this seed, the children of those men and women, who have confessed the name of Christ before men, in a holy, self-denying life and sober conversation: and I do certainly know, that many pious souls join with me in this exercise, bowing the knee to the Lord of sabbaths, for the peace, prosperity and eternal welfare of the present, rising generation. Oh! how exercising it is to good men and women to see their youth take those ways which lead to

destruction, and go in company with the wicked, whose ways lead to the utter ruining of both body and soul, and whose steps take hold on hell.

A great evil, to which many are prone, is keeping vain and idle company, which has brought many young men and young women to their utter ruin and destruction, both body and soul. How many fair estates have been wasted! How many fine youths have been destroyed by keeping evil company, and by excess in drinking, it is really lamentable to consider! It keeps the poor in poverty: it makes the rich many times poor; and brings both rich and poor into disgrace: it breaks and destroys the health and natural good constitution of the body, and instead thereof fills it with misery and pain: and which is yet more, it destroys the soul, which is the most noble part of man; so that it is a sore, and three-fold evil; but the last is the worst, by how much the soul is the more lasting and better part. Several terrible instances of this nature I have met with in my travels among the children of men; three or four of which I may inform thee of; and it may be affecting to thee, as it hath often been to my mind, when I have thought thereon.

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*The first instance of a young man, given to ill company and hard drinking.*

THE first is of a certain young man, a physician by profession, who was much addicted to evil company, and to drink hard, and was sometimes visited with strong convictions; in one of which visitations he sent for me, and told me his condition, and made solemn covenants, "If God would but that once spare him, he would not do the like evil again." At that time it did please the Almighty to spare him; but he soon forgot how it had been with him, and fell into the same sin again; although he had a most notable admonition in a dream, but a little before. His dream was this, which is very remarkable; we being then at sea, in sight of Great Britain. He saw in his dream a great and spacious town, the buildings high and streets broad; at which he landed, and going up the street, he espied a large sign, on which was written in great golden letters, SHAME, to which he went, and at the door stood a woman, with a can of drink in her hand, who asked him to drink; to which he replied, "with all his heart, for he said he had drunk nothing but water a great while;" so he took the can, and drank a hearty draught, which, as he said, made him merry, and he went reeling up the street; when behold, on a sudden, a grim fellow met him, and arrested

him in the name of the governor of the place, before whom he brought him. This governor, he said, was like a great black dog, the largest he ever saw, who grinned at him, and passed sentence on him; and sent him to prison, there to live for ever. He told me this dream with such emphasis, as made me to tremble, which was interpreted to him. I told him that he was an ingenious young man, and might easily discern the interpretation of this dream, which to me seemed to be ominous to him. "The great town and high buildings are thy great and high profession; the sign on which SHAME was written, with the woman with the can at the door, show the great shame of the sin of drunkenness, and that is thy weakness; and that grim fellow that arrested thee, is death, who will arrest all mortals; and the great black dog, the governor of the place, is the devil; who, when his servants have served him to the last, will torment them forever." "God forbid, it is but a dream," was his answer to me. I said it was a very significant one to him.

About three days after the same person went on board a ship, whose loading was wine and brandy. The master gave a can of wine to him, and said the same words, as the woman said to him in his dream, and he answered with the same expressions, and it had the same effect upon him. He took such a hearty draught as made him too merry, in so much that he overset the boat, and was drowned, much in drink: and I seeing him sink down, and his dream so punctually fulfilled, I was very heavy in my mind for several days.

Oh! methinks I could wish that the many righteous judgments of the Most High, might effectually work on the hearts of those people, who are in the flower of their age, to their conversion and salvation.

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*The second instance of a merchant, addicted to the like destructive practices.*

THE second is of a merchant, about thirty-five years of age, whom I saw take leave of this world: he was one who had spent much time in keeping unprofitable company and over drinking, which practice wasted his strength and flesh, as it did his time and money, and brought him into a deep consumption; as it has many to my certain knowledge; besides bringing the racking painful distemper of the gout, and many other miseries; so that at last it brought him to his chamber, and then to his bed. In his sickness he several times sent for me and made serious acknowledgments of his "former mis-



pent time, and hoped, if the Lord would spare him, to be more careful for the time to come." But he was no longer to be trusted in this world; for he went not out until he was carried in his coffin: he held my hand fast in his, until he died, and was sensible to the last.

One day, as he lay on his death-bed, he called me to him, into his chamber, and "Charged me to caution the young people to be careful how they keep, and spend their time in, evil company, for it had been his ruin, and now lay as a great and heavy burden on his conscience. Oh! said he, if they did but feel one quarter of an hour, what I feel, they never would keep such company any more: tell this to my former companions."

And indeed there is a great deal of hurt done by young men getting together to drink wine, or other strong drink. I wish the woe, mentioned in the holy Scriptures, may not be the portion of many of them; "Who are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink;" and sit late at it, which many times brings suffering on parents, wife, children and servants, as well as themselves; and is a very disorderly practice, being a reproach to all Christian societies and families, wherever such things are.

There is a great concern upon me against this growing evil in our young generation; and I hope, in Christ our Lord, that heads of families will come under the like exercise in themselves: and then, if our youth will neither hear nor fear the Lord, nor us, we shall be clear, and their blood will be on their own heads, as a worthy and honourable elder, and man of God, of your nation, said; one of whose offspring is the third subject that I shall mention to thee, of the many I have been acquainted with, in my pilgrimage here.

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*The third instance of another young man, who much embraced the same destroying delights.*

THE 5th of the first month, at Bridgetown, in Barbadoes, S. E., son of W. E., died. His death was sudden; and as was reasonably supposed, he destroyed himself by drinking and undue company keeping, and sitting long at it. A person, to whom he himself had told it, told me, "That he and four more, at one sitting, drank above twenty quarts of double-distilled rum punch; which put him in a violent fever: so that he ran about the streets, with a naked sword, and talked of killing one of the neighbours, in this drunken fit." The next day he came to me, and asked me, "Whose door the blood would have lain

at, if he had, in that fit of disorder, killed any body?" By which query, I thought he was not yet rightly come to himself: because there were some ordinary reports about the town concerning him, he reckoned those who broached and spread those reports, would have been culpable, and must have answered for the murder, if he had committed any: but this was but covering his sin.

He seemed to fall out with religion too; for he said, "He would come no more to worship, till he should have justice done him, as to the reports:" though poor soul, he had the more need to present himself before his Maker, and bow before the most high God, and repent in great humiliation. The same day in which he neglected his duty, he was taken sick, and that day week was buried. He sent for me, and I went to him: he had but little sense of his end, that I could perceive, and remained so till the night he died. I was by him when he died, and saw him fetch his last breath. A few minutes before he gave up the ghost, he trembled and shook exceedingly, and shrieked out, to the astonishment of all those present, which pierced my very soul within me: for he seemed to go out of the world in an extreme great agony.

I never saw any depart the world like him; and indeed it was amazing, and greatly affected my mind with sorrow; for I thought he was very unfit to die. Oh! methinks I could heartily wish, that such objects might be as so many strong motives, to stir up and awaken the offspring of good men and virtuous women, and all professing Christianity, to fear the Lord and walk in his ways, which lead to life, where the sting of death is taken away.

The children of godly parents have much to answer for, in slighting or neglecting the wholesome counsel and faithful admonition, of their faithful and careful parents; whom they disgrace and dishonour, contrary to the command of God, who says, "Honour thy parents, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee:" and none can truly honour their parents, who dishonour God their Maker.

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*The fourth instance of a young woman, who often absented herself from meetings, for the sake of bad company.*

THE fourth instance which I shall give thee, is concerning a young woman of about twenty-five years of age; who was brought up very tenderly and delicately, with her lockets and chains of gold, and waiting maid: but her parents living too high for their income, broke in people's debt; and their children as they

grew up, were put to their shifts. What pity it is, that youth are not brought up to some business, whereby they may get a livelihood in the world, if their parents should die before them! And though parents may have a handsome interest in this world, yet it has been thought by great, as well as wise men, that to put out youth to trades and business, is both profitable and honourable: instances of the evil consequences of the contrary, have been very many, as woful experience doth daily teach us. This young woman was one: for falling into evil company, she ran into debt, and was put into prison; where was a murderer, whom, it was said, she was necessary to loose from his chains; and for so doing, was put in chains herself, along with him, when he was taken again. Now, instead of her gold chain, she must take up with an iron one; and in a little time be tried for her life. In expectation of death, being in great distress, she sent for me, and entreated me to come and see her die, and much lamented her condition: "Oh! said she, that I might be a warning to all young people, to be careful that they keep not evil company, and spend their time which should be spent in worship, in airy company, and other vain diversions, when they should be doing their duty to God." And then she would weep bitterly; she being very penitent, it very much affected me; and I told her, "That I did believe, if she in her heart was clear, and no ways consenting to the murder, her life would be given her; but then woe and misery would be her portion, if she did not amend her ways." And as I was leaving her, she charged me, "To warn young people that they might be careful that they spend not their time in vanity, and to keep out of vain and wicked company," which she said had brought her to that misery and shame: "And that they should take the counsel and advice of good friends, which if I had done, said she, I had not brought reproach on my friends, and on my parents."

In a little time after, she was brought to a trial, and acquitted by the jury. I saw her once since, and reminded her of her duty; which, she said, "She hoped to perform; and that it should be a warning to her, while she lived in this world;" and that such examples may be a warning to all people, is the earnest desire of a lover of souls, and servant of Jesus.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

Since I wrote the foregoing, there being a person in this place, who would be sometimes overtaken in drink, I sent it to him to copy over, hoping it might have some good effect on him. Before he had copied the relation of the first person, he was so smitten with the

sense of the judgment of the Almighty, that he cried out, and said, "He was a condemned person, and that he felt the fire of hell." He sent for me and several others, and begged of us to pray for him: he was told, "That the hand of God was upon him for sin, and desired to take warning in time, and repent, lest the Lord should cut him off in his iniquity." The Lord did accordingly cut off this person, he dying suddenly, by hard drinking, as I was informed by a letter from Barbadoes; though he promised, "If the Lord would spare him then, to be more faithful for the time to come; and was then under deep inward exercise of mind. I mention this as a corroboration of the above instances, for further admonition. This person was in a considerable post in that government: his name I forbear to mention, for divers reasons. If thou and Friends see meet, I could desire, from the exercise that is on my mind, that this might be spread; peradventure it might have place with some, for their good.

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*A letter to Aquila Paca, high sheriff of Baltimore county, in the province of Maryland, and to other Friends there.*

Barbadoes, 1st of Twelfth month, 1718.

Loving friend Aquila Paca,

MEETING here with Captain Swaddle, bound for your river, I found a concern on my mind to send a few lines, remembering the good opportunities I had at your meeting in that neighbourhood, together with those few poor honest souls that I met with there; and I desire thee to give my dear love in Christ to them.

Dear friend, I am tenderly concerned in the love of God and his dear Son, to beg of thee, that thou let not the world, nor any thing therein, either the riches, pleasures, or friendship thereof, draw thy mind from that measure of grace which hath been manifested to thee; for God hath visited thee in his tender love and mercy, as thou well knowest, and hath begotten good desires in thee, and convinced thee of the holy truth, as it is in Jesus. Oh! saith my soul, that thou mayest more and more grow therein, to thy bringing forth much good fruit, to the glory of God, and the eternal good of that part in thee, which will never die.

Salute me to thy wife and children, and the neighbours, and their children also, all of whom I wish well in this world, and also in that which is to come, the same I wish to all those who love Christ, so as to keep his commandments.



If thou seest meet, thou mayest read what follows at the close of your meeting on a first-day, which meeting I hope you keep up in order to worship God in Christ's name; for to such as meet in his name, he hath promised to be in the midst of them, wherever they so meet; which he hath graciously fulfilled at many times.

Dear friends, it is in my mind to visit you with the salutation of brotherly love, in our holy Lord Jesus Christ, and may let you know, that though I have been long absent from you in body, yet have I been often present in spirit with you, and you have been often in my mind, with prayers to the Lord for your growth in the holy truth, which he hath been pleased to make known to you, and many times I have desired the Almighty, that he would be pleased to preserve a seed in your parts that should serve him, and be accounted to him for a generation. I have also desired that the Lord would visit your young ones, and bring them to the knowledge of his truth: and I pray God, that the tender visitation that was on divers of them, when I was present with you, may never be forgotten by them, but that they may be plants of righteousness, of God's own right hand planting.

And, dear friends, forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, in the name of Christ, remembering how you have been visited with the heart melting power, and the sweet presence of the Most High, in your silent waiting on, and worshipping him in his holy Spirit and truth, as well as when you have been vocally visited by the ministers of Jesus.

Such worshippers, as our Lord said to the woman of Samaria, the heavenly Father seeketh to worship him; and those whom God finds under such exercise, such find him to be unto them all in all; he is unto them wisdom, righteousness, justification, sanctification and redemption.

Oh! dear souls, look to him who is invisible to the outward eye, who is God over all, and is blessed forever: and may you, if this comes to you, feel the divine life and spirit of Christ, in the reading of this little epistle of brotherly love.

Live in love, for God is love, and all those who dwell in divine love, dwell in God; wherefore love one another, that thereby ye may be known to be Christ's disciples: "For, says he, by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another;" or, "if you love one another;" as one of the evangelists hath it.

Keep low in mind and humble in spirit; for the humble, God will teach of his ways, and the meek he will guide in judgment, and those

whom he teaches, are taught the mysteries of his kingdom, which mysteries he teaches to spiritual babes and sucklings, glory to his holy name! He often hides those holy mysteries from the wise and prudent, and reveals them unto such men, women and children, as are little in their own eyes, and despised by the wise in natural wisdom, or the wisdom of this vain world.

Oh! mind your heavenly guide, dear friends, let me entreat you; for he leads out of all sin, and out of all vanity and evil, of what kind soever; and as our Saviour saith, into all truth. When Christ comes by his grace and spirit into the heart, he opens the soul and enlightens the understanding, even in our common conversation; and much more, at times, in our solemn meetings, when we meet together to worship and serve him; so that it is good to wait upon the Lord, and to seek him with the whole heart.

Dear friends, though my heart is full of love and good will to you at this time, as at many other times also, I must now conclude, and commit you into the holy arms of Him who is love, begging the God of love and peace to keep you, and preserve you to his heavenly kingdom; to whom be all glory and praise, might, majesty and divine dominion, through his dear Son and the holy Spirit, for evermore.

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*Christ's kingdom exalted; being a short essay in order to promote truth and righteousness in the earth, and to discourage unholiness, ungodliness, and unbelief.*

#### PREFACE.

Christian reader,

IN order to promote and exalt the kingdom of the dear Son of God, according to the gift and measure of grace received, I was concerned to write the following tract at sea. Considering the evil tendency of the belief and principle which has overspread a great part of the professors of Christianity, that we cannot be free from sin in this life, which is contrary to the doctrine of the holy Scriptures of both the Old and New Testament, I could not be easy in my mind, without opposing such a dangerous tenet. For if we believe that we must always sin, this being a sinful faith, "according to our faith, so it will be unto us;" and if we die in our sins, Christ hath told us, where he is gone, we cannot come. And holy record informs us, that no unclean thing can enter God's kingdom.

I have, also, for the satisfaction of the true Christian believer, collected the following texts

of holy Scripture, which maintain the doctrine of holiness and perfection; and directly oppose that evil principle, that we can never be free from sin in this life.

"Walk before me, and be thou perfect."

"Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy."

"And ye shall be holy men unto me."

"Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generation."

"Without holiness, no man shall see the Lord."

"We should be holy, and without blame before him, in love."

"To present you holy, unblamable, unreprouvable, in his sight."

"If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy, for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are."

"So be ye holy in all manner of conversation, because it is written, be ye holy, for I am holy."

"What manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness."

"Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God."

"The Lord said, Job was perfect and upright."

"Be ye therefore perfect;" the words of Christ.

"I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one."

"Howbeit we speak wisdom among them who are perfect."

"Finally, brethren, be perfect, be of one mind."

"That we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus: that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God."

"Now the God of peace, &c., make you perfect in every good work."

"That ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing."

"Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God."

"Unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

"This we wish, even your perfection."

"Let us go on to perfection."

"Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."

"Ye have overcome the wicked one;" this is twice repeated in one chapter.

"Ye are of God; and have overcome."

"Whatsoever is born of God, overcome the world," &c.

"To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life."

"He that overcometh, shall not be hurt of the second death."

"To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna."

"To him that overcometh, will I give power over the nations."

"He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment."

"Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out."

"To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne."

"He that overcometh, shall inherit all things."

Consider then, courteous reader, I pray thee, for what are all this language of the spirit, all these words of God, and all these commands, exhortations, and glorious promises? What is the end and tendency of them?

If the Almighty commands things that cannot be done, what will that make of him? If his servants labour and exhort us to things not to be done, where will those absurdities land? Surely it must centre in the mouth of the unprofitable servant, and such as charge God foolishly. And are all those glorious promises made to put us on to fight against sin and satan, without a possibility of overcoming? God forbid; and may he, Christian reader, forbid also that thou shouldst believe such a gross and palpable error.

Oh! that the Almighty Lord may send forth more and more his holy light and truth, and thereby lead and guide the inhabitants of the earth; so that they may not give up the cause of Christ, but manfully resist, even to death, that at last they may have a crown of life.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

In the Christian world, it is too generally believed, that on this side the grave people cannot be free from sin. This principle, or belief, is a great hinderance to the glorious work of reformation, and mightily obstructs people in their way to eternal glory. It tends to uphold the kingdom of satan, which every good Christian, with St. Paul, should be for pulling down; and in order to do this, should make use of the weapons which he did, that is, the armour of light; viz: The preparation of the gospel of peace, the girdle of truth, the helmet of salvation, the breastplate of righteousness, the shield of faith, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. This is indeed a holy war, to war against sin and satan; and the armour of light is also heavenly armour; and this holy apostle was a valiant soldier, who was also victo-



rious in this war. Oh! who would not enlist themselves under Christ's banner, and fight this fight of faith, with courage and true Christian valour. Then would they witness the truth of that saying of the apostle, "That the weapons of this warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and satan." Oh! down with those strong holds: let every lover of Jesus Christ, pray that the kingdom of God and his Christ, may be exalted forever. Sin is the chief support of satan's kingdom, which Christ came to destroy and put an end to, and to bring in everlasting righteousness. He came to save his people from their sins; as his doctrine in his excellent sermon on the mount, and his many other divine expressions, do plainly and abundantly manifest. Now considering the great evil of this dangerous principle, I have been deeply affected on account of poor mankind, to whose utter ruin and eternal destruction it most certainly tends. If we were to reason as rational beings, with what spirit and courage should we undertake any business, or concern, if beforehand we were grounded in a belief that we could not perform our undertaking? Or what nation or people in the world, would have any courage to oppose their common enemies, if at the same time they did believe they should never overcome them? - Would not this abundantly dispirit and discourage them; let any rational soul judge? This belief of sinning to the end of our days, is a mighty engine of satan to support his kingdom. Pray, what signify all the preaching and writing in the world against sin, though ever so elegantly or scholastically written or delivered by the greatest orators or ministers, if at the same time, this doctrine be upheld and maintained in pulpits, prints, and otherwise, and received and believed by the people? Let truth and right reason in this matter bear rule and be judge, and the cause will be determined against sin and satan: but the "Kingdom of Christ is an everlasting kingdom, and of his dominion there shall never be an end." This is a word of encouragement to the followers of Christ to be faithful to his commands.

Though the devil is king over all the children of pride and disobedience, and prince of the power of the air; yet "the Lamb and his followers will have the victory" over sin and him, although sometimes it may fare with them as with their Lord, who obtained it through sufferings; and let it be remembered by them, that they shall in the end reign with him. "Fear not little flock, says Christ, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." By which words, when

received in faith, the soul is inspired with courage and holy boldness, to resist the tempter; though we may have the disadvantage of being but few, and satan and his followers many, who support his kingdom with this sinful principle and doctrine above mentioned. One wily way which he useth to uphold his kingdom, is to wrest and abuse the holy Scriptures, and strain them to his evil purposes, as he served our Lord, the Captain of our salvation, as will be shown hereafter. When he makes use of any of the words of God, it is for an evil end, and that end must needs be wicked which is to keep people in sin, or to create a belief that we cannot live without it in this world; which, if he can obtain, and cause people to believe, he knows he hath a great advantage over them. For how should dust and ashes overcome sin, who confess they are, and believe they always shall be, sinners? Wherefore let us examine and see what use he makes of those Scriptures, which he brings to support people in sin, and by which he makes them believe they can never live without it; some of which are as follows, viz: First, beginning with that saying of our Lord Jesus Christ, to a young man who asked him, "What good thing he should do to inherit eternal life," calling him good master. Our Saviour replies, "Why callest thou me good, there is none who is good, but one, that is God." The young man thought he was speaking to a mortal man; and it seems to have been the will of Christ, by this remark, both to caution his disciples against the use of vain compliments, and to let them know that the young man had not true faith in him, as he was the Son of God. It is most certainly true, that in fulness and perfection, there is no man good, compared with God; but comparing men with men, there are good men, women and children, who fear God and do truly love Christ, and there have been a few such in all ages, and will be some such, to the end of the world. To construe Christ's words otherwise, would be to abuse the holy Scriptures, which satan makes a common practice of doing.

Second; Another is that expression of Solomon, "There is no man that sinneth not." The learned say this should be interpreted, and who may not sin. But though it may truly be said of men, in one part of their lives or other, or in the state of man in the fall, or degeneration, there is no man that sinneth not; yet in the regeneration or new birth, the apostle John, in the third chapter of his first epistle, and ninth verse, saith, that "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him: and he

cannot sin, because he is born of God." It is this seed which would beget this new and living birth, which makes us children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven; and this, satan would destroy, for he knows he shall have an enemy of every such soul, and therefore it is the devil's interest and endeavour to destroy every such birth, and the belief that Christians can live without sin in the world.

Third; "Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from sin." David prayed to the Almighty in his psalms; "Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right, or pure spirit within me;" which prayer was no doubt answered: but this is the work of God, and to him all things are possible, even that which looks impossible to men; for "He can make a man more pure than gold." So it being the work of God, no man can say, he hath done it, that he hath purified himself, or made himself clean. Can the Almighty make a man pure? It might with much truth be answered, he can; and it is supposed no good Christian will deny it: and then what will become of that absurd, antichristian and anti-scriptural tenet, that we cannot be clean or pure from sin, in this world?

It may be said, if there are any who live without sin, they are but very few: a sorrowful truth indeed! But is it not every one's interest to strive to be one of those few, as it is also his indispensable duty: our Lord also saith, that the way to his kingdom, is straight and narrow, and that there are but few that find it. Must we therefore give up the cause, and not seek the kingdom, and because of the difficulty of Christ's cross here in this world, go in the broad way, where there is much room and company. May every true Christian say, the Lord forbid it, and I humbly pray, not only say, but do that which is right in the sight of God.

Fourth; The next is an expression of Solomon's, "There is not a just man upon earth that doth good, and sinneth not." This should be interpreted as the former, and who may not sin: he speaketh of a man in the state of vanity and sin, before a reformation; for divine wisdom and the fear of the Lord, which he taught, keeps the heart clean, and preserves from the snares of sin, death, and the devil: so that this state of sin that he here speaks of, must be before man attains to the wisdom of God, and before he comes truly to live in his fear. He must certainly do good, who lives in the fear of God, "Which," as the same Solomon says, "is the beginning of wisdom; and to depart from iniquity, is a good understanding." So that he shows man his state of vanity and sin, and teacheth people

how to avoid it, by fearing the Lord and walking in the counsel of wisdom, i. e., Christ's counsel, who is the wisdom of God to salvation. That all men are sinners before the work of conversion, is true, and that the devil intends to keep them there to their lives end, is as true; and no likelier way can he do it, than by keeping them in a belief that they must live in sin, and cannot live without it whilst they live in this world; and when they come to die, then fear surprises the hypocrite, and terror takes hold of the ungodly: and many times, when too late, they see the snares which the devil and sin have brought them into. Oh! what pity it is, that this veil of darkness is not done away, in time of youth, strength and health, when the bones are full of marrow, and the veins are full of blood: but the design of satan is to lead people on in this pernicious principle till death, and then before they are aware, they may drop into eternal woe and misery, where the wicked and the ungodly must be turned, with all them that forget God; for in heaven, where Christ is, "If we die in our sins, we cannot come."

Fifth; The apostle John writes thus, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us;" which answers to the eighth verse, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves." The ninth verse fully lets us into the meaning of the eighth verse, i. e., if we confess our sins, for all ought to confess, and also to forsake their sins, all having sinned, and being by nature children of wrath; otherwise we have no assurance of mercy from the holy Scriptures: then the Almighty "is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." And pray what sin is there, when we are cleansed from all unrighteousness? And then in the tenth verse, he says, "If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar." There is no doubt that we have sinned, which is what the apostle plainly points at in the eighth verse. And if any man sin, "We have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ, the righteous: and God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins." But then we must repent and forsake, if we expect to find mercy; though we have sin, or have had sin, we must not always have it, for if we have it always, woe will be to us, according to the words of God and Christ. "Let no man," nor the devil either, "deceive you: he that doth righteousness, is righteous: he that committeth sin, is of the devil." This is plain and naked truth, let who will like, or



dislike it. Further, in the ninth and tenth verses, he again repeats to the same purpose, saying, "In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness, is not of God." Ergo, then he must be of the devil, while he is in unrighteousness.

There are divers other places in the holy Scriptures, which he abuseth in like manner, and which he and his children wrest to uphold him and his kingdom of sin and unrighteousness, and themselves therein. By the grace of God, we may see his wiles and delusions, and the rottenness of his cause, as also the unsafe and dangerous foundation of his building, though endeavouring to support the same, by that which was always designed to destroy him and his kingdom, i. e., the holy Scriptures. May all men judge in this matter, whether that is a right spirit, which would pick and cull out a few verses, and sometimes a few words out of a verse, in order to make them speak contrary to the whole scope and tenor, or tendency of the holy Scriptures, and to plant a belief that we shall never overcome sin and unrighteousness in this world, though the holy Scriptures all along exhort, and teach us, to avoid sin and unrighteousness, and live a holy righteous life in this present world. I say, may all judge whether such a spirit can be of God, or whether it be not of, and from the father of lies. If it be plainly proved, that there have been those who have overcome sin and satan, and that Christ and his holy apostles, repeatedly exhorted to fight against sin and the devil, who is the author of all sin; and Christ faithfully promises most sweet and gracious rewards to those who shall overcome, in order to encourage the spiritual warrior to a faithful perseverance, and resisting of sin and satan, then it is hoped that satan will be wounded, his kingdom shaken, and this evil and destructive principle, in some measure laid waste, in some poor souls, into whose hands these may come.

First; Beginning with the great apostle of the gentiles, a notable soldier in the Lamb's spiritual war, "I have," says he, "fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all those that love his appearing." And if this be not encouragement, what is? He also saith, "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." Here is example, exhortation and encouragement, with experience.

Second; Another of the apostles, John, in his first epistle, is positive that those young men he writes to, had already overcome the

wicked one. "I write unto you," says he, "young men, because you have overcome the wicked one." And in the fourteenth verse he repeats it again, as though he would doubly and deeply imprint it in their minds, "I have written unto you young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one." Here were young men, who were truly valiant and noble, to wage war with the wicked one. If it was possible for them, why is it not possible for us also? Oh! that our young men of this generation, would take those young men for their examples, to make war with the wicked one, and truly endeavour to pull down his kingdom. It is worth our notice, that those young men had the word of God abiding in them; by the sword of the Spirit they overcame, by it they were cleansed, by taking heed to walk according to its directions, as it is written, "Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his ways? By taking heed thereto, according to thy word." The great reason why young men are overcome, instead of overcoming, is their heedlessness to, and of the word; for notwithstanding their bones be full of marrow, and their veins full of blood, and nature strong, having many temptations to sin and evil; yet, by taking heed to the word, they might be reformed: and through the immediate power and strength thereof, may overcome the wicked one. Here were young men who actually overcame sin and satan, to whom this holy servant of Jesus wrote, by way of encouragement. Is the arm of the Lord shortened? Surely no. It is true mortals are short in their duty, but not the Almighty in his holy power, nor his dear Son, in his unparalleled love, and most pure doctrine; whose doctrine shall be set down, as the Spirit indited it to the seven churches in Asia.

First; To the church of Ephesus. "He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches: To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." Here is an excellent promise and blessed encouragement to such as believe, and are faithful, and are desirous to fight in the Lamb's war against sin and satan. The same apostle gives a description of this tree of life, "That it bears twelve manner of fruits, and bears its fruits every month, and its leaves are for the healing of the nations;" which mystically points at Christ, who is faithful in his precious promises and doctrine, and has virtue in him, which through faith, will heal the nations of the wounds which sin hath given them. Those who continually eat of the tree of life, shall live forever; but a flaming sword will turn every way, to keep

the unbelieving sinner from it: none in a state of sin and disobedience can come to enjoy the paradise of God. The above is an excellent promise to all those who overcome sin and the devil, who is the author of it.

Secondly; To the church of Smyrna: "He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches: He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death:" which is that eternal death which is in hell, or that lake of fire which burns forever, where the worm never dieth, and the fire never goeth out. This holy warfare is certainly a fighting for life, against eternal death and hell; which is of much greater consequence than natural life and death. Oh! fight for your lives against sin and satan, against pride and vanity, and all manner of wickedness; put on the whole armour of light; look unto God, through Christ the victorious Lamb, that you may be saved from the lake of fire, and not be hurt of the second death. Oh! may we know a dying daily to sin, to the world, the flesh and the devil, that we may live unto God, through faith in his dear Son Jesus Christ.

Thirdly; To the church of Pergamos: "He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches: To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna; and I will give a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it." Here are four excellent promises to him that overcometh; the Lord opens his treasury of life and of wisdom, in order to invite souls to the mighty battle of the Lamb, who is not like the princes of this world, who sometimes promise great things to their soldiers or followers, and do not perform; but God's promises are all yea and amen for ever.

The first promise is, "To eat of the hidden manna:" the children of Israel did eat manna, outwardly, as it is written, in the wilderness, and are dead; but those who eat of this hidden manna, this angel's food, who are hid with Christ in God, these shall never die, i. e., spiritually, for his hidden manna is the flesh and blood of the Son of God, who said, "Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you."

The second promise is, "To have a white stone;" this stone is Christ, who is the chief corner stone of God's building or church, the New Jerusalem, which the wise letter-learned master-builders set at naught; but he is the head of the saint's building or corner, and a holy precious stone, the elect or chosen of God, the gift of God, to all those who truly believe, and overcome sin, as he did; and as it is written, "If he give us his Son, shall he not

with him freely give us all things?" This stone will certainly do miracles for them that have it, through the virtue of its power, it will procure joy in tribulation, patience in afflictions, health in sickness, riches in poverty, strength in weakness, liberty in bonds, and to sum up all, which indeed is a great sum, life in death.

Third promise, "And in the stone a new name:" how many gay sparks and beaus would do abundance to gain honour, or a name among men? Nothing is dear to them in this world, neither their estates, nor the nearest relation they have in the world, so that they may gain a name here below; no, not even their own lives. But, Oh! did mortals know the virtue of this new name, and were they in love with it, then the world and all its fading beauty and vanity, would be nothing to them in comparison of it, which is better than the names of sons of worldly glory, and daughters of honour; for those outward names are fading, viz: To-day a king, a prince, a duke, an earl, a lord, a knight, and as has been, and may be again, to-morrow on the scaffold: but this name which the King of kings, giveth those who overcome sin and satan, is a name which will outlast time, and endure to eternity.

Fourth promise is, that it should be secret, only to the world, but surely known to him that hath it. Great men, when their acts and titles of honour are blazoned abroad in the world, have many enemies who envy them; and yet some are so vain as to love grandeur and popularity notwithstanding; but he that hath a name which Christ gives, so long as he is sensible of it in himself, is therewith satisfied.

Now as this is the portion, and more which is hereafter mentioned, of those who overcome the wicked one, then, on the contrary, what will become of those who live and delight in sin, and are daily overcome with it? For the holy Scriptures are positive "That the wicked, with all those that forget God, shall be turned into hell." This is the determinate will of God; and that we may take the more notice of it, to observe and do his will, he hath caused it to be written down in the language of the holy Spirit, in the holy Scriptures of truth, which are of no private interpretation, but naked and open to mean capacities. The holy Scriptures are not to be interpreted to the private interest of any particular person or set of persons only; but are a general benefit unto all the faithful believers and followers of Christ, through the whole world.

Fourthly; To the church at Thyatira: "And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations, and I will give him the



morning star. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." The Spirit still continues promising his gracious privileges upon condition of overcoming: wherefore, if it had been impossible to have overcome sin and satan, then all these promises would have been in vain, and the holy Scriptures deceiving, which would be to make Christ and the apostles deceivers: but Christ, his apostles, and the holy Scriptures, are true, and every one who contradicts God, is a liar.

Let it be observed, that there must be a keeping the works of God to the end; for divers have run well for a time, and overcome many sins, through the help and goodness of God, and yet afterwards have run into sin again, whereby they have grieved the good spirit of God, by which they should have been sealed to the day of redemption, and so the Lord hath taken his good spirit and gift of light and grace from them, and left them to themselves, and their own hearts' lusts. But such as hold out in well doing to the end, the same shall be saved, and "Those shall have power over the nations:" the laws of men, or powers of earth or hell, cannot hurt them; but they will be as kings and priests unto God, ruling over their own spirits; and such an one is greater than one that ruleth a city, and cannot govern himself. Another excellent gift is promised here to the victorious Christian warrior, viz: "I will give him the morning star:" it is indeed a very comfortable gift, to behold the morning star, after a long, tedious, stormy night, earnestly waiting for the morning. This morning star the writer of these lines hath witnessed, both as to his natural and spiritual travels; but especially in his inward condition as a Christian. Those that have a true sight and sense of this divine star, are made to rejoice; for then they do infallibly know, that the day of the Most High is at hand, and that his kingdom draws near unto them. Amen, holy Lord Jesus!

As the day star is the forerunner of the natural day, so is the heavenly morning star a forerunner of the day of the Most High to the soul.

Fifthly; To the church of Sardis: "He that overcometh shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot his name out of the book of life; but I will confess him before my Father, and before his angels. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." These promises of God, through his spirit, and through his servant to the church of Sardis, are, that those who overcome shall be clothed in white raiment; and he says in the fourth verse of the same chapter, that that church had a few in

her, who had not defiled their garments, who should walk with him in white, for, saith he, they are worthy. So that there were a few undefiled ones, who had overcome; although others were blamable, whom the spirit reprov'd sharply. But those who overcame were to be clothed in white raiment; which raiment is that clean linen called the righteousness of the saints, or elsewhere, the wedding garment, and the garment unspotted of the world, without having which, we may expect to be asked, how we dare presume to approach the holy presence of a just and righteous God, who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity with allowance or approbation, as it is written, "Friend, how camest thou hither not having on the wedding garment?" And by the promise to the church, that those who overcome, "shall not be blotted out of the book of life," it plainly appears that the names of those who fight the Lamb's battle, and overcome sin and satan, are upon record in heaven, in the Lamb's book of life; and that though we may have done well or valiantly in some things, yet if we suffer ourselves to be overcome of sin, there is danger that we may have our names blotted out of the book of life.

The third promise is very excellent and glorious, viz: "But I will confess him before my Father, and before his angels." Oh! wonderful honour! to have Christ confess that we are his and belong to him, and have been men of courage in this holy war, and overcome the enemy, and been victorious in this fight of faith; to confess us before God and his angels, must needs be unspeakable honour done to us before the armies in heaven. He expressed again his often repeated advice to those who have ears, saying, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches;" which is much wanting among men, and also a believing heart. Is not God, Christ and the Holy Ghost, stronger than the world, the flesh and the devil? But is not this belief of its being impossible to overcome sin, and saying, that we cannot do it while we are in this world; as much as to believe and say, that satan and nature are stronger than grace.

Sixthly: To the church at Philadelphia, the Spirit saith: "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, &c. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." Here is promise upon promise, all to persuade and invite people to fight the fight of faith, believing they shall obtain the victory, and to destroy the principle

of unbelief. The overcomer, through grace, is to be made a pillar in the temple of God; that is, one of his church, who helps to support the credit of it, through a true Christian reputation in his conversation. Such an one is a pillar in the church militant here on earth, and will, if he is faithful to the end, be of the church triumphant in heaven also; and he will not go out any more, but will abide in, and with Christ forever. Here are gospel promises and privileges, happy are they who through faith attain thereto; how much have Christians need to be concerned before God, for the excellent gift of faith, since, "Without faith it is impossible to please God." Our Saviour saith, "If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say to this mountain, be removed, and cast into the sea, and it should be so." Now though sin indeed has grown a very great mountain, in this generation, yet through true faith it is removed, according to the doctrine of Christ, blessed be his holy name. Upon those overcomers, the Lord hath also promised, to "Write the name of God, and the name of the city of God, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down from heaven," which is the mother of all saints. Here is a train of glorious expressions and promises, enough to inspire the tender soul with strong desires after God and Christ, and his kingdom. My heart is deeply affected at this time, in the sense of the love of our heavenly Father; and my spirit is greatly concerned for the welfare of the children of men, my fellow mortals. Oh! that they might believe, and that believing they might have life, through the name of Christ. It is observable, that to overcome, is the condition of obtaining all these great and glorious promises; and overcoming is repeated seven times; once to every church. And after all those glorious and fair promises, is not the consequence of saying or believing that sin and satan cannot be overcome, to make Christ a deceiver? which is absurd and antichristian doctrine.

Seventhly; To the church of Laodicea: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with my Father in his throne. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." What greater promise could Christ make to his church than this, to take her into his throne, and into his Father's kingdom, into his bosom of love? This is wonderful indeed. But then, Oh, Christian! the condition is to overcome, as Christ overcame.

Now since it may be beneficial to Christians to understand, and to consider duly, this great fight or battle, and how this great conqueror overcame; because we are to follow him, and

to take him for our example, let us have a description of it, it being the greatest encounter or battle, that ever was in the world, between the Prince of life, and the king of the bottomless pit. The history of which, is worth the reading of the greatest prince or monarch on earth, since they must leave this low world, and lay down all their crowns when death calls them. To fight this battle, and to follow this monarch, who hath all divine power in heaven and earth, and to take his direction, is every man's duty and interest, both noble and ignoble. The holy evangelists, Matthew and Luke, give us an account of this great fight, in the fourth chapter of Matthew, and fourth chapter of Luke, and agree in the most weighty matters, though they did not exactly word it alike, yet the substance is the same, and the temptation, conflict, or battle, all one. First, satan bids Christ, as Matthew and Luke have it, "Command the stones, or stone to become bread." Secondly, "To cast himself down from the pinnacle of the temple." Thirdly, "To worship the devil, or fall down to him."

"Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil." And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterwards an hungered. And when the tempter came to him, he said, "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." But he, i. e., Christ, answered and said, it is written, man shall, or doth, not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple, and saith unto him, "If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, he shall give his angels charge concerning thee; and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone." Jesus said unto him, it is written again, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." "Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; and saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Then the devil leaveth him, and behold, angels came and ministered unto him."

Behold how the Saviour of the world overcame the devil and his temptations. As he did, so ought all Christians to resist the tempter, as it is written, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." Here we may see he is a conquered enemy; and we are told, "By Christ's spirit we must overcome, as he also overcame." After our Lord had fasted forty



days and forty nights, he was hungry, at which time the devil urged him, if he was the Son of God, to make the stone or stones bread. After the same manner he tempts us poor mortals, by laying his snares and bating his hooks, according to the nature and propensity of the person he is engaged withal. If a man, woman, or child, be addicted to passion, pride, swearing, lying, drunkenness, taking the sacred name in vain, idle or vain discourses to steal away our precious time; let the sin be what it will, which we are most naturally addicted to, there will he lay his temptations, for he preys upon our weakness, and plies the weakest part in us most. For this reason we have need to keep a strict watch; as Christ advised, "Watch and pray continually, lest ye enter into temptation." It is no sin to be tempted, but the sin is to entertain, and enter into the temptation; if we overcome, as Christ did, it is an honour to be tempted, and a secret joy springs in the soul, in a sense of its victory, in sore conflicts between the enemy and the soul; the Lord manifesting his divine grace for our assistance and help. Here we can take the advice of the apostle, when he says, "Count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations," and overcome them as Christ did, by resistance.

If it be objected, though Christ overcame, yet I am a poor sinful creature, and have no power; but he had and hath all power, both in heaven and earth, committed into his hands, so that he might well overcome. It is well if thou seest thou hast no power, and if thou also seest that Christ hath all power; then since we have no power of ourselves, we must by prayer and humble supplication, apply to him for it in the time of need; believing that he who hath made so many encouraging promises as are before recited, hath also grace, and will give grace and glory, and power, to those who will diligently seek him; else why did he make so many excellent promises to the spiritual warriors? It is worthy the notice of all, that satan is a conquered and limited adversary.

It is a sweet portion of gospel tidings, and good news, that the devil cannot force any one, whether he will or not, into sin; for if he could, no flesh could be saved. If a man, woman, or child, is tempted by satan to tell a lie, he cannot force them to it against their will; so that there must be a cowardly giving way and falling from the Lamb's standard, or ensign, and going over to satan, if man is overcome of sin and wickedness. For if we stand stiffly against him, although we may be weak of ourselves, our great Master, who seeth us in secret, if we cry to him for help, will come to our assistance, even he whom

satan could never conquer. Therefore it is safe for all professing the name of Jesus Christ, to keep near to him, through faith in his name and power, which ever was and will be, a strong tower to those who fly thereto. Christ did not do as the devil tempted, or persuaded him to do; but he withstood the temptation, with this reply, "It is written, that man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God:" for there is life in every word of God. Thus our Lord overcame him; for satan cannot resist, so as to make void, or lay waste the words of God in the holy Scriptures of truth, when they are brought into our minds by his spirit, to uphold and promote the kingdom of God and Christ, and to destroy the kingdom of sin and satan; though he, i. e., the devil, makes use of those Sacred Writings, often wresting them, and bringing them for evil uses and wrong purposes, as most certainly he doth, when he allegeth from them, that people cannot live otherwise than in sin.

"Then, as Matthew has it, he took our Lord to the pinnacle of the temple, and bid him cast himself down; for, says satan, it is written, he shall give his angels charge concerning thee, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone." Though he was once overcome, yet he has boldness to tempt again: as Christ overcame him by his power, making use of the holy Scriptures, he now tries what he can do with the Scriptures; he tempts Christ with them, that he might tempt his Father; and so he tempts poor mortals by the Scriptures, to keep them in sin, by making a wrong use of them, and misapplying them; and if he can hold them in sin, he knows it is a ready way to cause the Almighty to be angry with them; and if they hold out in it to the end, to turn them at last into hell, where the wicked must be turned. He begins his temptations with an "If thou be the Son of God," though he knew very well that he was the Son of God; yet like some of his evil seed, or seed of evil doers, he tempted him to show a sign; but our Lord did not gratify either him or them, but rebuked them both, as they well deserved; and so by denial and resistance he overcame; and we also must in the same way.

After this our Lord makes a right use of the Scriptures, saying, "It is written again, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." And truly, those who read the holy Scriptures, and know how much they speak against sin, and for righteousness, and who notwithstanding, live in sin and ungodliness, and plead for it, even from these Sacred Writings, which were written on purpose to destroy sin, should seriously consider, whether they are not guilty of

tempting God, which Christ says it is written thou shalt not do. Oh! that people would turn away from sin and satan, and break off from their sins by repentance, and their iniquities by amendment of life, which is the way to have the days of their tranquillity lengthened out in this world, and to be happy in that which is without end; for it is written, "The wicked do not live out half their days;" which, according to my observation, is a true general rule. How many have been taken off in their prime and strength, and in the flower of their years, who might, according to the course of nature, have lived many years, had they been sober and temperate, and lived in the fear of God? If it be asked, do not pious young people die also? Yes; but not so frequently as intemperate ones; I have had occasion to observe it in divers parts of the world; and besides, if pious young people leave this world, their change is glorious: whereas the wicked and ungodly make a sad and bitter exchange. Since life is so uncertain, and death so sure and certain to all, what care and fear ought there to be on all, of offending so merciful a God, and so sweet a Saviour; who overcame, to show us the way to overcome also; and died for sin, that we might die to the world and the sinful part of it, and live to him, exhorting us to overcome, as he also did, and then promiseth to take us for his companions, with himself and his Father, in his heavenly kingdom.

Satan repeats his temptation a third time; for he is an unwearied enemy, and will tempt poor mortals over and over, many times; but he is to be resisted as often as he tempts, if we will follow the counsel and example of Christ: "He takes him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of it." A temptation which takes with abundance of souls: the glory, riches, and greatness of this world, ruin many; they having it, and being swelled with pride therein. Some are destroying themselves to get it, and cannot attain it; and many would endeavour to create a belief that they are greater, richer, and more noble than they really are; which is a temptation of the evil one; for we ought to think meanly of ourselves; and if we will follow Christ's example, make ourselves of no reputation. When satan would tempt us to be proud, or high of mind, we should resist, as Christ did, who said to the devil, "Get thee behind me, satan, for it is written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." If this holy rule was followed, as Christ instituted it, then we should overcome sin and satan: Christ's institution

is, that "The hour cometh, and now is, that those that worship the Father, must worship him in spirit and in truth." The duty of every Christian is to worship the Lord God of heaven and earth, and he only we should serve and worship; and that not in a formal way, but with hearts truly devoted to his will. We are to worship the Father in spirit and in truth, into which the devil can never come; though he may get into the form of it, he cannot overcome us, where the power of Christ is lived in; for by the power of God, which dwells in Christ, who overcame by the same power, Christians shall overcome. The devil was forced to fly when Christ resisted him, and so he will be when Christians resist him in Christ: and when Christ had overcome, then the angels came and ministered unto him; likewise the guardian angel of God's presence, will administer sweet comfort and pleasure to every soul, who stands truly for the cause of God and Christ against sin and satan, sincerely endeavouring to pull down satan's kingdom, and sin which upholds it, and faithfully desire to exalt the kingdom of God and his dear Son.

He or she that believes and overcomes, for without belief, it is impossible to overcome, is truly entitled to all the above precious promises and privileges. But the wrath of God will be revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, and against all those who hold the truth in self-righteousness, or unrighteousness. Again, "Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honour and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile; for there is no respect of persons with God." The ways of God are equal, but the ways of man and satan are unequal; sin, iniquity and transgression, are of the devil, and of man in the fall; but righteousness, holiness and truth, are of God, to which man is restored, through regeneration and reformation. Glory over all be given to God and the Lamb, forever. Amen.

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*Some considerations on the call, work and wages of the ministers of Christ.*

It hath been on my mind to write something concerning the work of the ministry of the gospel of Christ, with a design of instruction to ministers in particular, and also for the benefit of others.

It is an unspeakable benefit to mankind, to be favoured with a powerful living ministry, which edifies the church of God, and builds up the true believers in the most holy faith,



according to the word of God, in Christ Jesus, who is the great minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle, which God hath pitched and not man. This great minister sent forth his ministers and servants, saying, "I send you forth as sheep among wolves, be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." He did not send them forth as lords over his heritage, nor as persecuting priests, or mercenary hirelings; but said to them, "Freely ye have received, freely give." No compulsion or force is enjoined by Christ; but it is plain, from his own doctrine and example, that his ministry is a free ministry, blessed be his holy name and truth forever: nor do we read or understand of any alteration thereof by Christ. The ministers of antichrist have made an alteration in their ministry; but the holy apostles, who, after Christ, were the first planters of Christianity in the earth, when it shone in its primitive beauty and glory, followed the counsel of their Lord and Master, and ministered freely. Then was the power of Christ's ministry and gospel through his ministers and servants great, and the glory and beauty thereof ravishing to pious souls. Oh! may every true minister and every sensible soul, bow before the Most High, and bless the holy name of him that lives and reigns forever, for this unspeakable gift of Christ's holy ministry, which always was, now is, and ever will be, convincing and converting to souls, who are not slow in heart to believe in God, and in his dear Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our great high priest and the bishop of souls; he saw the need that his church had of his ministry, and therefore he established it among his followers to the end of time.

In order to this great work, he told his disciples, when he was going into his glory and to the kingdom of his Father, "That he would pray to the Father, and he would send them another comforter, the Spirit of truth, and that he should abide with them for ever." He also told them, that when he is come, he shall reprove or convince the world of sin, because they believe not in him; for if they believed truly in Christ, they would love his spiritual appearance. But how many are there in the world, who slight this high favour, the grace of God and Christ, calling this wonderful gift the light of nature; whereas Christ says it is the Holy Ghost; and the apostle Paul says, It is God's grace that teaches us to deny ungodliness, and hath appeared unto all men. O! that the children of men might love Him who appears to them, and convinceth them of their sins; and surely it is a great sin not to believe in the spirit and light of Christ: such unbelieving souls are in darkness, and not yet

turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan, to the power of God, which is the very work Christ's ministers are sent of God to do.

Second; He convinceth or reproveth the world of righteousness, because "I go to the Father and ye see me no more." When their righteousness is only wrought in the wisdom of man, and not by the power of God, whether it be in preaching or worship, when only the form, and not the power, is witnessed, he then convinceth them that they have been building their religion upon a wrong bottom, and a sandy foundation; and sheweth the formal minister, that he is only a minister of the letter, and not of the spirit; and the formal worshipper, that he has not yet come to worship in spirit and truth; and the professor of Christ in words, that he denieth him in works and inward faith; because "Faith without works is dead," as works without this spiritual faith are dead also.

"Because I go to the Father," is the reason given by Christ, for it is Christ's righteousness that must save the soul, and Christ being gone to the Father, the soul must go there to him, for all his gifts and favours, mercies and blessings, and must witness him in spirit to be with them and in them, as he is in the Father. When Christ was personally on earth, he taught us by words vocally expressed; but "Henceforth know we him so no more." Now he teacheth us by his spirit, light and life, which convinceth us of form without power, letter without spirit, religion without life, righteousness without grace, and light and imputative righteousness without actual righteousness, and formal righteousness in our own wills only; all this, and much more, it convinceth us, not to be effectual to salvation, and sheweth us that the spiritual power and presence of Christ, is absolutely necessary for the work of the ministry and the conversion of souls.

Third; He convinceth the world of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged. He, the Comforter, the Spirit of truth, when he is come, sheweth us our wrong judgment, and convinceth us of the evil of being too censorious, rash and uncharitable in judging, and plainly giveth us to understand, that such judgment is from the prince of this world, who is king over all the children of pride, and that this prince or evil spirit, is judged by the righteous and just Judge of heaven and earth, Christ Jesus. He also convinceth us of the everlasting truth, as it is in Jesus, and is our sure comforter, while we keep therein, in doctrine, worship and conversation.

Fourth; "He shall bring all things to your

remembrance, whatsoever I have spoken unto you." Wherefore this gift is absolutely necessary for a minister of Christ; and every true believer in him wants this remembrancer, which must be a great comfort to us, to have his excellent speeches and divine doctrine brought by his own spirit to our remembrance, if we love him in sincerity.

Fifth; "He shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you," says Christ. Take of his light, his life, his grace, his wisdom, his mercy, peace and truth, and show it unto you. Oh, infinite love from a tender Saviour! Well may we admire his goodness, and entirely love him above all things in the world.

Sixth; Christ speaks in divers places concerning this wonderful and extraordinary gift of the holy Spirit; and in the fourteenth chapter of John, he says, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." Oh! ye ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, in this his gift is your strength, your comfort, and your exceeding great reward, both here and hereafter, for ever; far exceeding silver and gold, or the diadems of princes. The whole world, wanting this, lieth in wickedness, and must lie there unavoidably, if they have not the sense of this unspeakable gift. There cannot be salvation, nor any saving ministry without it; it being absolutely needful, to the being and well being of a minister of Christ. And indeed the holy text is plain and positive, that he that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his; none of his minister, none of his believer. But if it should be objected, how shall we know the minister or the man who hath this divine gift, or Spirit of Christ, since it may be pretended to both by the ministers and people, and yet they may not have it in reality? This indeed is a great point, and highly necessary to be searched into, which is to be known by our Lord's rule, prescribed for that end. "Do men," saith he, "gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" Surely no. The grape is gathered from the vine, and the fig from the fig-tree. "Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them." Now those who have the Spirit, or Holy Ghost, bring forth the fruits of it: which fruits are love, charity, meekness, temperance, patience, experience, hope, faith and wisdom from above, which is pure and peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, to all and every thing that is good. And those who have the holy Spirit, bring forth the fruits of it as naturally as the

vine doth the grape, or the fig-tree the fig. Also, whatsoever things are holy, just, honest, pure, and of good report, or tend to piety or virtue: in a word, every thing that is good, is the fruit of the Spirit of God and Christ: and they are brought forth with divine life and power in that minister and people, who through true faith in the blessed Jesus, have received the gift of the Holy Ghost, or Spirit of Christ.

The minister of the gospel being thus fitly furnished to every good word and work, is ready to answer the call of his great Lord and Master, who is in heaven; he wants not the call of man, nor authority from man, nor wages of man. But those who bring forth fruits contrary to the above, can neither be true ministers, nor Christians, according to the doctrine of our holy Lord. Being thus qualified by the Most High, those ministers are freely given up to serve the Lord, and go wheresoever he is pleased to send them, though he send them as sheep among wolves: and it is worth noting, that Christ's messengers and ministers are called and sent of him; they do not run of themselves, nor in their will; which if they did, their end would be like the forward false prophets of old, who did not profit the people at all.

Our Lord seeing what need the world had of true teaching, and true teachers, sends his ministers forth into it, saying, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth, go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

Here Christ shows his ministers his power, and sends them forth in his own name, for there is none other given under heaven for salvation; and Christ comforts his ministers with a glorious promise, of being with them to the end of the world. Oh, the sweetness of this gracious promise! and such are all his promises, for they are yea, and amen, forever. Wherefore Christ's ministers may well go forth without doubting, having their authority from the King of kings. Again he saith, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned." Christ says, go; but the world, the flesh and the devil, say, stay; for the spirit of sin and satan is for obstructing the work of Christ, and hindering the free gospel ministry, and the motions of the word and testimony of Jesus; and is for quenching it in those in whom it may appear. It is a new mode or fashion, contrary to the primitive



order of Christ, for ministers to be tied to an outward benefit, or a particular meeting or congregation; which way of preaching, or reading, reading being much in practice now, is quite contrary to the call and practice of Christ and his ministers, and of the martyrs, and confessors of Jesus; as also of many of the most noted reformers in religion. But it is objected, if ministers should always go about among the nations, what would become of their families, or how must they live, and be maintained? to which it may be answered, that when the ministers of our Lord returned to their Master, he asked them, "If they lacked any thing?" they answered, "No." But instead of lacking any thing, the devils were subject to them. Pray, let the serious Christian consider, here is now a wonderful change. Is it in Christ, or in the hireling, money-loving priest? It is certainly in the man and not in Christ Jesus; for he is the same to-day, yesterday, and forever. Where the power of Christ rules, there the devil and his power must of necessity be subject.

But some object, that people are not so free now; were there not a law to maintain ministers, the ministers might starve and perish in this generation; if so, then their ministry must starve the people's souls. But this thought of starving, is for want of the gift of God and power of Christ; which power in the ministry would wonderfully open people's hearts towards God, and those who are his true servants; who said, "Freely ye have received, freely give." Oh! faithless generation! what, shall we mistrust him who provides for all his creatures, even the ravens and sparrows, and will he not much more provide for his servants and ministers? How shall we receive power from on high, if we want faith, and cannot depend on the providential hand of God?

Christ sends his ministers into the world, in order to propagate his gospel of salvation, and to let the world know that he is come to put an end to sin and bring life and peace to the soul, according to the angel's testimony of him, that "His name shall be called Jesus," which is a Saviour, "for he shall save his people from their sins." The apostles of Christ also, according to their holy commission, declared, that "God hath sent his Son to bless us, in turning us from the evil of our ways." But that doctrine must certainly be opposite to this of the angels of Christ and of his disciples, which teacheth that we must live in sin while on this side the grave, and that there is no being free from it while we are in the world; though Christ himself came for that very purpose, to put an end to it, to save us from it, and to bring into the world ever-

lasting righteousness; as is that doctrine which maintains that no perfection can be attained to in this life; though Christ says, "Be ye perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect;" as he is perfect in fulness, so are we to be perfect, according to the measure of grace received. This faith and belief is much wanting in this unbelieving generation, which is the reason that people remain in their sins, and their leaders cause them to err, and their ministers minister in their sin, and minister sin to the people. Oh! that the great Lord of all may grant the faith which purifies the heart, unto the children of men, and especially to his ministers, that they might be instrumental to convince and convert souls to Christ, and his "Gospel, which is the power of God to salvation, to all them that believe." And as without believing and being baptized, we can neither be saved, nor truly preach the gospel, how do we believe in Christ if we remain in our sins? For Christ saith, "If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." So it is plain, that the true faith and belief in Christ taketh away our sins, and that if we remain in our sins, we have not the true faith of Christ.

It is not enough to have a notional or historical faith or belief that Christ is the Son of God, but we must also believe, as the angel declared, "This is he that shall save his people from their sins." This was before he was born of the holy Virgin; and those people mightily mistake the doctrine of Christ in the holy Scriptures, who think or believe they shall be saved in their sins; and those ministers must needs be antichristian, who preach and write, that there can be no living in this world without sin, which is also contrary to their own doctrine at other times, and to their solemn covenant in water baptism, or sprinkling, in which they promise for their children, "To forsake the devil and all his works;" and no Christian can pretend to greater or higher perfection, than to forsake the devil and all his works, "the pomp and vanity of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh, and to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our lives." According to this solemn covenant, there is no day for sin; yet those covenanters at other times will say, that the best saints cannot live without sin, and that people sin in their best duties. If any think to mock the Almighty after that manner, they will be much mistaken in the day of the righteous judgment of God: for "Christ came to put an end to sin, and to finish transgression, and to destroy the works of the devil," which all sin most certainly is. It is plain, that John, the beloved disciple of Christ, believed

this, from his own words; "I write unto you, young men, because ye have overcome the wicked one. I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one."

To the church of Ephesus, he writes, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches: to him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." To the church of Smyrna. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches: he that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death." To the church of Pergamos. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches: to him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in it a new name written, which no man knoweth, save him that receiveth it." To the church of Thyatira. "He that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father. And I will give him the morning star. He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." To the church of Sardis. "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life; and I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels." To the church of Philadelphia. "He that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name." To the church of Laodicea. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne."

Surely that soul who cannot by all this see that there is an overcoming, must certainly be blind, as to a spiritual sight of the doctrine of Christ; and what is it but to make Christ and the Holy Spirit a deceiver, to promise all those great things to his churches, if they cannot perform the condition he prescribes. If it were true, as it is not, that it is impossible to overcome sin and satan, then would Christ be a hard master, which is absurd and wicked to suggest. But this overcoming cannot be in our own wills, nor in our own time, nor with our own weapons, but according to the apostle Paul's testimony of the saints' weap-

ons, and their warfare, and also of his own fight and victory, viz: "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds." Satan's holds of sin are strong ones, if never to be overcome.

With these weapons we may overcome: and he bids the Christian put them on, and calls them the whole armour of light; opposite and contrary to satan's dark power, and he names them after this manner: "Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked: and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God." "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness; which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give to me at that day, and not to me only, but to all them who love his appearing."

Thus the saints and primitive Christians were victorious in this Christian and spiritual warfare, and they encouraged others to follow them, as they did Christ. The very belief of this doctrine, that we can never overcome sin and satan, is contrary to the faith of Christ, and is a mighty engine of the wicked one to destroy souls. For what encouragement have any to the work of reformation, or to believe in, or press after the new birth, if they do not believe in the new birth, or that they can be created anew in Christ Jesus, unto good works, and that they must not walk after the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof. Oh! that ministers and people would consider that awful sentence of holy Scripture, "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." The want of a lively hope and faith in Christ, the Lord of heaven and earth, is great indeed. Oh! that true faith in him might increase in the earth more and more! Then would he inspire the soul with inward strength and grace to resist the devil, and overcome him, and actually to do the works of God, and to forsake the devil and all his works; then, and not until then, is Christ's righteousness imputed to us; so that true Christians are truly righteous, not only by imputation, but by action also. Oh! that those who make profession of the name of the holy Jesus, would deny themselves, and take up their daily cross, and follow him in the regeneration! otherwise, how can they be his disciples or ministers? And then would true Christianity flourish in the earth; then would Christ be exalted over



all, who, with the Father and holy Spirit, is God blessed forever.

To return a little to Christ's baptism, viz: "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved." Here our great baptizer and chief minister, is positive, that they shall be saved who are baptized with his baptism; from which, with strong reason, we may conclude, that the baptism which is absolutely necessary to salvation, is not water baptism, which was John's, but spiritual baptism, which is Christ's; and for this reason also, that most Christians who have any spiritual understanding, do plainly see, that notwithstanding people are baptized, or sprinkled with elementary water, many live wicked, ungodly lives, and die in that state. But quite the contrary effect hath that baptism which is of the Holy Ghost and spiritual fire, which is Christ's baptism; for that where it is witnessed, and where people not only talk of it, but live according to its holy operation on the soul, saves and cleanses from sin and evil, and washes by regeneration, and renews the soul by grace, with divine life and power.

The call of a true minister, is from and by Christ; he must come to the school of Christ, and take his degrees there; in the universal love of God he must learn and experience patience, humility, faith, hope, and charity; "Learn of me," saith he, "for I am meek and lowly in heart." Notwithstanding he was the heir of all things, and all power in heaven and earth was given unto him, he humbled himself to the death of the cross, for the sake of mankind; and as the living Father sent his Son, so the Son sends his servants contrary to the will of man, as the apostle Paul said; "But I certify unto you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me, is not after man; for I neither received it of man, nor was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Hereby it is plain he thought there was no absolute necessity of outward learning, or outward call by man.

And as there is no absolute necessity of outward learning to make a minister of Christ, so there is no need to force an outward maintenance; for Christ will take care of his servants, and feed and clothe them, when he sends them, as he did his disciples, who went forth without staff or scrip, yet acknowledged, after their return, that they lacked nothing. As Christ said, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" so there is no outward compulsion or force in Christ's doctrine or religion. Some are indeed of another opinion, and have practised the contrary, and bring those words of Christ to uphold them in the practice of forcing religion, where he says in the parable of the marriage supper, "Go, compel them to

come in;" which was no other compulsion or force but that of love, which is the greatest power in heaven or earth: to construe our Saviour's words in any other sense, would be absurd, and contrary to the whole tenor and doctrine of his holy ministry.

Thus then the work of Christ's ministers is to bring the people to Christ, as he is their Redeemer and Saviour from sin, and as he is their comforter and good remembrancer, and their spiritual guide into all truth, in the performance of which work, they will have their reward in this world, and in the world to come, everlasting life. Amen.

#### *Concerning personal election and reprobation.*

A CONCERN came upon me, in Christian love to the honest hearted of the Presbyterian way, to show them how their teachers have misled them, and misrepresented the words of God, in pretending to prove the doctrine they hold of personal election and reprobation, and in wresting the Scriptures in support of it.

Some of the texts of Scripture whereby they vainly endeavour to defend it, whereupon they chiefly found their tenet, are these, viz:

Concerning Jacob and Esau, and the Lord's hardening Pharaoh's heart. "He that made them, will not have mercy upon them, and he that formed them, will show them no favour." "Hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump, to make one vessel to honour and another to dishonour?" "Therefore he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth."

Relating to Jacob and Esau, the case was thus: the Almighty showed Rebecca, the mother of them both, while the children were yet unborn, that the elder should serve the younger. Not that the elder should be damned to eternity, and the younger only saved, as it is hoped will appear clear in the sequel, and the contrary be plainly proved, both by Scripture and right reason. Jacob and Esau, were the sons of godly Isaac, to whom, with faithful Abraham, was the promise of God, and to their seed, and both Jacob and Esau were blessed in the name of God, and in his faith also: "For," saith the author of the Hebrews, "Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau by faith." This he wrote when he was illustrating the power of faith, by many wonderful works which had been done thereby; and doubtless the faith there spoken of, is the true faith; and whatever is foretold through true faith will most certainly be fulfilled, as this significant blessing of Isaac to his sons

was. The good old man calls his eldest son to him, being disposed to bless him, and bids him seek venison, and make him savoury meat, such as he knew his father loved, "that my soul may bless thee before I die;" and Rebecca, their mother, knowing, from what God had shown her before they were born, that the elder should serve the younger, for whom she had the greatest love; she calls Jacob and opens the matter to him, and bids him get savoury meat for his father, which, through her importunity he did. After he had prepared it, he brought it to his father before his brother came, and his father blessed him in faith, but he did it against his natural inclination; for he would have had his son Esau to have had the blessing of preference, because he was the eldest son, and by nature it was his birth-right; but he, in his profane state and condition, had despised it and sold it to his brother Jacob for a thing of little value; so that Jacob, having, by his brother's consent, bought it of him, had a right to it on a double account, both by the promise of God before he was born, and by purchase from his brother. But let it be observed, this was the blessing of preference only, that blessing which Esau sought with tears, but could not find; nevertheless he had a blessing pronounced upon him by his father, through faith, though he does not seem to have had a right sense thereof, for he was at times in a profane spirit, and in enmity and malice against his brother Jacob, as appears by that murdering, persecuting mind, that then was unmortified in him; "For," says he, "the days of mourning for my father are at hand, and then I will slay my brother Jacob." But as his wickedness was great, his conversion must be so much the more glorious. It would be well if all murdering persecutors would, in his conversion, take him for an example; for instead of killing his brother, when he met him on his return to his father's house, from whence he had fled, he fell on his neck and kissed him, and wept.

It is hoped that no Christian will be offended to hear of the conversion and great change of this profane person, who, though he was not favoured with the blessing of preference, or the natural blessing of birth-right, which he sought with tears, and could not find, yet the blessing of God's grace and favour, being the free gift of the Almighty to him, with the fatness of the earth, he had, and it was delivered to him by his father by faith, as saith the apostle, in the afore-cited epistle to the Hebrews, which blessing was by their father Isaac thus expressed to each of them. First, to Jacob, "That the purpose of God according to election might stand;" which choice or election,

before they were born, or had done good or evil, was, "that the elder should serve the younger," or the younger be preferred before the elder; not that one should be damned, and the other saved; there is no damnation to eternity, that we read of concerning Esau, but a choice blessing of God, of a quite different nature. Unto Jacob he said thus; "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine, be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee," &c. And unto Esau he says, "Behold thy dwelling shall be of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above, and by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck."

These blessings have not only respect to their own proper persons, but also to their posterity; but are far from pre-ordaining them, or any of them to damnation; and we have good ground from what is above, together with the reformation wrought in Esau himself, to believe much better things of him; for it is written, "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness which he hath committed, and doth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. So when a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and dieth in it, for his iniquity which he hath done shall he die."

Having thus far taken notice of the purport of the blessings of Jacob and Esau, relating to their persons; who were both blessed with the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, I would add this remark, "Let none curse him or them whom God hath blessed."

And whereas the apostle, reciting the words of the prophet Malachi, saith, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated;" this was not said of them before they were born, or had done either good or evil; but was justly denounced by the Almighty for the cruelty and hatred of the children of Esau to the children of Israel, as is fully and clearly expressed by the prophets, David, Ezekiel, Amos, and Obadiah; and was written many ages after.

Second; The next text under consideration is, "That the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh." But it should be observed, he had first hardened himself against God and his people, and then God hardened him yet harder, in order to show his great power to mortals, which well consisted with his justice to the wicked and unmerciful; for as God is merciful to the righteous, so is he just in his judgment to the ungodly.

So that God was clear of that evil heart



of unbelief in him, and it is but just, and also reasonable, that when man, having been often visited, refuseth the offers of God's love, he should visit such with his righteous judgment, who have slighted his mercy and grace. And then, according to the holy Scripture, "His destruction is of himself, but his help is in the Lord." So that "God is true, and every man contradicting him is a liar."

Wherefore may all have a care of hardening their hearts as Pharaoh did, for that is provoking the Almighty, and then he justly gives them over to an evil heart of unbelief, and to a reprobate mind, in departing from the living God. The Lord saith unto Pharaoh, "Let my people go," over and over, and it was the mind of God he should have done it: without those men who hold the contrary, would make the Almighty such an one as themselves, to say one thing, and mean another. What is that but to charge the Almighty with hypocrisy? a thing hated of him, and his dear Son, Christ Jesus. Pharaoh might have obeyed the Lord in a day of visitation: but he refused, and said, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go." And he continued to harden himself against God and his people, cruelly persecuting them, and forcing them to make bricks without straw, before we read that the Lord hardened his heart. Oh! that all hard hearted, persecuting, unbelieving people, might take warning by him, before it be too late.

It is clear, he might have let the people go; because God by Moses commanded him so to do. And who can deny, that what God did, was more proper to soften, than to harden his heart, by letting him see the miracles wrought in his name, and the ceasing of the plagues he had inflicted. It was possible for him to do what God required of him; he was not predestinated to that obduration, but he hardened his own heart; and then it was, is, and always will be, just with God to suffer his, or any other man's heart to become hardened, and give them up to a reprobate mind.

Third; The following Scripture is wrested, and falsely made use of, viz: "He that made them, will not have mercy on them; and he that formed them, will show them no favour." This text hath, in some of the writings of those that espouse the aforesaid doctrine, been brought to vindicate that despairing, destructive, evil principle, of the pre-ordination of particular persons to destruction and damnation: but this text, with the rest brought for that end, is grossly perverted; for in the same place the case is fairly stated, and the reason clearly shown, why God will show them no favour, viz: "Because they were withered

branches, and people of no understanding; therefore he that made them, would not have mercy upon them, and he that formed them, would show them no favour." From whence it appears they might have been fruitful, but would not, and had been green, but were withered from their greenness; much like those whom Christ expostulates with, when he says, "How often would I have gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." "If thou hadst known, in this thy day, the things which belong to thy peace, but now they are hid from thine eyes." Which shows the great and fervent desire of Christ to save souls, and his tender love to poor mortals, and that they had a day of visitation, in which they might have been gathered, which is far from ordaining them to destruction from all eternity.

God is fully clear of all men, and their blood is on their own heads, and their destruction is of themselves; whereas they might have help in the Lord and his Christ, through faith, which he offers to man freely; but man will not receive or embrace it. And further, it should be observed, that if the whole texts of the prophecy of Isaiah, in his thirty-seventh chapter be considered, it will plainly appear, that he is so far from uttering an express or positive decree of their final destruction, that he clearly and fully foretells their recovery and restoration out of that state.

Fourth; They argue from the words of the apostle, "Hath not the potter power over the clay, to make of the same lump one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour?" Yes, doubtless he hath; but the potter doth not make vessels with design to destroy them, or to break them to pieces, but for use and service; and it is contrary to his will and interest, when a vessel is marred under his hand. And it is very plainly expressed by the prophet Jeremiah, after mentioning his beholding the work of the potter, "Oh, house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the Lord. Behold as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, Oh, house of Israel! At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them." All which is contrary to the doctrine of an absolute and unconditional predestination. The Lord in his wisdom, and to show his power, doth make souls more or less honourable, as he pleaseth; but it is very plain, from Scripture and right reason, that he makes none with a design to destroy them, nor hath he ordained any to eternal damnation. Though he hath

ordained damnation for wicked and ungodly men, yet he never ordained that men should be wicked and ungodly.

Fifth; They urge the apostle's words, but to as little purpose as the former, "He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth." It is true, that God hath abundantly shown us, in the holy Scriptures, on whom he will have mercy, viz: He hath mercy on the poor in spirit; the humble he teaches of his ways; the meek he guides in judgment; he clothes the meek with salvation; he hath the righteous in everlasting remembrance; he loveth them who love him; he saveth them who love his dear Son, and believe in him; he giveth to them eternal life, and Christ loveth them, and manifesteth himself unto them. And his beloved disciple John declared, "If any man sin, 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 also for the sins of the whole world." And the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, saith, "But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour, that he, by the grace of God, should taste death for every man." And all who believe in, and obey him, will partake of the benefit of his death and suffering; "But the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands."

It has been in my mind for some years, to show the weakness of some of what are called the proofs, for this, as I take it, corrupt and dangerous doctrine, and the misapplication of those texts of Scripture, which are advanced to maintain this absurd notion, of souls being fore-ordained to damnation eternally, whether they do good or evil, and that it is so determined before we are born into the world. Oh! that people might come to true repentance, and lay hold of the universal love of God to eternal life, through the living faith of Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose tender love to all, are these lines written, and in great good will they are invited to search the Scriptures, and to see whether the whole scope of them do not show the contrary to what they hold in relation to personal reprobation to destruction, fore-ordained before we are born, or have done either good or evil; there not being one text to be found to prove that doctrine. But there are abundance which set forth the love, mercy, and goodness of God to mankind; only two of which I shall add hereunto, viz: "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart, was only evil continually. And it repented the Lord that he had made man on

the earth, and it grieved him at his heart," "And Jonah arose, and went unto Nineveh, according to the word of the Lord, and entered and said, Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown. So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them, even to the least of them. And God saw their works, that they returned from their evil way, and God repented of the evil that he had said he would do unto them, and he did it not." I heartily desire that these two texts may be duly considered and weighed; therein the mercy, loving kindness, and long forbearance of God, being so clearly and fully manifested, that I think it may be sufficient to convince every unprejudiced mind of the error of believing the absolute predestination by the Almighty, of any part of mankind to destruction.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

*A letter to Cotton Mather, in New-England.\**

Frankford, 20th of Third month, 1726.

Courteous friend, C. M.,

THINE, dated November 30th, 1725, I received a few days ago, having been visiting the people along the sea-shore in the Jerseys, in the love of Christ, hoping to bring some to him, among whom, in a general way, the gospel which I had to preach in his name, found acceptance, for which I was truly thankful. And though I had no earthly consideration for so doing, yet I had an inward satisfaction, that I thought I would not exchange or part with, for the bishop of Rome or Canterbury's revenue: and at my return I received thy friendly letter, of which I was glad, and that mine to thee found that acceptance, so as to answer my request.

And whereas thou sayest thy aim and hope have been to persuade us who call ourselves Friends, we professing ourselves friends to all people, that our superior stress should be upon the grand point of Christ inward; we having found, by living and blessed experience, the great benefit and comfort of his sweet and glorious presence, by the manifestation of his power, spirit and grace, in and to our souls,

\* Having received a courteous letter from Cotton Mather, one of the greatest preachers among the people of New-England; he being in community with the national church there, and having preached a sermon concerning the power and excellence of Christ within, recommending the people thereunto, and commending our Society therein; but differing from us in some particulars, which particulars I was concerned to answer.



we cannot do otherwise than lay the greatest stress thereon, our benefit thereby, being not easily expressed, so as to be understood by the carnal mind, or those who are in a state of degeneration. Christ within was, is, and ever will be the hope of the sanctified soul's glory, though a mystery hid from ages of the unregenerate people, or from those who are in the reprobation; "Know ye not yourselves that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates," as saith the apostle Paul.

From the above I would not be understood as though I believed Christ is no where but in the people; neither did I ever understand any of our Friends so, though we have been often misrepresented on that head.

And as to the ceremony of the hat, and the plural language to single persons, I thus answer thee, that many of us left that way of salutation and speaking, through strong conviction, accompanied with these reasons:

First; It being a respect we pay to Almighty God, he being our head, is honoured by uncovering our heads, as saith the apostle Paul; we think, for that reason, it is not right to uncover our heads to men, but that to give one another our hands, in an inward and hearty respect, is better.

Second; We read in the holy Scriptures, that Mordecai could not bow to Haman for conscience sake, and I think it may be safely concluded, that he did not take off his hat, or uncover his head, though he was in danger of suffering for it. And,

Third; The three children of God walked in the presence of the great king of Babylon, and those present with him, with their hats on; and they stood the king's fury and the fire, though seven times hotter than usual, with their hats on.

I beseech thee, my good friend, to consider the tenor of the holy Scriptures maturely, and then I hope thou wilt not think the hat, and the language of *thee* and *thou* to a single person, to be needless ceremonies and encumbrances, according to our principle and practice. I do not write thus to thee for contention, nor in a contentious spirit, but in the innocent love of our dear Lord Jesus, and for edification; or, if need be, for information.

Also, as to *thee* and *thou* to a single person, I answer, that the holy Scriptures, or the words of God therein recorded, are by Protestant professors of Christ, acknowledged a rule to us all, next to the holy Spirit, from whence they came, or the Holy Ghost, who our Saviour promised, "shall lead into all truth, and abide with the true believers for ever;" and that God and Christ's spirit, doth not contradict the holy Scriptures, which have proceeded from thence: this general proposition we all agree to, if we

rightly understand one another. Then, according to this rule, our plain language is right, otherwise I should be obliged to thee to show us wherein we err from that good rule. Now, the Most High thought good to teach and use that language in the beginning to our first parents, so that is our mother tongue, and is the language of the Bible, or holy Scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations. I suppose I need not tell thee, that *you* to a single person, had its rise from pride and flattery; and thyself knoweth, that *you* to a single person is neither good English, nor good grammar. And if I am rightly informed, your forefathers, as well as ours, made use of this plain Scripture language of *thee* and *thou* to a single person, in their first separation from the common sinners of their times.

Though I thus apologize for the plain Scripture language, yet in respect of faith or grace, and principles to be believed, which are absolutely necessary to salvation, I call these but small things, but we are not to despise the day of small things. If we are faithful in the little, we have the promise of more, or greater things.

I pray thee excuse this long letter; for it seems meet that we should render a reason for our disuse of those things used by some of most societies professing the Christian faith.

In respect of water baptism, and the bread and wine. First; As to water baptism, I have this to answer, the which I hope thou wilt charitably construe.

The first account that we have of it, is from John the Baptist, who first practised it, according to the account the evangelists give concerning it, and he said, "I indeed baptize you with water, but he," Christ, "shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire;" plainly distinguishing between the two baptisms, and the two natures of them; adding, "He must increase, but I must decrease;" he spoke not of their persons; but of their dispensations.

William Dell, a learned man in his day, wrote an excellent piece on the subject of baptism, which be pleased to peruse: it is very evangelical, and well worth reading. I shall take care to procure thee one of his books. I am the more concerned about this subject, because thou art positive about our coming to it, if we improve in wisdom: but I would hope to be, in some measure, instrumental to convince thee, that there is no absolute need, in order to salvation, to go into or unto the water or element; but that it is absolutely necessary for us to go unto and into Christ, that being the way to be new creatures, as it is written, "He that is in Christ is a new creature."

Our dear Lord says on this subject, "John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." Here our Saviour, as well as John, distinguished between the two dispensations. John's was indeed a glorious dispensation in its time; but Christ's far exceedeth it in glory, and is to endure for ever.

The apostle Peter remembered this doctrine of Christ's, when the holy Spirit's baptism was come; "Then," says he, "I remembered the word of the Lord, John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, says, "He was not sent to baptize, but to preach the gospel;" which, when truly preached, hath a spiritual baptizing power attending it; and if we come rightly to be baptized with the holy Spirit and fire of the divine word, we shall witness a renovation, and the work of reformation and regeneration will go forward more and more, both without and within, in body and spirit, for which every true Christian and minister of Christ, longs and prays with fervent desires. The apostle says, and pray be pleased to judge for what reason, "That the kingdom of heaven is not meat nor drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." Oh! may the Most High inspire thy soul when thou readest these lines, is my tender desire.

I know I am writing to one who in many things is far before me; so that I write in fear, mixed with Christian love; and if it meet with the same love in thee, that will cover a multitude of faults.

As to the supper or ceremony of bread and wine, which is called the sacrament, which word we find not in the Bible, we do not understand that our Lord laid it as an injunction on his followers to observe this practice to perpetuity; or that the observation thereof is absolutely necessary to salvation, or that his church should be in the practice of the elements of either water to dip in, or sprinkle with, or bread and wine to eat and drink, as a lasting ordinance to be observed by believers.

Christ said, "This do ye, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me;" which to me seems to leave it indifferent: also from the debates and contentions of Christians about it, and the blood that hath been spilt in this controversy, and the many doubts arising concerning it, I think it is evident that Christ was not positive that his followers should be found to perpetuity therein; and where he says, "Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you, or for many; and drink, this is my blood which is shed for many;" I believe it is not to be doubted but that he pointed at his flesh and blood rather than the bread and

wine, as in a figure, and that also he had an eye to his spiritual flesh and blood or body, as where he says, "Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you;" the which every true Christian should daily feed upon, and without which we have no divine life in us; and as himself also said, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

It is worthy of note, that much of his holy words and heavenly doctrine, was to be understood spiritually; "My words," says he, "are spirit and life." A glorious speech to such as truly witness and understand it, which is much better felt by a true believing Christian than expressed. Oh! may we so open our hearts to our beloved Jesus, that he may come in unto us, and that we may sup with him and he with us, and that he may not only sup with us, but take up his abode with us, and we with him, for ever; and not only in us twain, but in all those who truly love, believe in, and follow him, throughout the world; so wisheth and prayeth, in sincerity, thy real friend,

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

P. S. I hope thou wilt excuse this long letter, thy "Vital Christianity" being instrumental towards our corresponding together by way of epistle, at which, if it proves any way to thy satisfaction, I shall rejoice. In reading several of thy latter tracts, I have had love in my heart towards thee, which was yet more renewed in perusing thy "Vital Christianity," and thy friendly letter to me.

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*Free thoughts communicated to Freethinkers, in order to promote thinking on the name and works of God; with a relation of a remarkable providence, which fell out at Port Royal, in Jamaica.*

#### TO THE READER.

THE author having been much pressed in spirit to write the following considerations, begs they may be read with attention, and examined without prejudice. He hopes the learned and ingenuous reader will excuse any faults in style or method, having respect to the sincerity of intention, which he professes to have had in this undertaking; and humbly prays that a divine blessing may attend it, to the satisfaction and eternal advantage of all whom it may concern.

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Having had some discourse with a young man of bright natural parts, concerning an-



other world, and of leaping out of this into that, in the dark, which must needs be very dangerous; and fearing that many take that great leap in that manner, I have been induced to write these lines.

Upon which I cannot forbear asking, what man in his senses will venture to leap in the dark, he knows not where? or into a pit, of which he knows not the bottom? To think of it is terrifying, and must needs shock any considerate thinker.

Though a man, having a bright genius, and a large share of natural parts, may acquire much literal and natural knowledge; yet, for want of a spiritual understanding, which is derived from the divine Spirit, he may greatly err concerning true faith and religion, and have no just apprehension of the eternal kingdom and judgment of God, or of another world; which it might be well for the ungodly, were never to be at all: though even if this were to be supposed, yet to live virtuously, as the bishop of Sarum observed to that great libertine, Lord Rochester, would be an advantage to men, even in this world.

But if there should be an eternal righteous kingdom, of which we may internally and spiritually be sensible, and a state of life therein to come; then, Oh, then! what will become of the wicked, and all who forget God! and what perturbation of soul must attend such, when, under the convictions thereof, they shall be ready to launch into eternity. I beseech thee, Oh, soul! seriously to consider, before it be too late.

The great Saviour of the world says, "The kingdom of God is within you." That is, inwardly and spiritually, to be known and perceived. He also says, "I am the light of the world." He, by this divine and supernatural light, lights us through this dark world to his spiritual and glorious kingdom, where he rules and reigns in transcendent majesty and brightness; of which his faithful subjects are in some measure sensible; glory to the King of kings forever.

And that eminently wise apostle Paul says, "He was sent to turn men from darkness to light." Darkness he calls the power of satan, and light the power of God. Now as a man walking in outward darkness is in continual danger of falling, not knowing whither he goeth; so also a man living and walking in spiritual darkness, which is the power of satan, where the wonderful power and works of God cannot be seen or understood, must needs be in the greatest danger of falling into the bottomless pit of perdition, where horrible darkness and unutterable misery prevail for ever.

The many bitter cries, dreadful shrieks, and

heavy groans, which my ears have heard from such dark souls, ready to depart the body, have been enough to convince me of the judgment of another world, though there had been no other demonstration of it to me. May our fine wits and sprightly youths repent in time. Oh! my heart is pained for them; and my soul mourns in secret for many of my former and latter acquaintance, and I have also tender desires for the well-doing and well-being of mankind in general.

If any, by duly thinking of these things, should be awakened and convinced of their state, and their former lives and wicked practices; and have so much light as to see the danger of living without God in the world; but be ready to conclude, that if there be indeed a righteous God, who will reward every man according to his works, there can then be no hope for them, they are such wretched sinners. Oh, if this be the case of any, look not at such thoughts, which, in the midst of your just apprehensions, satan, taking advantage, may thus suggest to you; who having got you deep already in the mire of sin, would by such infusions plunge you deeper both into sin and despair.

Be it remembered that Christ died for sinners, even the chief, as Paul says, and he can make a chief saint of a chief sinner, as appears in the case of that apostle, by his own testimony. God hath done and can do it, though it be wonderful!

Wherefore abide not in darkness, but repent and turn to the light of life! strive and struggle for life, the life of God in the soul of man! turn ye to the divine light; turn to God who is light, and in him is no darkness at all; live and walk in the light of God, which is far above the light of human reason; therein shall we have fellowship with the Father of lights, and his son Jesus Christ; whose religion is spiritual: "God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth."

God must be worshipped in thought, word and deed; that is, in all things we ought to express an humble reverence and adoration to the Sovereign Being, frequently meditating on his great name. But all evil and sinful thinking we must refrain from with abhorrence, as displeasing to him, being of the devil, that wicked spirit; and indeed it is contrary to the nature and end of free-thinking; which is a sincere exercise of the rational faculty, in order to distinguish between good and evil, truth and falsehood, that we may choose and acknowledge the one, and avoid and reject the other. And here it may not be unfit to recommend the care of all our thoughts, from whence proceed our words and actions, as

naturally as good and evil fruit from the different seeds sown in the earth.

And as the truest and most sublime end of thinking, which is the reasonable service of every intelligent being, is the contemplation, fear, and adoration of the Almighty Creator; so are we thereto greatly encouraged by that Scripture of Malachi, which I am concerned here to transcribe and recommend, viz: "Then they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name. And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels, and I will spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him. Then shall ye return and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not."

In which Scripture we may observe how great and glorious a reward is promised to those who sanctify the name of the Lord; the consideration of which must needs raise their love and admiration, and add to their present delight in such holy thoughts.

But, on the contrary, it is to be feared, that evil thinkers and actors, when the divine spirit and light would inspire them with good thoughts, or convince them of their sins, endeavour to stifle or overcome such thoughts or motions, as would awaken them to righteousness, or restrain them from sin; and strive by their natural wit, to reason the good spirit out of their souls; at the same time opening their hearts to the evil spirit and his suggestions, which they hug, to their own destruction. But to judge rightly of these things, if a man have ever so much natural wit and strength of reason, it must be sanctified through his faithful subjection to the divine will, and raised by divine inspiration; which as far surpasses human reason as heaven is above the earth. May our men of bright natural thought think clearly and seriously of this. This is evident in the case of the great apostle Paul, who was educated at the feet of Gamaliel, in the perfect manner of the law, yet, by all his knowledge could not justly distinguish concerning religion, but was a persecutor of the church of Christ. But when his knowledge and spirit came to be sanctified by the grace and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, then, and not till then, he became of great and good use to his Maker and mankind. Then his reason and religion became spiritual, "who had not conferred with flesh and blood, but had been obedient to the heavenly vision." And he says, "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable."

His hope and expectation, as well as of all faithful believers, must have been of another life, and the kingdom of God hereafter: "For here," says he, "we have no continuing city, but seek one to come." And though the condition of such, in this life, be often exposed to much persecution and trouble for their faith's sake, towards the name of God and testimony against this world and the evil spirit ruling therein; yet, blessed be the Most High, he gives them strength and the assurance of his favour, whereby they endure to the end, as well as that he refreshes them with his outward blessings and comforts; so that they may well say with his ancient servant Job, "Shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and not evil?" Thus afflictions have been indeed usually called, but they often, in the hand of God, are means of redeeming the soul, and raising up many excellent virtues, when they are rightly submitted to.

I would inquire what subject we can possibly choose so worthy of our meditation, or from whence so great a benefit can redound both to spirit and body? The fear and thoughts of Almighty God, which are inspired by his grace sanctifying our hearts, thereby render us more fit to receive his favours both to spirit and body, which he multiplies according to his wisdom and good pleasure; and all our faculties and passions being redeemed and governed by the spirit of faith, we shall possess and enjoy all things in a more regular and excellent manner. But who is there that hath not been so great a partaker of the many blessings, with which the infinite Creator filleth the world, and in an especial manner compasseth mankind, as not to be obliged to a continual acknowledgment thereof, and remembrance of the great and bountiful Author? The state therefore of the wicked and rebellious, is stigmatized in holy Scripture, with this character, in particular, that "God is not in all their thoughts." And indeed for this came his judgment upon the old world of the ungodly, who cannot be supposed ever to have thought of the adorable Lord, since every imagination and thought of their hearts was only evil continually, as the Almighty himself hath complained.

But instead of the returns of faith and love, how sad a consideration is it, that there should among men be found any so vile and foolish, as even to deny the divine existence, and the effects of his infinite power in the external creation, and to affirm that all things have come by nature, without God, or any supernatural power; which evil tenet, some have endeavoured to justify and support by natural reason; "Wherein the name thereof may indeed be abused; but reason itself, which con-



cludes nothing without evidence, can never declare in favour of a proposition, for which, not only none can appear, but against which the whole world is full of it. But let this be disposed for the judgment of reason. When therefore it is said, that all things have come by nature; if thereby we are to understand that natural things are severally self-productive, this will be disproved by daily experience; for we may observe, that they depend one upon another, and upon various causes for production and subsistence, without which neither, in a state of nature, could possibly be. But if it be meant of the universal system of natural things collectively, this will less be allowed of many, than of any particular of them; because that would destroy the nature of a self-productive power, which cannot be limited from being infinite, and therefore can be but one: one infinite supreme nature therefore only can have self-existed and must have been the supernatural author and power, by whom all other beings have existed; which refutes the above error, and rationally proves and establishes the great truth in the question."

And this the Christian religion teaches in the greatest perfection, that the Creator of all things is God, an infinite eternal Spirit, who filleth all things; who having been pleased to manifest his eternal power and godhead in the visible frame of the universe, beareth witness of himself therein, by his providence and judgments; and in every soul of man by his inward inspirations; especially the sincere believer, in whom his spirit dwells and operates.

Oh! that men therefore would lift up their minds and open their hearts to him, when by his holy Spirit he reproves them for sin, and brings a damp upon their spirits for evil; from which they would, perhaps, if they could, run, or divert themselves from the sense of it. But, alas! there is no fleeing from his presence, who is everywhere; nor avoiding his judgment, whose kingdom comprehends all things: but woe is especially to them with whom his spirit ceases striving. Holy David certainly was very sensible of this, when he wrote that admirable description of the Divine Omnipresence, "Whither shall I go from thy spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up to 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."

With these views of the infinite power and presence of the Almighty, I shall pass to the relation promised, which may here be properly inserted.

My author was Jonathan Dickenson, merchant in Philadelphia, who was present with the young men whom this extraordinary providence befell, at Port Royal, in Jamaica: he gave me the following account. Two ingenious young men, who were lately arrived at Jamaica, from London, discoursing about earthquakes, asserted that all things came by nature: and so argued thereupon, that it brought terror upon the company, who were many, at dinner, in an upper room. Whilst this lasted, to the great astonishment of all present, the earth began to move and tremble, which put most of them to flight in such haste, that they ran one almost over another, some down stairs, others leaping over the balcony. But my author said he considered there was no running from Divine Providence, and that the same hand which moved the earth, was able to preserve him; in which he trusted, and was preserved. As he continued with the young men in the same room, Oh! terrible to relate, and my heart and hand tremble in the writing thereof, the mighty hand of an offended God struck these young men with death, and they fell down, and never rose any more, being in all appearance unprepared for so sudden a change. And how many other gay, witty young people have been suddenly snatched away by death, though perhaps not so immediately, nor in so extraordinary a manner, seems worthy of reflection. The author of this account added, that he took up the young men, and laid one of them upon a bed, and the other upon a couch; but that they never spoke again after their blasphemy against God and his works. Upon which I think it very natural, as well as necessary to remark, that this was indeed an eminent instance of the just judgment of God against such as deny his wonderful power and providence in the creation; with this terrible circumstance, that these unhappy persons were cut off in the midst of their ungodly discourse and corrupt reasoning, without so much time afforded them as to ask pardon and crave mercy of a provoked Lord; which is very dreadful to consider. I especially recommend it to the serious reflection of all such as affect the name of free-thinkers, as they are commonly distinguished, that they may no longer, under such a pretence, abuse their understanding with a latitude of profane and evil thinking: who, as they must be sensible that they have not conferred the excellent faculty of reason upon themselves, so they may as certainly conclude that they never received it

to exclude his existence, power and providence, out of the world, who gave it them; nor to employ it to their own destruction, by such a perversion thereof, which must inevitably be the consequence, without timely and due repentance; but that they may apply themselves to him for true wisdom, who is the eternal fountain of it, who would direct all their thoughts aright therein. Then would they find a substantial and enduring happiness and satisfaction, in the honourable thoughts and practice of true religion and virtue; and that all vain and evil thoughts

directly tended to the misery and destruction of mankind.

Lastly, if any expression in this short tract should prove successful to promote, in any measure, the contemplation of the Divine Being; the consideration of man's duty to him, his Almighty Creator, or to convince but one soul of the error of his thoughts and ways; the author will think himself richly rewarded for his endeavours, and reverently ascribe the glory and praise to God, the prime Author and mover of every good thing, who is worthy forever.

## AN ACCOUNT OF THE GOSPEL LABOURS AND CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES,

OF THAT FAITHFUL MINISTER OF CHRIST,

# JOHN CHURCHMAN,

LATE OF NOTTINGHAM, IN PENNSYLVANIA.

And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many. *Daniel xi. 33.*  
Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. *Daniel xii. 4.*

### TO THE READER.

IN the perusal of the following pages thou wilt receive a pious man's plain account of his beginning and progress in the weighty work of religion, and in a life devoted to promote the cause of righteousness and the real happiness of mankind.

Having experienced the spiritual baptism which is essential to salvation, and abiding in a state of watchfulness and humility, he became, under the Lord's anointing, a well qualified instrument for the instruction and edification of others in the way of godliness. By attending to the gift of gospel ministry committed to his trust, and performing the duties required of him, he witnessed a growth from stature to stature, and became an upright elder and father in the church, being an example to the believers in word, in conversation, in spirit, in faith and charity.

As the ensuing narrative will be likely to come under the observation of many to whom

he was either little known, or wholly a stranger, it seems proper to make known the estimation in which he was held by his brethren in religious society, who have given a full testimony of their Christian unity and fellowship with him, and that his life and conduct adorned the doctrine of the gospel.

The monthly and quarterly meetings who were for many years partakers of his pious example and labours, testify, that

"Although he was of a weakly constitution, and often infirm, especially in the latter part of his life, yet he appeared to be much devoted to the service of truth and the good of mankind, and gave up his time for that purpose, when he apprehended it was required of him, being favoured with a sufficiency of outward things. We believe he stood loose from the world and its connections, not seeking, but refraining from opportunities which he might have had to get outward riches. He visited neighbouring yearly, quarterly, and other meetings of Friends at times, to his last



year, and was truly useful in the discipline of the church, having a valuable gift in that respect, and was a good example in a diligent care to attend all the meetings both for worship and discipline, to which he belonged. He was cautious of being forward in his public appearances, and for the most part exampled us to silence in our meetings at home, especially in the latter part of his time; yet when he did appear in testimony, we think it may be truly said his doctrine dropped as the dew, being lively and edifying to the honest hearted, though close and searching to the careless professors, as well as to the profane and hypocritical.

"The elders who have ruled well are to be accounted honourable, and the remembrance of the fatherly, diligent, humble, upright, honest, and self-denying example of this our deceased friend, as also his various services in our meetings and neighbourhood, remain fresh, and are of a pleasant savour to many minds."

In confirmation of the truth of which memorial concerning him, many others of his brethren in various places, can freely subscribe.

His deportment was grave and reverent, and his judgment sound and clear, in matters of a spiritual or temporal nature. His disposition being cheerful, he sometimes discovered a turn of pleasantry in conversation, which being circumscribed within due limitations, rendered his company innocently agreeable and instructive.

Being deeply sensible of the weight and solemnity of the gospel ministry, he manifested great circumspection and care, that it might be preserved pure and unblemished from mistaken, or false appearances in himself or others. In the exercise of his gift, his declarations were plain, familiar, and concise, accompanied with a fervent concern that his fellow believers and all others might be brought to the sure knowledge of the teachings of the Holy Spirit, given to direct and lead into true devotion of heart, and the practice of self-denial, consistent with the doctrine and precepts of Christ Jesus our Lord, for the prevalence and enlargement of whose peaceable kingdom, he was earnestly engaged. With a degree of propriety he might have adopted the language of an eminent minister in the early age of the Christian church, "Knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shown me; moreover I will endeavour that you may be able after my decease, to have these things in remembrance; for we have not followed cunningly devised

fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

What he has written is recommended to thy perusal and consideration, in which if thou art seriously attentive, and not superficial, thou mayest under the divine blessing, receive profitable instruction in righteousness, which is the intent of the publication.

Philadelphia, Ninth month, 1779.

## CHAPTER I.

*His early sense of the impressions of divine love, and spiritual conflicts in his youth—Death of his father—His marriage—The settlement of a monthly meeting at Nottingham—His joining with other Friends in visiting families—Appointed an elder, and first appearance in the ministry, &c.*

I WAS born in the township of Nottingham, in the county of Chester, and province of Pennsylvania, on the 4th day of the sixth month, 1705, and was tenderly brought up in the profession of the truth. My parents, John and Hannah Churchman, were diligent attenders of religious meetings, both on the first and other days of the week, and encouragers of their children in that practice, which is certainly a duty in parents, and often owned by the visitations of divine love, even to those who are very young in years, of which I am a living witness. I early felt reproof for bad words and actions, yet knew not whence it came, until about the age of eight years, as I sat in a small meeting, the Lord by his heavenly love and goodness, overcame and tendered my heart, and by his glorious light discovered to me the knowledge of himself. I saw myself and what I had been doing, and what it was which had reproved me for evil, and was made in the secret of my heart to confess that childhood and youth, and the foolish actions and words to which they are propense, are truly vanity. Yet blessed for ever be the name of the Lord! in his infinite mercy and goodness he clearly informed me, that if I would mind the discoveries of his pure light for the future, what I had done in the time of my ignorance, he would wink at and forgive; and the stream of love which filled my heart with solid joy at that time, and lasted for many days, is beyond all expression. I was early taught to think differently from such who hold the perdition of infants, and am since confirmed in believing that the sin of our first parents is not imputed to us, though as their offspring, we are by nature prone to evil, which brings wrath, until by

the discovery of light and grace, we are taught to distinguish between good and evil, and in that divine light which showeth the evil, we feel the enmity against the evil and the author thereof, the wicked one. If we afterwards commit those things which we saw to be evil, we then fall under condemnation and wrath, and here every soul that sins, must die to the sin he hath committed, and witness a being raised by the power of God, into newness of life in Christ Jesus, not to live to himself, to fulfil the will of the flesh; but to live unto Him who died to take away sin.

My father sent me about three miles from home on an errand; and on my return, the colt which accompanied the mare I rode, ran away to a company of wild horses, which were feeding not far from the path I was in. My father bid me go back to the place with speed, that it might follow the mare home. I went, and found the horses feeding on a piece of ground where the timber trees had been killed perhaps about two or three years. Before I went among the dead trees, a mighty wind arose, which blew some down, and many limbs flew about. I stood still with my mind turned inward to the Lord, who I believed was able to preserve me from hurt; and passed among the trees without fear, save the fear of the Lord, which fills the hearts of his humble depending children with love that is stronger than death. I found the colt, and returned home with great bowedness of heart and thankfulness to the Lord, for his mercy and goodness to me.

It was my practice, when I went to bed, to examine how I had spent the past day, and to endeavour to feel the presence of the Lord near, which for some considerable time I preferred to all other things, and I found this practice a great help to sleep sweetly, and by long experience I can recommend it to children, and those also of riper age.

I suppose that no one living knew my condition; for I delighted to keep hidden, yet was quick to observe the conduct of others. I remember a person was once at my father's, who spoke about religious matters with an affected tone, as if he was a good man; and when he mounted his horse to go away, taking a dislike to some of his motions, he called him an ugly dumb beast, with an accent which bespoke great displeasure, and grieved me much. I believed that a man whose mind was sweetened with divine love, would not speak wrathfully, or diminutively, even of the beasts of the field, which were given to man for his use; and I relate this instance as a warning to be careful of giving offence to the little ones.

Notwithstanding I had been favoured as before mentioned, yet as I grew in years, I was much given to play, and began to delight again in several things, for which I had before been reprov'd, and by the divine witness in my mind was still brought under judgment for; but having lost my innocence, I endeavoured through fear to fly from the voice of the holy Spirit in my own heart. The enemy persuaded me, that I could never be restored to my former state, because I had sinned against so great knowledge, or if I was, that the judgment through which I must pass, would be intolerable, so that I had better be cheerful, and take my ease and delight. When I was about nine years old, my father sent me to school to learn to read, having been taught to know my letters and spell a little at home, in which I took great delight, and thereby diverted myself from feeling pain of mind for the great loss of my innocence which I had sustained. Although the man by whom I was taught, was poor and sat in his loom, being a weaver, while the children read to him, I improved very fast, and he soon put me to writing, and finding my capacity as ripe as is common in boys of that age, he began to teach me arithmetic. But my gracious Lord still favoured me with conviction, his spirit bearing witness against me, and in mercy he visited me with a sore fit of sickness, and by his rod of correction brought me a little more to myself. This was in the fore part of the winter, when I was between nine and ten years of age, and in the following spring I had a relapse of the same disorder. Thus by outward correction with sickness and inward judgment, he was pleased to draw me to himself, which caused me to renew my covenant with him, and I hoped never more to stray from him to follow lying vanities, whose sweets I had experienced to be exceeding bitterness in the end. I had taken great delight from a child to play with whistles and pipes, made of the bark of small branches of trees, and of straws of wheat and rye; but now it grieved me to observe children delight therein, and I ventured to tell my mind to some of them concerning such things.

Man is distinguished from other creatures by his voice; and by varying the breath together with the orderly motion of tongue and lips, that voice is made to convey the ideas of the mind and thoughts of the heart to his fellow-creatures. As he was created to glorify his Maker, the use of his voice should be directed to promote his glory among men, whether in things natural or spiritual, that is of this life, or that which is to come. Music as now commonly used, and whistling and singing, have no such tendency; but rather divert



the mind from what it ought to be employed about, and are therefore a waste of precious time, for which man must be accountable. If this were enough regarded, instead of music, whistling, and singing merry, foolish and profane songs, many would have occasion to lament and weep for their mispent time. I leave this as a caution to parents, to beware of indulging their dear children in any thing which may impress their tender minds with a desire after music, or other improper diversions; but that instead thereof, by living in the pure fear of the Lord, and near the Spirit of truth in their own hearts, they may by example and precept, direct the minds of their offspring to attend to the voice of Him who called to Samuel in days of old, and remains to be the Teacher of his people in this age; may his holy name be magnified for ever and ever!

I retained my care and circumspection for some time; but through unwatchfulness and a desire for play, which led into lightness and forgetfulness, I lost this state before I was twelve years of age; and though the Lord was near, and followed me by his reproof, in order to bring me under judgment, I fled from it as much as I could. I let in a belief, that as I had been favoured to taste in so wonderful a manner, "of the good word of life, and powers of the world to come, and had so shamefully fallen away, there remained for me no more sacrifice for sin; but a fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation," which as I thought, burned in me to that degree that I was afraid to be alone, for it seemed to be loudly proclaimed in me, that whether I eat, or drank, waked, or slept, I was accursed. When alone, I abhorred myself; but when in company, I used my utmost endeavours to hide my condition by being cheerful and arch in my discourse, and was thought by most young people to have a knack, as they called it, at jesting and witty turns; yet even in this time, I entertained such a value for religion, that I was not willing to disclose my situation, lest I should be a reproach thereto, or discourage others from seeking happiness. When night came and I went to bed, no tongue can express the anguish I felt. I was afraid to lay awake, and afraid to desire sleep, lest I should be cut off from the land of the living, and my portion appointed in utter darkness. I so far neglected my learning, that when about thirteen years old, I could read but poorly, though once a ready reader. I was not willing that good Friends should take notice of me, or look me steadily in the face; for I thought they would discern my wickedness, and it

would be a trouble to them, or their reproving me would add to my distress. I seemed to be left without any power to resist what I knew to be evil, and being ashamed that I had so lost my little learning, I sought to divert myself by endeavouring to regain it. My former genius and delight returned, and when about fifteen years of age, I had made great improvement, not only in reading, but in writing, arithmetic, and several branches of the mathematics, and began to value myself thereon, and so got over the convictions of the divine Witness, which spoke trouble in me. During this time I was diligent in attending meetings, hoping at seasons that the Lord would condescend once more to visit me; for a saying of an eminently pious man was revived in my remembrance, "That if there remained a desire in the heart after redemption, as it was kept to, the Lord would again assuredly visit such in his own time." I was therefore fearful of neglecting meetings, lest I might miss of the good intended for me; yet the subtle working of the power of darkness was very great, suggesting to me that all things came by nature, and that there was no God, no heaven, no devil, no punishment for evil, religion a jest, and painful care about futurity a silly whim, propagated to deprive people of pleasure. But blessed be the Lord! he preserved me from this snare; for while I felt his judgments for sin, I believed in his being and holiness; and I am indeed fully of the mind, that no man can be an atheist before he acts contrary to knowledge, when, to allay the horror and anguish of mind he feels for the commission of sin, he closes in with this temptation. At other times, the same subtle power would tempt me to despair of mercy, which, if given way to, would lead to distraction; but the hand of the Lord was underneath, though for my disobedience he suffered me to remain in the wilderness and to dwell as among fiery serpents, until he had wasted that disposition in me which lusted after forbidden things.

In this state I continued until I was about nineteen years of age, and as I was one day walking to meeting, thinking on my forlorn condition, and remembering the bread in my heavenly Father's house, of which I had partaken when I was a dutiful child, and that by straying from him, and spending my portion, I had been eight years in grievous want, I inwardly cried, if thou art pleased again to visit me, I beseech thee O Lord, visit my body with sickness, or pain, or whatever thou may please, so that the will of the old man may be slain, and every thing in me that thy controversy is against, that I may be made a

sanctified vessel by thy power; spare only my life, until my redemption is wrought, and my peace made with thee!

About this time, viz., in the tenth month, 1724, my father died, which was a great loss to our whole family; and as he had allotted me to live with and take care of my mother, it became my duty to keep mostly at home. I spent nearly a year in the condition above mentioned; often out of hope of ever attaining to the state I had witnessed when very young; but in the fall of the year after I had arrived to the age of twenty years; it pleased the Lord to remember me, who had been an exile, in captivity under the old taskmaster in Egypt spiritually, and by his righteous judgments mixed with unspeakable mercies, to make way for my deliverance. I was visited with a sore fit of sickness, which in a few days so fully awakened me, that I had no hope of being again entrusted with health. My mispent time, and all my transgressions were brought to my remembrance, and heavy judgment was upon me for them. I was met with in this narrow path, and could no longer fly from God and his spirit in my conscience, whose sore displeasure I had justly incurred. I had heard of men who had been notorious offenders, and fled from the justice of the law, until they became outlawed; such in a spiritual sense my case appeared to be. I thought I had, as it were, heard an act of grace and free pardon repeatedly proclaimed, if I would return and live uprightly for the future; but in the time of such visitations, I concluded it was only to bring me under judgment and to take me from my pleasure, for that my offences would never be pardoned, and so I had withstood, or neglected those visitations. I now saw clearly, that herein I had followed the lying suggestions of satan, my enemy. At this time my old will in the fallen nature gave up its life, and I cried, "I am not worthy to live or enjoy thy favour, yet Oh Lord! if thou wilt be pleased to look on me with an eye of pity, do what thou wilt with me, magnify thy own name, prepare me by thy judgments and power that thy mercy may be shown in and by me, whether thou cut the thread of my life, or shall grant me more days, which is only in thy power." My heart was made exceedingly tender, I wept much, and an evidence was given me, that the Lord had heard my cry, and in mercy looked down on me from his holy habitation, and a willing heart was given me and patience to bear his chastisements and the working of his eternal Word, which created all things at the beginning, and by which only poor fallen man is created anew in the heavenly image

and prepared to praise him with acceptance, who lives for ever and ever.

Whilst I lay in this condition I said little or nothing, but was quite sensible, yet exceedingly weakened, having for about twenty-four hours felt more inward and inexpressible anguish, than outward pain. Toward the morning of the fifth day and night of my illness, I felt the incomes and owning of divine love in a greater degree than ever; for the prospect I had of so great forgiveness made me love the more, for love is ever reciprocal. I saw the morning light and thought all things looked new and sweet. I lay where the sun shone near, or on my bed, and have sometimes since thought, that being weak, the strength of the light and too much company hurt me. I leave this hint to excite nurses and those who have the care of very weak indisposed people, to beware of letting over much light come upon them, or many visitors, except they be such who are sensible of the weak by being inward and quiet, waiting to feel the sympathy which truth gives, the company of such being truly refreshing.

It pleased the Lord to restore me so that I recovered my usual strength, and was frequently humbled under a sense of the tender dealings of a merciful God, whose goodness and owning love I felt to be very near. I then loved retirement and to feel after the incomes of life, and was often fearful lest I should again fall away. In this time it was manifested to me, that if in patience I stood faithful, I should be called to the work of the ministry. I loved to attend religious meetings, especially those for discipline, and it was clearly shown me, that all who attend those meetings should wait in great awfulness, to know the immediate presence of Christ, the head of the church, to give them an understanding what their several services are, and for ability to answer his requirings, for it is by his light and spirit that the Lord's work is done with acceptance, and none should presume to speak or act without its motion and direction. They who act and speak without it, often darken counsel, mislead the weak, and expose their own folly, to the burthen and grief of sensible Friends. It was in great fear that I attempted to speak in these meetings, and as I kept low, with an eye single to the honour of truth, I felt peace and inward strength to increase from time to time. It is good for all who are concerned to speak to matters in meetings for discipline, to take heed that their own spirits do not prompt thereto, and to mind the time when to speak fitly; for a word in season from a pure heart is precious, and frequently prevents debates instead of ministering contention, and when



they have spoken to business, they should turn inward to feel whether the pure truth owns them, and in that rest, without an over anxious care whether it succeeds at that time or not, so Friends will be preserved from being lifted up, because their service is immediately owned; or if it should be rejected or slighted, in this inward humble state, the labour is felt to be the Lord's.

It is a great favour that the Lord is pleased to cover his children with his pure fear, and to array their souls with the garment of humility, that they may stand in his presence with acceptance, waiting to be taught of his ways, and in meekness to be guided in judgment. These feel the necessity of minding that excellent exhortation, "Be ye steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord." In a degree of reverent thankfulness, I bless the name of the Lord through his beloved Son, that according to my measure I knew what I now write; it was a time of growing with me, I rarely passed a day without feeling the incomes of divine life, and was favoured strongly to desire the sincere milk of the holy word, that in humility I might thereby grow in substance. But afterwards I was left for many days together, without inward refreshment, and was ready to fear that I had offended my gracious Redeemer; and being thoughtful and inwardly engaged to know the cause, I had to consider that children, though they may be thriving, and darlings of their natural parents, are not fit for much business until they are weaned; and although they grow finely, they are gradually taught to wait the appointed time between meals, before they have much care of their father's business, and are further prepared, so as to miss a set meal, or be a longer time without outward food, before they are fit for a journey. With these thoughts a hope began to revive in me, that I was not forsaken, of which indeed, as I kept patient, I was at times abundantly sensible, even those times which are in the Lord's hand; for his children experience that the times of refreshment come from him, who when he has exercised and proved them, in his infinite kindness is pleased to cause them to sit down, and condescends himself to serve them. Blessed for ever be the name of the Lord who knows how to prepare his soldiers to remain faithful, and endure with patience what the natural man would account hardness!

I had strong desires that elderly Friends should be good examples to the youth, not only in word and conversation, but in meetings for the worship of God, and it grieved me exceedingly to see any of them overcome with sleep. My concern for one Friend was

so great on that account, that I knew not what was best to do; and reasoned after this manner; Lord! thou knowest that I am young, and he an elderly man, he will not take it well that I should speak to him, and perhaps I may yet fall; and if so, the more I take upon me, the greater my fall will be; besides, though I have spoken in meetings for discipline, when truth hath been strong upon me, yet out of meetings, I am not fit to reprove, or speak to particulars. I was cautious indeed in those days, of talking about religion, or good things, from a fear I should get a habit thereof, and so not know the true motion; which I thought I had observed to be the failing of some. In this strait it came into my mind to go to the person in the night, as the most private time and manner; for if I took him aside before or after a meeting, others might wonder for what, and I might betray my weakness and reproach the good cause, and do no good, and if the Friend should be displeased with me, he might publicly show, what otherwise he would conceal after private deliberation. So in the evening I went, desiring the Lord to go with and guide me, if it was a motion from him. When I came to the house, I called, and the Friend came out to see who was there, and invited me in. I told him I was in haste to go home, but wanted to speak with him if he pleased, and so passed quietly toward home, to draw him from the door, and then told him my concern for him in a close, honest, plain manner; and without staying to reason much, left him in a tender loving disposition, as I believe, and returned home with great peace. When thou doest or givest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right doeth, is an excellent precept. The left hand of self should not act in such things; no matter how privately they are done, they often answer the end better; neither is it a fault to lay things low and familiar, the truth will have its own weight, and accompany what it dictates with its own evidence. My intention in writing this, is to encourage the humble careful traveller in the way of his duty. Some times it appeared to be likely to do most good to write my mind, which I did with success, as I aimed only at a discharge of duty in the most private manner, and the good of those to whom I wrote.

In the twenty-fifth year of my age, I married Margaret Brown, a virtuous young woman, whom I had loved as a sister for several years, because I believed she loved religion. I think I may say safely, it was in a good degree of the Lord's pure fear, and a sense of the pointings of truth, on both sides, that we took each other on the 27th day of the eleventh month, 1729, old style, in an appointed

meeting at East Nottingham, and I thought that our heavenly Father owned us with his presence. The covenants made in marriage are exceedingly great, and I think they never can be truly performed without divine assistance; and if all who enter into a marriage state, would in the Lord's fear seek his assistance, they would know their own tempers kept down, and instead of jarring and discord, unity of spirit, harmony of conduct, and a concern to be exemplary to their offspring would increase and be maintained.

In the year 1730, a monthly meeting was settled at Nottingham by the advice of the quarterly meeting, it being before a branch of New-Garden monthly meeting. This brought a weighty concern upon me and many others, that the affairs of truth might be managed to the honour thereof; for we had but few substantial elderly Friends. In a sense of our weakness, it was the breathing desire of my soul that the Lord would be pleased for his own sake, and the honour of his great name, to be near his children and inspire them with wisdom and judgment for his own work. Blessed for ever be his holy name! I believe he heard our cry, and in measure answered our prayers; and we being kept low and humble, it was a growing time to several. My affection to Friends of New-Garden monthly meeting was so great, that for many months after we parted from them, I seldom missed attending it, and therein had great satisfaction, and some of their members frequently attended ours, for our love towards each other was mutual.

When I was about twenty-six years of age, some Friends were appointed to perform a family visit, and being desirous of my company, I joined with them, and therein felt the ownings of truth in some degree. But notwithstanding I saw at times the states of families and particulars, yet not in so clear a manner as I thought necessary to make it my duty to open my mouth in the service, save now and then, in a private way to particulars, of which none knew except those to whom I spoke. At one house the Friends on the service had a good opportunity, several young folks, some of whom were not of the family, being present. I felt the Divine presence to be very near, and a motion to conclude that sitting in supplication and thanksgiving to the Lord, but was not hasty, for fear of doing what was not required of me, so omitted it, and afterwards asked an experienced worthy minister, if he had ever known any Friend appear in a meeting in public prayer, before he had appeared in public testimony; which inquiry I made in such a manner as to give him no mistrust of me; he answered,

"nay, I believe it would be very uncommon." It struck me pretty closely, but I kept my condition very private; having been exceedingly fearful of deception, and now began to doubt whether it was not a delusion for me to entertain an apprehension that I should be called to the work of the ministry; the concern whereof had been at times very heavy upon me; though no motion that felt like a gentle command to break silence, until at the house before mentioned. I let in reasoning, and so departed for a time from my inward guide and safe counsellor, as all assuredly will, who place their dependence on man for instruction, to perform duties required of them; or who forbear, or reason against the humbling, gentle motions, and leadings of the Spirit of Truth. Our only safety is in attending steadily thereto for instruction and ability to perform religious services, and when performed, we ought to be tender of the sentiments of our brethren concerning them, and not over confident of our call and commission; for our brethren have a measure of the same spirit by which we are taught, and have a sense and right thereby given to judge of our service. A becoming diffidence of ourselves, and a readiness to attend to the advice of such, is the badge of true discipleship; divine love teaches us to esteem others rather than ourselves.

This was an exercising time to me, but I did not discover it to any one. I seemed to be forsaken, though not sensible of much judgment for my omission of duty, for I could with sincerity appeal to Him who knoweth all things, that it did not proceed from wilful disobedience, but a fear of following a wrong spirit, and a secret hope revived that my gracious Lord and master would not cast me off, and blessed be his holy name! he did not leave me very long before I was favoured as usual, but had no motion of the same kind.

When this visit was over, I kept much at home, yet was careful to attend meetings on the first and other days of the week, and found work enough to watch against a lukewarm, indolent spirit, which would come over me when I sat down to wait upon God. Though I came to the meeting in a lively engagement of mind, I found the warfare against lukewarmness, sleepiness, and a roving mind, must be steadily maintained, and if none of these hinderances were given way to, the Lord when he had proved his children, would arise for their help, and scatter his and their enemies, which my soul experienced many times beyond expression. The Lord alone is all powerful, and worthy to be waited upon and worshipped in humility and reverent adoration of soul for ever. Indolence and lukewarmness bring darkness and death over



a meeting, and when generally given way to, occasion hard work for even the most livingly exercised Friends to get from under the burthen thereof. It was a mercy that I was preserved seeking, and could not be satisfied without feeling the renewings of divine favour, by which I grew in the root of religion, though I thought very slowly, but had a hope it would be lasting.

The love of truth and a desire that the discipline and good order of the church might be maintained, made me willing to take considerable pains to attend neighbouring monthly meetings, which I think was a blessing to me, being often instructed. I have often admired at the slackness of some, who suffer trifling things to keep them from their meetings for worship on week-days and first-days; and though curiosity brings such to monthly meetings, they are seldom of any real service when they come, not being sensible of that divine love, in which the church through its several members edifieth itself. As any become truly sensible of this, they will delight to meet with their brethren and sisters to wait upon God, who is the fountain of pure love, and so fills the hearts of his humble, depending children therewith, that by it, they are known to be his disciples.

In the year 1731, our ancient and worthy Friend William Brown, who had been in the station of an elder many years, growing feeble, and incapable of attending the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, Friends of our particular meeting proposed me to the monthly meeting for that service, which brought a close exercise upon me, considering myself a youth, and the weight of the service; but after a solid consideration, I found most peace in submitting to the meeting, with fervent inward desires that the Lord would be pleased to be with me therein, to preserve me from acting, or judging in my own will and spirit, knowing that the service could not be performed but by wisdom, understanding, and ability from him. When I attended those large and weighty meetings of ministers and elders, the care and fear that was upon me is not easily expressed; and may I never forget the gracious condescension of kind providence, who was pleased to own me, by the shedding abroad of his love in my heart. I verily thought they resembled the school of the prophets, the High Priest, great Prophet and Bishop of souls, our Lord Jesus Christ being President among them.

An apprehension that I should be called to the ministry, and a concern on that account, had been at times, for several years, weightily on my mind; but I now again thought I was mistaken in that belief, and that it was only a

preparative to qualify me for the station of an elder, and thereby my exercise became somewhat lighter for a time. The tenderness and love I felt to those engaged in public ministry, was very great, and I believe I was made helpful to some by giving private hints, where I thought there was occasion, in plainness, simplicity and fear, which often afforded instruction to myself as well as to them.

In 1733 I accompanied Friends on another visit to families, wherein, at times, I felt the opening of truth in the love of it, and a few words to speak to the states of some, though in great fear, lest I should put my hand to that weighty work without the real requiring of duty. At one family, I thought it would be better for the whole family, in a religious sense, if the heads of it were more zealous in attending meetings. I saw the necessity of being examples to children and servants, by a careful attendance of meetings for worship on the first, and other days of the week; but I was so weak and poor, that I doubted whether it was my duty to mention any thing thereof to them, so concluded to omit it; by which I hoped to judge of what I had been about before, and so grew easy in my mind. On the way to the next house, I began to judge that I had no business to say any thing at any house; and having forborne in my own will, I was now left to my own judgment for a time. At the next house, Friends were tenderly concerned to speak to several states, and of several matters which I thought instructive; but I sat dry and poor, and so remained during our passage to the next house; where I fared no better, but worse. My feeling and judgment being quite gone, as to the service in which we were engaged; and though I did not say any thing to the other Friends how it fared with me, yet they were affected therewith as I apprehended. I was in great darkness and distress, and sometimes thought of leaving the company privately, and going home, but concluded, that would not only be a disappointment to my friends, but dishonourable to truth, which made me determine to go forward, and endure my own pain, as much undiscovered as possible. My companions, as I before observed, were affected, and all save one seemed closed up from the service, and in the evening of the same day at the last house, all of them were silent. There was a school near, the master of which was a Friend, and the children mostly belonging to Friends, whom some of our company appeared willing to visit, but others being doubtful, we omitted it, which now some thought was not right, and that therefore this cloud of darkness and distress came upon us, and we were willing to meet

at the school-house next morning, to try if we could recover our former strength in the ownings of truth. This being agreed to, each took his way home, and it being now night, and I alone, I rode slowly, under a deep exercise of mind, and humble inquiry into the cause of my own distress; and after some time, being favoured with great calmness and quietude of mind, I was inwardly instructed after this manner; Thou sawest what was wanting in a family this morning, and would not exhort to more diligence in that respect, and therefore if they continue to do wrong, it shall be required of thee; on which I became broken in spirit, and cried in secret, may I not perform it yet, and be restored to thy favour? Oh Lord! I am now willing to do whatsoever thou requires of me, if thou wilt be pleased to be with me. Blessed be his name, in mercy he heard my supplication, and I was fully persuaded that I must go to the house again; which I concluded to do next morning, and went home with a degree of comfort, and being weary in body and mind, slept sweetly, and awoke in the morning quiet and easy in spirit, and now began to conclude that I might meet my company and be excused. But my covenant was brought to my remembrance, and I was given to believe, that peace was restored on condition of my performance; therefore I went to the house, though several miles distant, before sun-rise, the man of the house was up, he invited me in, and I followed him, and sitting down by the fire, being cool weather, with my mind retired, I felt that I must not speak before the rest of the family, but rather in private, yet was fearful of calling him out, being unwilling to discover any thing to them. In the mean time, he went out, and walked the way I was to go, I followed, and told him how I felt when we were at his house the morning before, and could not be easy without exhorting him to be more careful in several respects, and a better example to his family in his attendance of meetings. He seemed affected, and said he hoped he should mind my advice. I then left him, and met my companions at the school-house, and enjoyed great peace. I leave this remark, to excite all to dwell in meekness and fear, and to beware of the will of the creature, and the reasonings of flesh and blood, which lead into doubting and disobedience. They who are faithful in small things, shall truly know an increase in that wisdom and knowledge which are from above.

Before we had gone through this visit, I attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders at Concord, and as I sat therein, the unwearied adversary renewed a former charge against me, by suggesting to my mind,

that I might know I had been wrong and under a delusion, in entertaining a belief I should be called to the work of the ministry; for that all who had ever been rightly engaged therein, it was greatly in the cross to the will of the creature, which was not my case, for I was willing. This I felt to be true, and was exceedingly distressed, not considering that I was made willing by the weight of the exercise, which had been several years at times very heavy upon me, until it seemed as a fire in my bones, and as though I was dumb with silence, I held my peace even from good, and my sorrow was stirred, my heart was hot within me, while I was musing the fire burned. While under this conflict, a Friend stood up with these words, "Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, whom shall we send, and who will go for us? Then said I, here am I, send me." Showing, that "to them whose will was rightly subjected to the Lord, it became their meat and drink, to do the will of him who had subjected them by his divine power, and influenced their hearts with his love to mankind;" by which I was relieved, and my spirit humbled and made thankful. Next morning being the first-day of the week, I went to Kennet meeting, and toward the close thereof, something appeared to my mind to offer, but I was fearful that the motion for speaking was not enough powerful, and had like to have forborne, but remembering what I had suffered by neglecting a weak motion in a family visit, as already related, I stood up, and spoke a few sentences in great fear and brokenness of spirit, and had solid satisfaction. I attended the quarterly meeting of business at Concord on second-day; on my return from whence, I let in the old reasoner, who suggested to me, that if I was called to the public ministry, I had not waited for a sufficient commission to speak; for some had been raised up with great power, and an authority they could not withstand, but that I might have been still and quiet, the motion was so gentle and low, and that I must not think to speak in public testimony in great meetings with so small a motion, and in so doing, I had committed a sin that would not be readily forgiven, perhaps a sin against the Holy Ghost. My exercise was great, but as I endeavoured to be quiet in my mind, seeking to know the truth of my present condition, I was secretly drawn to attend to something that spoke inwardly after this manner, "if thou wast to take a lad, an entire stranger to thy language and business, however likely he appeared for service, thou must speak loud and distinctly to him, and perhaps with an accent or tone, that might show thee to be in earnest, to engage his attention, and



point out the business; but thou wouldst expect it should be otherwise with a child brought up in thine house, who knew thy language, and with whom thou hadst been familiar. Thou would expect him to wait by thee, and watch thy motions, so as to be instructed by thine eye looking upon him, or pointing thy finger, and wouldst rebuke or correct such an one, if he did not obey thy will on such a small intelligent information." I was instantly relieved thereby, believing it to be from the Spirit of Truth, that is to lead and guide into all truth.

When this meeting was over, being in the ninth month, 1733, we proceeded to finish our family visit. The part which remained was on the west side of the Susquehanna, at Bush river, and a few families settled near Deer creek. We were remarkably favoured with the presence of our great and good Master, who opened the states of families to us, and gave ability to speak thereto; may his holy name be praised. The visit being finished, we returned home, and in a short time after, as I sat in a week-day meeting, I had a few words fresh before me, with a gentle motion to deliver them, which I feared to omit, still remembering what followed a former neglect; so I expressed what was on my mind, and therein had peace, and afterwards was silent for several weeks, in which time I let in a fear that I was forsaken by my dear Lord and Master, whom I loved above all things, for I had no openings in heavenly things, as I thought, but was left poor and needy, yet I loved Friends, and remembering a saying of a minister formerly, "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren;" I hoped that I was not quite forgotten. Some remarkable sentences had fixed in my mind sometime before, which I now began to understand more sensibly; "ministry should be of necessity, and not of choice, and there is no living by silence, or by preaching merely;" for something in me was ready to wish to be employed, that I might have bread, for when I found a motion to speak, I had the owning love of the heavenly Father; which is and ever will be bread to his children. The creaturely will, would choose and would be busy with questioning, may it not be so and so; this is that womanish part, which is not permitted to speak in the church: it runs first into transgression, for want of learning of the husband at home, or being in subjection to him, which if Eve had literally done, instead of reasoning with the serpent that tempted, she might have been preserved from being a tempter. Our strength, preservation, health and peace stand in our entire subjection to the will of the Lord, whether in

silence or speaking, suffering or reigning, still dwelling with the seed, Christ, in our own hearts; humbly waiting for, and feeling after his power, who is the resurrection and the life, and when he is pleased to appear, his children partake in measure of his glory!

I continued in the station of an elder, and some times delivered a few sentences in public testimony, which occasioned me to apprehend I should not be in my proper place, except I requested to be released from my eldership. After a time of weighty consideration, I modestly requested that Friends would consider my case, for instead of taking care of the ministry of others, I stood in need of the care of my friends, and that it would be relieving to my mind, if they would nominate an elder in my room, which was taken into consideration for a time; Friends waiting, I suppose, to see what proof I should make of my ministry. I attended the winter quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, and had to give an account of the ministry at our meeting, the elders being called to answer one after another in order, according to the meetings they belonged to; a fear struck me lest a form of words was too much in general observed, particularly, "that the ministry was well received." When my turn came, I could not be easy without varying that part, and instead of saying, the ministry is well received, I said that I believed the ministry of the public Friends was generally approved of, and added, that I wished the ministry of all the ministering Friends was better received than I conceived it was. I was asked what I meant, and under the weight I felt on my mind, I replied, that it was not from a thought of bearing hard on the service of public Friends; but from the difference between approving thereof, because they believed it to be right, and attending no further to it, which would not do the work, but to put in practice what they heard recommended, was the only way of receiving it well, and if that was really the case, our Society would appear more beautiful than at present; thus the matter closed, and I had peace in the remark. I think this was the last meeting I attended as an elder; before the next quarterly meeting in the second month, 1734, another was recommended in my place.

About this time, as I sat in one of our own meetings, I felt a flow of affection to the people, for many not of our Society came there, perhaps out of curiosity, several young ministers having come forth in public testimony; in which extraordinary flow of affection, I had a very bright opening as I thought, and expected to stand up with it very soon, but being willing to weigh it carefully was not

very forward, viewing its decreasing brightness, until something said as it were within me, "is the woe in it, is necessity laid upon thee, and therefore woe if thou preach not the gospel." This put me to a stand, and made me feel after the living presence of Him, in whose name and power I desired to speak, if I appeared in testimony; and not feeling the pure life and power of Truth, so as to stand up, the brightness of the vision faded, and left me quiet, humble, and thankful for this preservation. The drawing strength and lusting desire of the unstable, who centre not to the pure gift in themselves, are as the many waters, or sea of mystery Babylon, for her merchants to sail their ships and trade upon. This was a time of inward growing to me, the welfare of the churches was strongly desired, and the extendings of the love of the heavenly Father, I felt at times to reach over sea and land, to my great admiration; but although my heart was enlarged, I believed it was my duty to retire inward, and wait with patience until my friends should so approve of my ministry, as to recommend me as a minister, before I made any request to go abroad; though I went to some neighbouring meetings, such as I could go to in a morning and return home at night, but not without acquainting some elderly Friends therewith and desiring their company, which I generally had.

In the winter 1735-6, William Brown, my brother-in-law, my sister Dinah Brown, then a widow, and myself, were all recommended to the meeting of ministers and elders, as ministers. At this meeting I informed a Friend that for sometime I had had a desire to visit Friends at Newtown, Middletown, Goshen, Caln, and Bradford meetings, hoping that he would go with me. I was not easy to go without a suitable companion, because it would be necessary that notice should be given to answer the end of a visit; which he approved, and let me know that he would take the needful care, which I supposed was previously to inform some Friends of each meeting, in order that they might acquaint their neighbours if they had freedom. I was easy, not knowing but he would bear me company. On third-day I was at the general meeting of worship held at Providence, and at the breaking up thereof, the Friend to whom I had spoken, stood up and gave public notice that I intended to sit with Friends at the aforesaid meetings, naming the days in order, and requested Friends would take proper care to give notice; at which I was exceedingly surprised, and repented that I had spoken thereof. I would gladly have ran home but for the fear of bringing reproach on the truth, and to me it seemed likely this would be the case if I pur-

sued the track laid out for me. In this strait I was humbled even to weeping; but a sympathizing experienced Friend came to me, and spoke affectionately, bidding me not to be cast down, for it was heard with gladness that it was in my heart to visit those meetings, and that if I lived and did well, I must meet with greater trials. I suppose Friends of those meetings knew more of me than I expected, for I had carefully attended meetings of discipline for several years, and had sometimes been active therein. The meetings were generally pretty full, and I believe truth owned my service, which was to me great cause of thankfulness. In this little journey Friends were very kind to me, and I was afraid were too free in manifesting it. Indeed there are many indulgent nurses, many forward instructors, but too few fathers in the church, who having been acquainted with the great Alpha in their tender beginning, and dwelling in his holy counsel and fear, have the care of the members at heart, and in the wisdom of truth know how to instruct, advise, and conduct themselves towards such who are called to the Lord's work according to their several dispositions, growths, and the gifts received; in order that they may be preserved growing in and by him, who was their beginning, and know him to be with them in their conclusion, to be the first and the last, all in all, the Lord God over all, blessed in himself and in the Son of his love, our holy High Priest and instructor. For want of proper caution, some have valued themselves above what they ought, and thereby reduced their credit with others.

In the summer following I felt a gentle draft to visit the meetings in the back parts of Chester, Philadelphia and Bucks counties, which continuing with me, and my brother-in-law William Brown, having the like concern; we acquainted Friends at our monthly meeting, and had their concurrence, and I believe their good wishes for us. In the tenth month, 1736, we proceeded, and went to Goshen, Radnor, to a general meeting at Haverford, to an evening meeting at a school-house in Upper Merion, and over Schuylkill to Plymouth; and mostly had good satisfaction. I could see that my brother grew in his gift; and after one of the meetings a well-meaning Friend told me that I was a seer, and knew the states of people better than they could inform me, at which I felt some secret pleasure, yet not without, as I thought, a humble fear, knowing that flattery or unguarded commendation, if listened to, is a kind of poison to young ministers, and sometimes makes them swell beyond the proper size. At Plymouth I had an open meeting, and it seemed to me,



as if what I had to say was received freely by the people, and after meeting I was filled with joy to such a degree, that I wept and dropped behind my company, to keep undiscovered. In going to a Friend's house, I prayed that it might be taken from me, for I feared, that by the natural part in me, it was taken to excess. Next day we had a small meeting in Job Pugh's house, where I thought I saw the states of particulars very clearly, and had something to say, which perhaps I delivered in too strong terms, considering my age and experience in the ministry. A becoming fear and modesty in expression, are very safe for ministers, both young and old. After meeting we went home with Evan Evans, to North Wales, who conversed but little with us, but was grave and solid, and therein a good example to me; for sometimes young ministers hurt themselves by too much talking, and draw from others of like freedom, things not convenient for them to hear.

The next day we were at North Wales meeting, which was large, being first-day; my brother, William Brown, appeared in the fore part and had good service; afterwards I stood up with a large and good opening as I thought, but found hard work, and soon sat down again without much relief, which being unusual, I ventured to stand up again, and with a zeal that exceeded my childish knowledge, laid on some strokes with the strength of the man's part, more than with the humbling power of truth. If we deliver hard things to the people, we should ever remember, that we are flesh and blood, and by nature subject to the same frailties; this would lead us closely to attend to the power, and to minister only in the ability of truth, in the meekness, gentleness and wisdom which it inspires. I soon sat down again, and in a moment felt myself left in great darkness, and Friends broke up the meeting in a minute or two after, which I soon thought was rather unkind, as it seemed to show a public dislike, when a private admonition, which I believed was my due, would have answered the end better. But when I knew they held an afternoon meeting, I judged that I had infringed on the time, and the weight of the trial settled still deeper on my mind. In the afternoon I sat silent, and was very much dejected, and my good friend Evan Evans, an experienced minister and father in the church, bid me be steady and inward, looking to the Lord who knew how to deal with his children and gently correct, as well when they went too fast, as too slow. This fatherly tender hint fully opened my eyes; for before I was in some doubt wherein I had missed; I now believed he saw I was too zealous and forward, and believed also that he had the judg-

ment of truth; this was enough for me; I abhorred myself, and was in great fear that I should not be forgiven. Another Friend told me that I only felt an opposing spirit in some, whose states had been remarkably spoken to by me, and desired me not to be too much cast down, for I had the mind of truth. This instead of relieving, rather added to my affliction, for I saw it would have a tendency, if heeded, to take me from under the hand of the Lord, which was heavy upon me, and something in me said, "Let God be true and every man a liar, keep to the witness in thine own heart; attend to the Spirit of Truth there, and mind its reproof." Man through natural affection and sympathy may err, and administer false instruction, but the other proceeds from the God of truth. I would have given all that I had to be at home, for I greatly feared that I should bring a reproach on the truth, the honour whereof was dear to me. I hid my distress as much as possible, and proceeded to attend meetings with my brother, whom I greatly preferred, and was afraid to discourage by my complaints.

We were at a meeting at Skippack, and at another at Perkioming, or New-Providence, in each of which I had so much light and understanding as to offer a few words, but the service lay chiefly on my brother. From thence we went to Oley, where I had a few things to deliver in a Friend's house in an evening sitting with his family, which was large. The Friend in great tenderness observed afterward, that revelation was not ceased, for their states were very exactly spoken to, at which I marvelled, for I was greatly reduced, and thought myself one of the poorest and most unqualified that ever travelled in that great service, in which we were now engaged. This dispensation though sorrowful to wade through, was very humbling and profitable for me, who perhaps but a little before was ready to think I knew something about preaching, but now knew nothing, that I might more fully understand that he who thinketh "he knoweth any thing, knoweth nothing as he ought to know;" and that all pure knowledge is sealed up in Him who is the fountain of wisdom and knowledge, to be opened only by himself to his dependent children, by the revelation of his own spirit, when and to whom he pleases.

From hence we went to Maiden creek and Richland, in Bucks county, being still low in my mind, yet favoured for a few minutes in meetings, in which I had a few sentences, and then was closed up again: I was like one who having learned a few things in literal knowledge, was again turned back to his beginning.

We went to Plumstead in Bucks county, where I was rather more enlarged, and to Buckingham, Wrightstown, Falls, Middletown, Bristol, and over on the ice to Burlington, in New-Jersey, the weather being exceedingly cold, and came back again on the ice over Delaware the same evening to Bristol, and thence proceeded to Byberry and Horsesham meetings. By this time I was relieved from the depression of spirit I felt before, yet was under a humble reverent fear, not forgetting the meeting at North Wales. I was in some degree again admitted to behold the lifting up of the heavenly Father's countenance, which makes the solitary rejoice. From Horsesham we went to a meeting appointed at William Hallowell's; the company of the man who undertook to show us the way not being agreeable, we persuaded him to return, and so were left not knowing the way to the house, which made me very thoughtful, lest we should miss our way, and Friends would then be blamed for neglect of duty towards us. As I was thus pondering in my mind, faith arose, that Providence could direct, and that moment I saw the track of a man who had crossed the road we were in, and felt a sudden turn of mind to follow the same, which made me quite easy; it brought us to a field, where we found the fence down on both sides, and led to the house where Friends were gathered, and we were not discovered to be without a guide, for which I was thankful, believing it to be the secret direction of kind Providence, and not barely chance. I relate this with a view to excite such who may meet with difficulties, to rely on Him alone who can show the way, and give faith to follow, but man must be humble and quiet in mind, to understand the inward gentle sense that truth favours with: this small gathering was owned in a good degree with the divine presence.

We passed to Abington, Frankford and Philadelphia; and after visiting those meetings, turned to Germantown, and so over Schuylkill to Merion meeting, where we met our worthy friend John Fothergill, who had great and good service therein, with whom my brother William Brown, returned to Philadelphia to the quarterly meeting, which began next day. While he was absent from me I attended Springfield and Newtown meetings, when he again came to me, and we attended some other meetings until our quarterly meeting began, at which was our friend John Cadwalader, from Horsesham, who had good service. After this I returned home and was glad to sit with Friends in our own meeting, wherein I did not see it my place to say much, but by example to recommend silence.

Early this spring, 1737, the Lord was

pleased to try me with poverty and inward want, which brought me into great searching of heart, and inquiry into the cause, but could not understand that I had wilfully disobeyed, neither stood convicted in my mind for doing amiss. But my poverty and inward want increased, with distress and doubting, to that degree, that I began to fear I had mistaken error for truth, and in my own imagination formed a religion, and for the rebellion of my youth was suffered to go on until now. All that ever I had done was brought into judgment and reduced to nothing, and the enemy endeavoured to stir me up to impatience, and to persuade me that my transgressions would never be forgiven. Many days of sorrow and nights of sore distress I passed through, and began to despair of ever beholding the light of the Heavenly countenance again lifted up towards me.

Towards the last of the third month I went to Sadsbury, to settle a dispute about the bounds of land, and having something to do near Samuel Nutt's iron works, on French creek, as I was going thither alone, my inward sorrow and distress being very great, I thought I would now endeavour to vent it, were it but in mournful groans. My inward anguish seemed to burn like fire, but I was instantly staid from breaking forth, for I was persuaded my grief, if given way to, would go beyond bounds. My heart not being tender, I could not weep, but was brought to a more calm pause than I had known for some time, and therein was ready to say, can the good hand be still near to stay me? Oh! that I may have patience given, and resolution strengthened to continue seeking, and if at last I should perish, that it may be at his footstool. For a small space I had some hope of again beholding Him whom my soul once loved above all things; but in a few miles riding it began to look pleasant to me, to go into some remote place where I should not be known. When reflecting thus—what! abandon mine acquaintance! violate my marriage covenant, and leave my nearest connexions! I saw this prospect of pleasure was from the evil one, and something in me abhorred it as wicked, and as it were closed my eyes therefrom. That evening I went to the house of a former intimate acquaintance to lodge, who received me kindly, and in the evening brought a book containing some astronomical problems, and began to converse very freely thereon, supposing it would be pleasant to me as aforetime. But I was heavy in my spirit and thoughtful about something of another nature, and he soon perceiving his conversation on that subject was disagreeable, proposed my going to bed, as fittest for a weary man,



judging that to be my present ailment. I was glad of the offer and immediately accepted it. I saw that when my mind was turned from delighting in that wherein our former friendship consisted, my company was rather unpleasant to him, and soon left his house in the morning, despatched my business, and returned home with as much speed as I could, without the least inclination to go elsewhere. I believe my prayer was heard; for I had patience granted me; I say granted, because no man can endure himself therewith, and I think my distress gradually abated after the time aforementioned.

When one has fasted for a long season, men of prudence will portion out food to him with care, that his strength may be increased and the constitution preserved healthful and sound. The Lord, whose love and care to his children far exceed that of any natural parent to his offspring, dealt with me in his tender mercy, giving me at times, by the gentle touches of his love, to feel that he had not forsaken me, which in a few minutes would be again withdrawn; but though of short continuance, it was sufficient for me to own that it was worth all my sorrowful longing. He was pleased to let me experimentally know the value of heavenly bread, by the want of it, and having food and raiment, I was taught to be therewith content; the renewing of heavenly favour and the covering of the Holy Spirit, so as to be admitted to stand before Him in humble reverence with gracious acceptance, was all my soul craved. I neither wanted this man's gift, nor the other man's popularity and eloquence, but to be in mercy admitted into the number of his family, and enabled to occupy my own gift to the honour of Him who gave it. When Peter was examined by his Lord whom he had denied through fear, "Lovest thou me more than these?" the third time he answered, "Thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee." He did not answer the question in its full extent, viz., "more than these," the rest of the disciples who had not denied their Lord and Master, as Peter had done, who was nevertheless looked upon with forgiving compassion, and therefore had need to love in proportion. Perhaps his honest confession and appeal to his Master's knowledge might shorten his answer; and his threefold charge of feeding the sheep and lambs of his Lord, be necessary to gain his diligent attention to the work of Him whom he had three times denied; he to whom much is forgiven, loveth much if he is not ungrateful. No marvel that I met with this trial of my love and affection, who so often, not through fear, but the desire of indulging my creaturely will,

had denied, or neglected to follow my Lord and Master, who had so early made me acquainted with his will, and who now had passed by mine offences, and called me to work in his vineyard. I was now made thankful for favours which before had scarcely been owned as such. To be preserved inwardly watchful and quietly resigned to wait upon the Lord, though we partake not of immediate consolation by the renewing of life, is a great blessing, for which we ought to be thankful, as we cannot stay our own minds, nor curb our thoughts without divine aid. I believed that labour was healthful, created an appetite and sweetened the relish of rest and food in a spiritual as well as natural sense, and therefore I wanted not to eat the bread of idleness and live on the labour of others.

After this trial, which continued most of the summer, I was much favoured with the incomes of divine love and life, and in the winter following, visited most of the meetings in Chester county, and some few in Philadelphia county. The weather was very cold, being about the middle of the tenth month when I set out, and in my journey I went to visit a worthy Friend who was indisposed, and as we sat together in the evening, he asked me why I chose the winter season to visit my friends, for many infirm folks could hardly attend meetings, and said he was sometimes ready to query, whether public Friends do not take that time to serve their Master, because they could do but little for themselves. I was thoughtful and low in my mind before, and had some reasoning whether it had not been better that I had staid at home, than ventured out on the service at that time of the year. Though I thought I had an engagement sufficient when I set out, his query made me more thoughtful, and added to my reasoning. But I soon recovered strength, and it came into my mind to ask him whether Friends could eat to supply and sustain their bodies in the summer, and partake also of spiritual food for their souls in that season, so as not to labour in the winter and care for the sustenance of their bodies, or assemble and attend meetings to worship and wait upon God for spiritual food for their souls? He acknowledged I had by this query satisfied him to the full, and said he was glad of my visit, and hoped his talking as he did, would not discourage me, for I believe he saw it brought a damp over me at first. This answer I believe was given to me for my own help, and was encouragement to me through this journey, in most of which I had Joshua Johnson, of Londongrove, for a companion, who was very agreeable, and in my return home I felt great peace.

## CHAPTER II.

*His journey with Robert Jordan to the Western part of Maryland, in the year 1738. Also to the quarterly meeting at Shrewsbury, in New-Jersey—And with John Hunt through that province—His visit to the Eastern shore of Maryland—His journey to Fairfax and Hopewell, in Virginia, in company with a committee of Friends—And a second time to the Eastern shore of Maryland, with John Cadwalader and companion—His visit to New-England in company with Samuel Hopwood, in 1742.*

IN the summer following I went with Robert Jordan to West river yearly meeting in Maryland, and we visited most of the meetings of Friends in that province, and his company was profitably instructive to me who was but young in the ministry. I think I knew him well, he had a good gift of the ministry, and was highly favoured in the living openings of truth, but was often low in mind and very humble in spirit. One time as we were riding together, he lagged behind for several miles. I asked him why he rode so slow, he made no reply, whereupon I stopped until he came up, his countenance was solid, and looked as if he had been weeping. I asked what ailed him, after some time he told me, that he had been thinking of the great favours which man partakes of, particularly in being placed over the beasts of the field, and how easily they were broken, and made subject to his will, what a small turn with the bridle would put them to the right hand or to the left, and on a gentle motion would amend or slacken their pace, at the will or pleasure of the rider; and that man, the most noble and intelligent creature, should so far neglect the duty of a willing subjection to his Maker, who has so highly favoured him with temporal blessings, and the knowledge of heavenly things.

I had been at that meeting about three years before; having had some business to do for a friend of mine on the Eastern shore of the Chesapeake, and crossed over the bay to the Western shore, and was at the yearly meeting, and was grieved at the conduct of some of the elders, whose age, if they had kept to the truth and had been zealous for the honour thereof, would have made them better examples. I spoke my mind plainly to them, but not without proper caution, as I thought, both with respect to my youth and their age. But some seemed a little warmed thereby, and asked for my certificate, if I had any. I honestly told them the principal business that brought me from home was temporal, and having accommodated it, I

thought I might attend that meeting without offence, if I did not misbehave myself. William Richardson desired Friends to consider what I had said, for he believed if they did, they would perceive the young man had a certificate with him that might answer for one of a neighbouring province to attend such a meeting.

It may not be unseasonable to relate that in the year 1736, one night as I lay in bed, my mind was uncommonly affected with the incomes of divine love and life, and therein I had a view of the churches in New-Jersey, with a clear prospect that I should visit them. In that prospect, and the strength of affection which I then felt, I said in my heart it is enough; I will prepare for the journey as soon as I can hear of a suitable companion, for I do not expect that I shall have a clearer sight than I now have. I soon heard of a Friend who had a visit to New-Jersey before him, and spoke to him about my concern, but he let me know that he knew of a companion, and they had agreed upon a time to proceed. After I had mentioned it to him and some other Friends, my concern seemed to die away; but I remembered the resolution I had taken up, and that I then thought I would not look to be bidden again, and was fearful something had drawn my mind from the proper attention to that opening, which was the reason it seemed to go off. The more I strove to look after it, the duller it grew; and I then sorely repented that I had spoken about it, and thought it should be a warning to me in future; for I began to see there was a difference between seeing what was to be done, and being bidden to do the thing shown: besides this, I had to consider there was a time to bud, a time to blossom, a time for fruit to set and appear, and a time for it to ripen.

In the fore part of the winter of 1738, I thought it seemed to revive, and when I saw John Hunt, a Friend from England, I believed I should go with him when he went through New-Jersey, and told him what I thought, at which he rejoiced, for we were nearly united. We appointed a time to meet at Philadelphia, and when we had so far concluded, being about six weeks beforehand, my concern, as I thought, soon withered away, and I began to be in great fear that I had been again too forward therein. But after some time of humbling exercise on that account, the Lord, whom I feared, from the love with which he was pleased to enrich my heart, gave me to remember, that when I made the appointment with my friend, it was in his fear and great abasement of self; and as I had seen clearly to make the appointment, it was my place to attend to it in humble reliance on him for ability



to perform the embassy; for the Lord who calleth and sendeth forth his own, will also provide all things convenient for them.

When the time came, I set forward very poor and needy, and continued so until we entered upon our service. We took a few meetings before our general spring meeting; and after attending that, went to Woodbury, Pilesgrove, Salem, Alloway's creek, Cohansey, and so to Cape May, and had some close work, but in the main it was satisfactory to ourselves. After having several meetings at and near the Capes, we went to Great Egg Harbour, and had a meeting there, and another at the house of our friend Japhet Leeds, and so over the marshes to Little Egg Harbour river, and had two meetings with Friends there. In one of these I stood up with a large opening as I thought, but after a short introduction it closed up, and I sat down again, which was some mortification to me as a man, though very profitable; being thereby taught to know that he who would speak as the oracle of God, must, under the gentle burden of the word, in humble fear wait for wisdom, utterance, and ability to perform the service to the edification of the church and his own peace, and not to look after large and specious openings, however desirable to the creaturely part in ourselves or others, which must suffer famine.

At one of the meetings in these parts, coming very early, a Friend belonging thereto invited us to go to his house not far off, and he would put up our horses to hay during the time of the meeting, saying that we must go to his house to dine. I felt a stop in my mind, and told him that our horses could stand very well there until after meeting. It so fell out that neither of us said any thing in the meeting, which was satisfactory to us, for we had a sense that the people had been fed with words and hungered for them more than for the instruction of the pure word of life nigh in the heart and mouth, that they might not only hear it but be found doers thereof. After the meeting no one asked us to dine, but went away and left us, and had it not been for the care of our kind guide who came from the meeting we were last at, we should have been at a loss to get forward. I mention this to show how unacceptable silence is to such whose ears itch after words.

From hence we went through the desert to Upper Springfield, where we had a satisfactory meeting; then taking the meetings northward, to Stonybrook and Trenton, we returned to Bordentown, and so crossed the Delaware. Some of the meetings were large and satisfactory under the owning of truth, the power whereof was in dominion and the name of the Lord praised, who is worthy

forever. Some were remarkably close and hard, which made me remember a saying of that experienced minister and elder, John Fothergill, that, "When he was first in this country, he had some extraordinary meetings hereaway, the people being industrious in a natural as well as spiritual sense, some of whom were now removed, and their children possessed the temporal estates of their fathers, and though their outward habitations looked spacious, their meetings for worship were dull and heavy, by reason of a worldly spirit, and their indifference about heavenly treasure." One meeting we were at was remarkably hard, and my companion was exceedingly exercised, under a sense that the people were too rich, full and whole in their own eyes, but he sat the meeting through and suffered in silence. I had something to say which was very close, and felt a degree of the strength and power of truth to clear myself in an innocent and loving manner, and remembering they were brethren, I did not preach myself out of charity towards them, and so had peace. We went home with an elderly Friend, who in a stern manner asked me from whence I came, and said I was a stranger to him. I answered him with a cheerful boldness; he asked me what my calling was, I told him husbandry: he queried if I was used to splitting wood; I let him know I had practised it for many years. He again asked me, if I knew the meaning of a common saying among those who were used to that business, "'Tis soft knocks must enter hard blocks." I told him I knew it well, but that to strike with a soft or gentle blow at a wedge in blocks of old wood that was rather decayed at heart, would drive it to the head without renting them, and the labour would be lost, when a few smart lively strokes would burst them asunder. Whereupon he laid his hand on my shoulder, saying, "Well my lad, I perceive thou art born for a warrior, and I commend thee." Thus we came off better than we expected, for I thought he pointed at my service that day; he was ever afterward very loving to me, and I was thankful that the Lord was near to me, for which I praise his sacred name. To be becomingly bold in the cause of truth, at times is particularly necessary, otherwise the weight of the testimony thereof would be lessened, and a carpenter spirit be set over it.

From Bordentown we went to Plumstead in Bucks county, and on a first-day had a pretty good meeting; to a monthly meeting at Buckingham, then to Wrightstown, the Falls, and Middletown, which meetings were in a good degree satisfactory, the power of truth being felt to arise, for which we were

thankful; though in some of them there is a want of faithful members to put the discipline in practice against those that are disorderly, and thereby bring a reproach on the truth. We then went to Philadelphia, and next day to Chester, from whence I went home the same day.

In the fall of the year 1740, I had drawings in my mind to attend the quarterly meeting at Shrewsbury, and was at several meetings on my way thither, at one of which a Friend appeared, who I thought had good service in the fore part of his testimony, but as truth did not rise into dominion so high as he expected, perhaps in too much zeal and creaturely warmth, he laid on a little too fast, and continued until the life rather abated, and some tender minds were hurt. It often happens that such to whom hard things belong, put them off, and those who are more tender and least deserving of such doctrine, take it to themselves to their own hurt. Ministers ought to be careful whilst engaged in service, that they may be favoured with a feeling and sense of the states to which they minister, and be influenced with wisdom from above to divide the word aright, in meekness, gentleness, and holy fear; then truth will have its own authority and power. After the Friend sat down, it became the concern of another in a few words, as it were to number the slain and search for the wounded, and set close and hard things where they belonged, by describing the several dispositions in choosing and refusing to take hard things. Afterwards I was in company with the Friend, and he being down in his mind, and perhaps not fully knowing the cause, asked me what I thought of the meeting, to which I was not forward to answer. He said, tell me what I have done this day? I asked him privately and in a pleasant manner, what Gideon did to the men of Succoth? At which he was greatly humbled, fully understanding what I meant, and did not in the least resent the hint; which I thought was truly great in him, and very becoming a minister; for if we would instruct others, we should be exemplary in taking instruction ourselves when necessary.

Falling in company with Robert Jordan, we proposed a meeting to the Anabaptists at Middletown, to which they readily consented, and we had a profitable opportunity with them in their meeting house, and on the same evening a meeting at the house of Hugh Harts-horne, to which several Baptists came. This was a time of favour, and I hope of service, it was concluded by Robert Jordan in solemn prayer and thanksgiving to the Lord, who is worthy forever and ever. Just as the meet-

ing broke up, I felt myself poor and inwardly weak, to as great a degree as ever I had done, and looking towards my said friend I saw he was in the same condition; but a query of our dear Lord's came suddenly into my mind and ministered relief, viz: Who hath touched me? Which I repeated to my companion, believing that it was as much for his help as my own. He understood the meaning instantly without further explanation, and was also relieved. Perhaps some who may hereafter peruse these lines, may think this is too bold for a mortal man to mention; but I have by a degree of experience known, that when the healing virtue of truth from the holy Physician of souls, has flowed through an humble servant, to the relief of some of the infirm and poor amongst the people, who have followed physicians of no value and spent all their living without a cure being wrought, notwithstanding virtue has gone through them as instruments or conduits only, they have felt inwardly weak for a time, that in humble abasement of soul they might be taught to acknowledge, that the kingdom, power and glory, doth belong to Him alone, who is God over all blessed forever and ever.

From thence we went to William Harts-horne's, at Sandy-hook, and so to the quarterly meeting at Shrewsbury, which was large, and the power of truth was felt in a good degree; but many loose and rude people of the neighbourhood and parts adjacent coming together at such times to drink, carouse, and ride races, are very hurtful to each other and disturbing to Friends. I had several meetings on the way home, and enjoyed great peace, and could therefore rejoice and ascribe the praise to the Lord, who had called and enabled me to perform this service.

Having a concern on my mind to visit the meetings of Friends on the Eastern shore in Maryland, I laid it before our monthly meeting and obtained a certificate in the tenth month. My brother-in-law, James Brown, bore me company; and we were at Cecil monthly meeting held at Chester in the eleventh month. Before meeting a Friend informed me that he thought it would be best for me to cross Chester river, and go directly southward. I told him it might be so, but I could say little to it at present; but some Friends consulting about it, and one being there who lived near the meeting house in Queen Ann's county, they thought he could give notice on first-day to several meetings; so a Friend ventured to speak publicly thereof at the close of the meeting for worship, without letting me know what he intended to do. I had been uncommonly distressed as I sat in the meeting, from an apprehension that but



few of the Friends belonging to that particular meeting were there, and when he published where it was proposed I should be during the ensuing week, I felt my mind turned another way. I stood up and told Friends, that I believed they thought it most for my ease to lay out the meetings after that manner, but if Friends at that particular meeting would favour me so far as to meet there next day, I should be glad to sit with them, provided they would please to let other Friends and neighbours who were absent know of it; for if I had a right sense, there were several members not present. Also, that I should be willing to be at Cecil meeting on first-day, and Sassafra on second-day, which was directly back, but told them it seemed easiest to my mind, though it would occasion more riding. This being agreed to, we had a much larger meeting next day, for many before were absent, as I had thought, and I had a full opportunity to discharge myself toward the lukewarm and indifferent, and the disorderly walkers, and had peace. I visited several families on seventh-day to good satisfaction, and was at Cecil meeting on first-day, and the next day at Sassafra, and had to believe it was by the secret direction of the good Shepherd, who never faileth his dependent children, that I was turned this way; for he was pleased to own my service in these meetings by his presence in a good degree, to the praise of his own name, which is worthy forever. From thence we passed over the head of Chester by the bridge, John Browning, a Friend from Sassafra, going with us as a guide, who some time before had been convinced of the blessed truth, by the inward operation of the holy Spirit, without any instrumental means. He had been a member of the church of England, and for his sobriety was chosen a vestryman; but after a time felt a scruple in his mind about taking off his hat, when he entered the church yard, so called, fearing it was a superstitious adoration of the ground, from its supposed holiness; but would take it off when he entered the worship house, and walk uncovered to his pew. But after a time he could not uncover his head, until what they call divine service began; which, as he kept attentive to the scruple in his mind, became very lifeless to him, who was inwardly seeking for substance and life. He therefore withdrew from it, and after some time went to one of our meetings, rather out of curiosity than expecting any good, but felt himself owned, and had a taste of the peace which the world cannot give, and from that time became a constant attender of our meetings.

We had a meeting at Queen Ann's, amongst a people who for want of keeping to the life

of religion, had almost lost the form. In conversation at a house in the evening, I asked a Friend whether she was a Friend's child, or one convinced of our principles; her reply was, that when she was young, she lived at a Friend's house, and took a notion of going to meeting with them, which she had done ever since. Alas! when notion changes the will, and not that faith which works by love to the purifying of the heart, the religion is without reformation, empty and dead. From thence we went to Tuckaho meeting, and the weather being very cold and rivers frozen up, several masters of vessels and sailors came there, and others who were people of fashion. In the fore part of the meeting a man spoke, whose communication grieved me, for my heart yearned towards the people; the words he began with were, "Wo, wo, to the crown of pride and the drunkards of Ephraim;" and with very little application he sat down. It appeared to me as if the appearance of gaiety had fired the creaturely zeal, which was the chief motion to this short sermon; this with the cold wind blowing in at the door, much unsettled the meeting, it being at the time of a remarkable snow storm. I desired the door might be shut, which being done, the house became more comfortable and the meeting settled, and I stood up with an heart filled with affection, having that passage of Scripture before me, in which the apostle Peter declared the universality of the love of God, viz: "I perceive of a truth that God is no respecter of persons," &c. I was enlarged thereon to my own admiration, and I believe the satisfaction of the people; the meeting ended sweetly, with thanksgiving and prayer to the Lord for the continuance of his mercy, who is the author of all good, and worthy of adoration and worship forever. After this we attended the several neighbouring meetings, through very cold weather; and the houses being open and unprovided with the means of keeping them warm, of which there is too manifest a neglect in those parts, they were uncomfortable, which occasioned unsettlement. We reached home just before our quarterly meeting in the twelfth month.

In this journey, travelling in Talbot county, an elderly man asked us if we saw some posts to which he pointed, and added, the first meeting George Fox had on this side of Chesapeake bay, was held in a tobacco house there, which was then new, and those posts were part of it. John Browning rode to them, and sat on his horse very quiet; and returning to us again with more speed than he went, I asked him what he saw amongst those old posts; he answered, "I would not have missed what I saw for five pounds, for I saw the

root and ground of idolatry. Before I went, I thought perhaps I might have felt some secret virtue in the place where George Fox had stood and preached, whom I believe to have been a good man; but whilst I stood there, I was secretly informed, that if George was a good man, he was in heaven, and not there, and virtue is not to be communicated by dead things, whether posts, earth, or curious pictures, but by the power of God, who is the fountain of living virtue." A lesson, which if rightly learned, would wean from the worship of images and adoration of relicks.

I was not many miles from home this summer, except to attend our own quarterly and yearly meetings; but in the fall having some drawings in my mind to visit Friends in the new settlements in Virginia, I went with a committee of the quarterly meeting, appointed to inspect whether Friends at Fairfax were in number and weight sufficient to have a meeting settled amongst them to the reputation of truth. We visited all the families of Friends there, and had a meeting among them to satisfaction; from thence we went to a place called Providence, or Tuscarora, and had a meeting with the Friends there, who were glad to see us; and attended Hopewell monthly meeting to some satisfaction. I also went to a few families settled up Shanandoah, above the three-topped mountain, so called, and had a meeting amongst them; they were pretty much tendered, and received the visit kindly, especially such as did not make profession of the truth with us. I admired how they had notice, for many came to it, and some from ten miles or more distance. I believe that the delight in hunting, and a roving, idle life, drew most of those under our name to settle there, and having discharged myself in a plain, yet loving manner, I returned; and after having several other meetings thereaway, I went home with peace of mind and thankfulness to Him who enables his children to answer his requirings, having rode in this journey above four hundred miles.

This winter, John Cadwalader and Zebulon Heston, in their return from a religious visit to Friends in Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, were at my house, and being desirous to visit some meetings on the Eastern shore of Maryland, I went with them to Sassafras meeting, and called to see the widow and children of John Browning, who had been dead about a month, and she gave me in substance the following account of him, viz:

"My husband was not long sick, but said he believed he should not recover, and charged me to endeavour that his children should be brought up in the way of truth which Friends profess; and if they inclined to have trades,

to put them apprentice to real Friends, not barely nominal ones, which she said she was willing to do, though she had not yet joined Friends. He desired she would not trust her own judgment, and named some Friends with whom she should advise in choosing masters; then said, when I am dead, bury me by my father and mother in the grave yard belonging to our family, and thou knowest that I put a large grave-stone at my father's grave, and there is one ready for my mother's grave, which I did not put there, because I began to think they were more for grandeur than service. I sent for them to England, not at the request of my father, they are mine, and now I have a full testimony against such formal tokens of respect; therefore when I am buried, before the company leaves the grave, inform them what my will is, and desire their help to take the grave stone from my father's grave, and carry it out of the yard, that it may be brought home, and lay one in one hearth, and the other in the other hearth of this new house, and they will be of real service there;\* which she promised him to observe, and told me she had complied therewith; he remained sensible to near the last, and departed in a quiet resigned frame of mind."

How weak are the arguments of such who make profession with us, and plead for those grand marks of memorial, or other tokens of distinction set up at, or on the graves of their deceased relations; and how soon would they subside, did they but live so near the pure truth as to feel the mind thereof, as I fully believe this our friend did. The name of the righteous will not perish, but be had in everlasting remembrance, because their portion is life for evermore, having entered into that kingdom prepared for the blessed before the foundation of the world.

In the spring of the year 1742, I felt strong drawings of mind to visit Friends in New-England, having had some view thereof several years before; and having obtained a certificate, I set forward in the third month, and after visiting several meetings in New-Jersey, and one in New-York, I attended the yearly meeting on Long island, wherein the power of truth was felt, and a great openness to those of other societies, many of whom were present, particularly on the last day, and two priests who behaved solidly.

I then went with Samuel Hopwood, a ministering Friend from England, with whom I had travelled in this journey through part of New-Jersey, to Ryewood, and had a meeting

\* He had built a new brick house, and the hearth was not fully laid.



there, where were a few solid Friends, but others were too talkative. At Old Seabrook we had a meeting in an inn, on the first-day of the week, the people being chiefly Presbyterians, few attended besides ourselves and those of the family, who were kind and civil to us. Then going to Conanicut, we had a meeting with Friends on that island, and proceeded to Newport, on Rhode Island, and on the fifth-day of the week attended the meeting at Portsmouth, where we met with Lydia Dean, from Pennsylvania, who was on a religious visit to Friends in New-England, and many other Friends coming to be at the yearly meeting. It began on the sixth-day of the week with a meeting of ministers and elders, and two meetings for public worship, one in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon, which were held in the same order until the second-day of the next week, when the meeting for discipline began. This large yearly meeting was generally solid and satisfactory; after which, taking divers meetings in our way, and attending a monthly meeting, all which were in a good degree satisfactory, Samuel Hopwood and myself embarked for Nantucket. Through the mercy of kind Providence we arrived safely there, after a passage of three days and two nights, occasioned by scant winds and an easterly storm, which tore our sails very much, being old and rotten, so that if some watchful Friends on the island had not seen us in distress, and come with three whale-boats and took the passengers from the vessel, we should have been in great danger; for being near a sand-bar, the vessel struck ground soon after we left her, and by the violence of the wind was driven on shore. We looked on this deliverance as a mercy from God, to whom several of us were bowed in humble thankfulness for this particular favour. On the 22nd day of the fourth month the yearly meeting began, which though small on this day by reason of the storm, was comfortable, the other sittings were mostly large, and in a good degree owned by the power and virtue of truth.

My friend Samuel Hopwood, apprehending himself clear, inclined to return to the main land, but no passage offered; and notwithstanding the meetings had been generally attended by most of the inhabitants of the island, and were large, yet I was not easy without endeavouring to have some opportunities with Friends by themselves, as much as could be, which I obtained, besides attending their usual week-day meeting. In these sittings it pleased the Lord to open my way to deliver several things which had lain heavy on my mind; for although some solid tender spirited Friends lived on this island, yet I saw

there was a libertine spirit at work amongst some others, to draw away from the pure inward life of religion and the simplicity of truth, into ease and liberty; after which I had great peace, and my mind was made thankful to the Lord, who had owned my labour by a good degree of his presence and power.

Being now fully clear and a passage offering, on the 2nd of the fifth month we took leave of our friends, and landed the same day in the evening at Seconnet. On seventh-day Samuel Hopwood and I went to the quarterly meeting at Sandwich, and were at their first-day meeting also, after which I went back to Seconnet, and had a meeting at Benjamin Boreman's; then returned to Sandwich, where I again met Samuel Hopwood, and on third-day we had a meeting at Yarmouth, and returning to Humphrey Wady's, we from thence went towards Boston, taking a meeting with Friends at Pembroke. We reached that town on sixth-day, and attended their morning and afternoon meetings on first-day, also one at a Friend's house in the evening. I have little to remark, save that religion seems to be at a low ebb. From Boston I went to Lynn, but Samuel Hopwood returned towards Rhode Island. I had a meeting at Lynn, also at Salem, Newberry and Dover, being the monthly meeting; the next day at Cachechy, and in the afternoon again at Dover, at the burial of Mary Whitehouse, who was ninety-five years of age. On second-day morning I was drawn to have a meeting over the river on the Kittery shore, among Friends, which was satisfactory to myself and them, there being a tender people there. On third-day morning as I lay in bed, I felt my mind drawn towards the north-west, which was an exercise to me, for I had before thought myself at liberty to return towards Boston. I arose about sunrise, and asked the Friend where I lodged, whether any Friends lived at a distance on that quarter, for that I had a draft that way, he answered no, and asked how far I thought to go. I told him it did not seem to me to be more than ten miles; he said there was a people about eight miles distant, which he supposed was the place to which I felt the draft. I desired him to send a lad with a few lines to some person whom he knew, to inform them that a stranger would be glad to have a meeting among them at the eleventh hour of that day, if they were free to grant it, which he did, and he and his wife went with me. We got to the place near the time proposed, and found a considerable gathering of people, that I wondered how it could be in so short a time, not more than three hours warning; they were preparing seats, by laying boards on blocks in a large new house, and soon sat down in

an orderly manner. I went in great fear and inward weakness, and at the sight of such a gathering of people, and none of our profession among them except the Friend and his wife who accompanied me, and two others who joined us on the way, my spirit was greatly bowed, and my heart filled with secret cries to the Lord, that he would be pleased to magnify his own power. And blessed for ever be his holy name! he heard my cry, and furnished with wisdom and strength to declare his word to the people, among whom there were some very tender seekers after the true knowledge of God. The doctrine of truth flowed freely towards them, the universality of the love of God being set forth in opposition to the common predestinarian notion of election and reprobation. When the meeting was over, I felt an uncommon freedom to leave them, for they began to show their satisfaction with the opportunity in many words; so speaking to the Friend who went with me, we withdrew and went to our horses. On mounting, I beheld the man of the house where the meeting was held, running to me, who taking hold of the bridle, told me I must not go away without dining with them; I looked steadfastly on him, and told him, that I did believe this was a visitation for their good, but I was fearful that by talking too freely, and too much, they would be in danger of losing the benefit thereof, and miss of the good the Lord intended for them, and my going away was in order to example them to go home to their own houses, and turn inward, and retire to the divine witness in their own hearts, which was the only way to grow in religion. I left him, and returned with my friend Joseph Estes and his wife. Next day I was again at Cachechy meeting where Lydia Dean and her companion Eliphal Harper met me, it was a good meeting. From thence we went to Dover and had a meeting, and another the same evening at the house of John Kenny, and being clear of those parts, I returned, having meetings at Hampton, Salisbury, Amesbury, and Haverhill. At this last place, several persons assembled with us who had never heard the preaching of any Friend before; there was great openness among them, and we had a good meeting together, for which I was thankful to the holy Author of all good. Next day I again met with Lydia Dean and Eliphal Harper, at Stephen Sawyer's, near Newberry, where we had a meeting, at which I was concerned to speak in a brief manner of the beginning of the reformation from the errors of the church of Rome, and the sufferings of the Protestants, particularly in England, some of whose successors turned persecutors, and were very cruel to those whom

they called Sectarians. The Presbyterians having suffered persecution, in order to be eased therefrom, came into America and settled in New-England, expecting there to enjoy that reasonable right, the liberty of their consciences; and forgetting the golden rule of doing to others as they would be done unto, became, to their lasting ignominy, persecutors of the Quakers, so called, even to the death of several of them. I had to speak of the nature and ground of persecution, and the great inconsistency thereof with Christianity. Several Presbyterians were present, and an ancient man from Newberry, one of their leaders and an elder among them, when the meeting was over, desired he might speak with me. I being withdrawn into a little parlour, Stephen Sawyer came and informed me that the old man wanted to be admitted to me, to which I felt no objection, being quiet and easy in my mind, though I expected he would be for disputing. When he came in, he let me know that he had some observations to make to me, viz: "he supposed I was a man that had read much, or I could not be so fully acquainted with the reformation, and that I had had a college education." As to the last, I told him that I never had been at a school but about three months, and the man I went to being a weaver, sat in his loom and heard his scholars read; that I was so far from having a college education, that I was born in a wilderness place, where a few families had settled many miles remote from other inhabitants. Lifting up his hands, he blessed himself and added, "Heaven has then anointed you to preach the gospel, and you have this day preached the truth; but I can assure you, though I have been a parish officer, I never did take any thing from your friends the Quakers, for I am against persecution; so God bless you with a good journey."

The next day I had a meeting at Ipswich, in the house of Benjamin Hoeg, none professing with us living in that town, but himself and family; though a friendly man, as I came late to the town the evening before, invited me to lodge at his house, which I accepted, and being weary, slept well. In the morning I heard a noise of high words in the street, and getting up I opened the door of the parlour where I lodged, and through a passage into the kitchen, saw a woman whom I took to be the mistress of the house, and went toward her; but with a look of exceeding displeasure she immediately shut the door. I turned into my room again; and after a while the landlord came to me, and told me that he had been with the burgess, who had given leave that a meeting might be held in the town-hall; but the priest and his two sons had



since been with the burgess and forbade him, and that rather than displease them, he had withdrawn the leave. The priest asserted that the Quakers were heretics, and had gone about the town to forewarn his hearers against going to the meeting, which was the meaning of the noise I had heard in the street. I felt very easy, and desired that he would not trouble himself any further than to inform them, that the meeting would be held at the house of Benjamin Hoeg; for I did believe that the railing of the priest would raise the curiosity of the people to come, and so it proved. I asked him to show me the way to the house, that I might assist in making provision for seats if occasion required; he said I must take breakfast with him, which was soon brought in by the woman who had shut the door as before mentioned. I asked him if she was his wife, he told me she was, on which I arose from my seat and offered her my hand, asking her how she did, but she in displeasure refused, and saying not a word, directly left the room. After breakfast we went to the house where the meeting was to be held, and there soon came a great number of people, and the priest also very near the door, where he stood cautioning his hearers; but several came by an alley to the back door, and others seemed little to regard him. After a time he went away, and through the goodness of the Lord we had a solid profitable meeting. I believe many were there whose hearts were reached and tendered by the love and power of the gospel of Christ, and among them I saw my scornful landlady; a woman whom she valued having persuaded her to come with her. Before the meeting ended, I perceived her countenance was changed and her stout heart tendered, and after it she came to me with her husband, and kindly invited me to dine with them. I owned their love, and desired them to mind the truth by which they had been reached; so in humble thankfulness of heart to the great Author of all mercies, I left them, and went that night to Salem. After tarrying one meeting the next day, passed on to Marblehead, and had a large meeting in the town-hall, the magistrates readily granting it. I had to speak on the nature and necessity of morality, showing that a man could not be a true Christian without being a good moralist. I thought they had need of reformation in their morals, though they professed Christianity in a high manner. One thing is worthy of remarking, the select men and officers were very careful to keep the rude boys and people that came to the door from making disturbance; several of them walked to the door and spoke to them, and rapped some on their heads with their canes to make them still;

the meeting ended to satisfaction without the least opposition. From thence, taking a meeting at Lynn by the way, I went to Boston, and was at their meetings on first-day in the forenoon and afternoon, at both which, several came who were not in profession with us, and truth opened the doctrine thereof to the people pretty freely. I was not easy to leave this town without having an opportunity with Friends by themselves, for which purpose it was held at Benjamin Bagnall's, and therein I was deeply bowed under a sense of the state of ease in which some were delighting themselves in their imaginary attainments, whilst the pure seed lay under suffering. But blessed be the Lord, who was graciously pleased to endure with a spirit of love and tender compassion, and thereby enabled me to discharge myself fully, and I was released from what had lain very heavy upon me for several days. The next day I had an opportunity with several Friends at Samuel Pope's, and then left Boston pretty easy in my mind, and went to Samuel Thayer's, at Mendam, who accompanied me to Uxbridge, where we had a meeting with a few raw, talkative people, which, through the goodness of God, was nevertheless to some degree of satisfaction. I returned with Samuel Thayer to his house, where I met with Hannah Jenkinson from Pennsylvania, and we were at Mendam meeting together. I was also at Wainsokett and Providencetown, the latter of which was a poor meeting, the people looking for words, and not waiting for the word of life in their own hearts. I had a large and good meeting at Neshanticut, the Lord's presence being felt to his own praise, and another at Greenwich; then proceeded to Smithfield and Taunton, taking a meeting at each to some good degree of satisfaction; then to Swanzy, Freetown, Rochester and Cushnet, having a meeting at each. In one of these, I stood up to speak a few words in great fear, life being low, and as I apprehended the seed under suffering. I heard a kind of sighing by one in the gallery, which seemed to bring death rather than to raise life, and after I had spoken a sentence or two, it became exceedingly burthensome; whereupon it came fresh in my mind to say, "can an Israelite sing a true Hebrew song whilst the seed is in captivity and under suffering? An attempt of the kind shows ignorance." There was a great silence and the sighing ended, and I received strength to deliver what was on my mind, and truth was felt in a good degree to arise; the meeting ended well, and several Friends expressed their satisfaction with the service that day. Being clear of those parts I went to Rhode Island, and in a sense of the goodness and

mercy of the Lord who had helped me in my travels in his work, my soul worshipped before him.

On the 22nd of the sixth month I sat with Friends at Newport, in their fore and afternoon meetings, and next morning left Rhode Island with a heavy heart and had a meeting at South Kingston, where I met with Susanna Morris and her sister Hannah Hurford. The day following we had one at Thomas Stanton's, in Westerly, among a mixed people of several societies, to whom I felt a stream of gospel love; but the meeting was hurt by some appearances by way of ministry. Our manner of sitting in silence is so different from the common practice of most other religious societies, that it is no marvel if it should be as time mispent to some, and fill others with wonder, which was the case this day. For want of a deep inward attention to the living word of truth, instead of instructing the people in the true way of worship in the love of the gospel, there may be a disposition to censure them for what they understand not, and thereby raise a dislike in them, to the foreclosing of other service. I have sometimes observed hurt done by this means, by some who appeared in the impatience, not having the weight of the work upon them. Custom had taught the people to look for words, and they were offended by words spoken not in season, and therefore not fitly spoken. I left this meeting with sorrow, and after I mounted my horse, the person who had appeared there three times, came to me, and said "he hoped he had not hindered my service in it." I reminded him, that he had informed the people in that meeting, their looking for words had been one reason why the Lord had shut up the testimony of Truth in the hearts of his servants, which I told him I did believe was not then the case; but that his forward appearances had unsettled the people, and marred the service. Feeling my mind drawn back towards Newport, I went that evening to James Congdon's, and the next day to Newport, calling in my way at James Parry's, where I found Lydia Dean very sick, she being so far on her journey towards home. On the fifth-day of the week I was at two satisfactory meetings there, and on seventh-day had a small meeting at Nicholas Easton's, and on first-day two large good meetings at Newport. Next day hearing that Lydia Dean was come to Samuel Clark's, on Conanicut island, I went with several others to see her, and she returned with us to Newport, where after a very short notice we had a large evening meeting, wherein the Lord was pleased mercifully to favour us with his immediate presence to the glory and praise of

his own eternal name, who is worthy for ever! After attending their monthly meeting at Portsmouth, finding my mind clear and easy to proceed homeward, Lydia Dean, Patience Barker, John Easton and myself set out from Newport, taking leave of Friends in a tender manner on both sides, and were the first-day following at a meeting in Westerly, which was in a good degree satisfactory, and passing through Connecticut to New Milford, Oblong and Ninepartners, had meetings in each place. Having a great desire to be at our yearly meeting for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, to be held at Burlington, which was approaching, we passed on, and took a meeting at Samuel Field's, to which several not of our Society came, and the opportunity was, through the goodness of the Lord, profitable. We then proceeded as fast as convenient, and reached Burlington on first-day in the time of the yearly meeting, where many Friends were gathered, and Michael Lightfoot in his return from Great Britain, with whom came John Haslam and Edmund Peckover on a visit to Friends in America. This meeting was large and solid, at which I met my dear wife to our mutual, thankful rejoicing. After the meeting I went home, where I found things as to the outward, in good order, for which I was humbly thankful to the Lord, who had not only been with me by his heavenly presence in this journey, and brought me safely home to my family, but had supported them in my absence; blessed be his holy name for ever!

### CHAPTER III.

*His visit to Long island—Visit with others to the families of Friends in Nottingham—to some families in Philadelphia and to the mayor of that city, also to the assembly of Pennsylvania in the year 1748.—His journey with Michael Lightfoot to the yearly meeting at West river, in Maryland—and accompanied by Joshua Brown to divers meetings in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey.—His considerations on apprehending it his duty to visit Friends in Europe, and proceedings in preparing to enter on that weighty service, to the time of his leaving home in order to take shipping for London.*

IN the spring of the year 1743, having drawings in my mind to make a general visit to Friends on Long island, I sat out in the third month, in order to be at the yearly meeting at Flushing, which began on the sixth-day of the week, and continued until the second of the week following. It was large and



signally owned by the power of truth in each sitting; the public service in the ministry lay mostly on Edmund Peckover, who was there in his way to New-England. On first-day I thought I had an engagement to stand up, and considerable matter before me, and after speaking three or four sentences which came with weight, all closed up, and I stood still and silent for several minutes, and saw nothing more, not one word to speak. I perceived the eyes of most of the people were upon me, they, as well as myself, expecting more; but nothing further appearing, I sat down, I think I may say in reverent fear and humble resignation, when that remarkable sentence of Job was presented to my mind, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." I suppose for nearly a quarter of an hour I remained in a silent quiet; but afterwards let in great reasonings and fear lest I had not waited the right time to stand up, and so was suffered to fall into reproach; for the adversary who is ever busy and unwearied in his attempts to devour, persuaded me to believe that the people would laugh me to scorn, and I might as well return home immediately and privately, as attempt any further visit on the island. After meeting I hid my inward exercise and distress as much as I could. I lodged that night with a sympathizing friend and experienced elder, who began to speak encouragingly to me, but I said to him, that I hoped he would not take it amiss if I desired him to forbear saying any thing; for if he should say good things, I had no capacity to believe, and if otherwise, I could not then understand so as to be profitably corrected or instructed, and after some time I fell asleep. When I awoke, I remembered that the sentences I had delivered in the meeting, were truths which could not be wrested to the disadvantage of Friends, or dishonour of the cause of truth, though they might look like roots or something to paraphrase upon; and although my standing some time silent before I sat down might occasion the people to think me a silly fellow, yet they had no cause to blame me for delivering words without sense or life. Thus I became very quiet, and not much depressed, and was favoured with an humble resignation of mind, and a desire that the Lord would be pleased to magnify his own name and truth, and preserve me from bringing any reproach thereon. I ventured to have meetings appointed, and my particular friend and intimate acquaintance, Caleb Raper, of Burlington, being at that meeting, went as companion with me, of whose company I was glad, he being a valuable elder. We went

first to Rockaway, then to Jamaica, Seque-tague, Setawket, Matinicoek, Cowneck, and Westbury meetings, and at most of them I had good satisfaction; the presence of the Lord in whom I delighted above all things, being witnessed to my comfort, and I believe to the edification and comfort of the sincere in heart; but the testimony of truth was particularly sharp to the lukewarm professors and libertines in our Society. That humbling time I had at Flushing was of singular service to me, being thereby made willingly subject to the divine openings of truth, the motion of the eternal Spirit and pure word of life, in speaking to the several states of those who were present in the meetings, and life came into dominion, and the power thereof overshadowed at times, to my humble admiration; blessed be the name of the Lord who is worthy for ever and ever!

Crossing Whitestone ferry we had meetings at West Chester, Mamaroneck, Ryewood and Longreach, which were mostly to good satisfaction. We then went to New-York and were at their meeting, and in the evening had a select one with Friends, which gave me considerable relief, and I believe satisfaction to them, and we were made thankful together in the renewings of the covenant of life. From thence we went to a meeting at Newtown on Long island, and to the monthly meeting at Flushing, where Friends gave me a certificate in return to that I brought from home, in which they signified their unity with my service on the island. Taking leave of Friends in sweetness of mind and inward peace, being clear of those parts, I returned homewards, and went to the Narrows that night, but could not get over. Next morning early, crossed the ferry, when there was a great swell, occasioned by the stormy weather in the evening and night before; having now no wind, were obliged to row the boat over. In the passage I remembered, that in crossing this ferry when coming on this visit, I thought myself never much poorer, having only a secret hope and trust in the holy Arm of power, and being now inwardly sensible of my own weakness, I had to acknowledge that I went not forth on this embassy in my own will and strength, and therefore craved only, that my blessed Lord and Master would blot out my offences, and yet enable me so to walk in humble obedience, the residue of my time, as to be favoured with the answer of well done at the conclusion. Knowing the nature and treachery of self, I did not want to be intrusted with much reward at present, choosing rather, that the Lord in his infinite wisdom and mercy, should deal out to me my daily bread according to his own pleasure. "I passed over this

Jordan with my staff and now I am become two bands," was the saying of Jacob. As this saying of the good patriarch came fresh in my mind, I thought, that although I could not see myself much increased in heavenly treasure, I came poor, and had only the staff of faith to lean upon, yet I had to bless the Lord that he was now pleased to favour me with the same staff in my return, on the never failing strength whereof, I might with safety rely, and in holy resignation I had to praise his worthy name. I proceeded with my friend Caleb Raper, to Burlington, where we parted in much love and nearness, in which we had travelled together; I reached home about wheat harvest, and found my dear wife and family well.

I went not much abroad during the residue of this summer and the year following; but was careful to attend our own and many neighbouring meetings, also monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, in this and the adjacent provinces. Some business of a public nature, together with my own circumstances, necessarily engaged me for several years, during which time, viz., in the spring of the year 1745, my dear wife having drawings in her mind to visit the meetings of Friends in Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina, obtained a certificate of the unity of Friends, to travel in that service with Jane Hoskins of Chester. In the same year I was nominated with several other Friends to visit the families belonging to our monthly meeting, which being large and many Friends living at a distance, was a laborious work, and not fully performed until the fall of the year 1747, when account was given that the service was perfected to a good degree of satisfaction. In the winter following, I had it on my mind to visit all the families of the particular meeting of Newark, near Brandywine, who seemed to be in a declining state as to religion, having dropped their week-day meeting, and often much neglected to attend their first-day meeting, many of the elderly Friends being deceased, and their children almost turned to the world, and united to the spirit, pleasures, and pastimes thereof. My brother William Brown and his wife, and mine, were with me on this service, and great plainness was used in opening to many particulars the cause of their declension; and as the love of truth engaged me in the service, I had peace and satisfaction, and those visited seemed to receive the visit kindly.

In the spring of the year 1748, I felt drawings in my mind to visit some families of Friends in Philadelphia, of which I acquainted my brethren at home, and having their concurrence, in the fourth month I joined with some Friends in the city, who were before

appointed to the service. We went in much love from house to house, the Lord, by his good presence, being with us to our mutual comfort; and as I attended to the drawings of truth, I found a concern to go to the mayor of the city, accompanied by my good friend Israel Pemberton, the elder, and was engaged to lay before him the nature of his office as a magistrate, and exhorted him to take care that he bore not the sword in vain, but put the laws in execution against evil doers, such as drunkards, profane swearers, &c., and to be, in his authority, a terror to the wicked, and an encourager of them that do well; he was loving and tender, and expressed his satisfaction with the visit.

While I was in the city, the governor summoned the members of assembly together, and in pressing terms laid before them the defenceless state of Pennsylvania, in order to prevail with the house to grant a sum of money to station a ship of war at Delaware capes, also to encourage the building a battery below the city, which was begun sometime before by subscription, but likely to be too heavy for the undertakers. One night as I lay in my bed, it came very weightily upon me to go to the house of assembly, and lay before the members thereof the danger of departing from trusting in that divine power which had hitherto protected the inhabitants of our land in peace and safety. The concern rested on me several days, which occasioned me with earnest breathings to seek the Lord, that if this was a motion from him, he would be pleased to direct my steps therein, so that I might be preserved from giving just cause of offence to any. It seemed to be a very difficult time, many, even of our Society, declaring their willingness that a sum of money should be given to the king, to show our loyalty to him, and that they were willing to part with their substance for his use, though as a people, we had a testimony to bear against wars and fightings. I made no man privy to my concern until nearly a week had passed; when one morning it became so heavy upon me, that I went to the house of an intimate friend, and as we sat together he had a sense that something of weight was upon me, and asked if I was concerned about the assembly. I asked him if he ever knew of any Friend going to the assembly with a concern to speak to them? He answered nay, adding, "but I have often wondered that they have not, for I have understood it was formerly a common practice for them to sit in silence a while, like solemn worship, before they proceeded to do business." I told him I had it on my mind to go to the house that morning and should be glad of suitable company. He directed me



to one whom he thought such, and I immediately went to him and acquainted him with my concern; but as I spoke, I felt that I had better go alone, and therefore told him, if he did not feel clear and easy to go with me, I advised him to stay; he replied, "thy way is before thee, but I believe I must not go." I returned to my friend, who did not discourage me, though I had no company. Being pressed in mind, I went directly to the state-house before I took breakfast, and got there just as the speaker was going in; I beckoned to him and he came to me. I told him I wanted to be admitted into the house, for I had something to say to them which seemed to me of importance. He said it was a critical time, and they had a difficult affair before them, and queried whether I had not better wait until the house parted; and another member being near, said he thought it would be best, and less liable to give offence, for there were divers members not of our Society, and if I would wait until the house broke up, they would inform all the members who were Friends, and did not doubt they would be willing to give me an opportunity to inform them what was on my mind. I told them that would give me no relief, for I had a particular desire that those members who were not of our Society should be present; believing that it would be better for them to hear and judge for themselves than to have it at second hand, as it might be differently represented; at which they were silent. I requested the speaker to go in and inform the members, that a countryman was in waiting who had a desire to be admitted, having something to communicate to them, and if they refused, he would be clear; he readily and affectionately answered he would, and soon brought me word that they were willing. There was a great awe over my mind when I went in, which I thought in some measure spread, and prevailed over the members beyond my expectation; after a silence of perhaps ten or twelve minutes, I felt as though all fear of man was taken away, and my mind influenced to address them in substance after the following manner:

*My countrymen and fellow-subjects, representatives of the inhabitants of this province,*

UNDER an apprehension of the difficulties before you, I feel a strong sympathy with you, and have to remind you of a just and true saying of a great minister of Jesus Christ in his day, "The powers that be, are ordained of God." If men in power and authority, in whatsoever station, would seek unto God, who will be a spirit of judgment to them that sit

in judgment, for wisdom and counsel to act singly for Him who ordained the power, and permitted them to be stationed therein, that they should be his ministers; they would be a blessing under God to themselves and their country. But if those in authority suffer their own fears and the persuasions of others to prevail with them to neglect such attention, and enact laws for their own protection and defence by carnal weapons and fortifications, according to what is styled human prudence, He who is the great Superintendent, by withdrawing his power, may permit those evils they feared to come suddenly upon them, and that in his heavy displeasure. May it with gratitude be ever remembered, how remarkably we have been preserved in peace and tranquillity for more than fifty years! No invasion by foreign enemies, and the treaties of peace with the natives, wisely begun by our worthy proprietor, William Penn, preserved inviolate to this day.

Though you now represent, and act for a mixed people of various denominations as to religion; yet remember the charter is the same as at first. Beware therefore of acting to oppress tender consciences, for there are many of the inhabitants whom you now represent, who still hold forth the same religious principles with their predecessors, who were some of the first adventurers into this, at that time, wilderness land, who would be greatly grieved to see warlike preparations carried on and encouraged by a law consented to by their brethren in profession, or others, contrary to the charter, still conscientiously concluding, that the reverent and true fear of God, with an humble trust in his divine power, would be our greatest defence and safety. They who hold different principles and are settled in this government, can have no just cause of reflection if warlike measures are forborne, because they knew the charter framed, and the peaceable constitution, and have ventured themselves therein.

We may observe by laws enacted in parliament when the reformation was but newly begun in England, our mother country, there seemed to be wisdom from above to influence their minds. May you be rightly directed at this time, many of whom do fully believe in the immediate influence of Christ, the wisdom of God, which is truly profitable to direct. It is not from disrespect to the king or government that I speak after this manner, for I am thankful in heart, that the Lord in mercy hath vouchsafed that the throne of Great Britain should be filled by our present benevolent prince, King George II. May his reign be long and happy.

I acknowledged their kindness in hearing me with so much patience, and taking leave, withdrew. Several members followed me out and expressed their satisfaction in an affectionate manner with my visit; and embracing each other, we parted in a sense of the love and power of Christ Jesus, our Lord, who, with the Father, is worthy of all thanksgiving and praise for ever and ever.

After my service in Philadelphia was over, I returned home with peace and satisfaction, and went not much abroad save to our quarterly and yearly meetings, until the spring following, in the year 1749, when I went with Michael Lightfoot to the yearly meeting at West river, in Maryland. In this journey, the weather being hot and some weakness of body attending, it threw me into a strong fever and a stoppage in my breast, that it was with some difficulty I got home, and continued without any amendment a considerable time; and one evening as I was preparing for bed, an imposthume broke, which I suppose was on my lungs, almost strangling me for a considerable time. I expected I was near expiring, but felt resignation in this trying time beyond my expectation, which I took to be a great favour from the Lord: there is no support like the light of his countenance. I continued bleeding more or less many days, but gradually mended. In the eighth month being pretty well recovered, in much love I felt drawings in my mind to visit some meetings in the back parts of Chester, Philadelphia and Bucks counties, and part of New-Jersey; and laying my concern before my friends, had their concurrence, and was accompanied by my kinsman Joshua Brown, through most of the journey. Our first appointed meeting was at Radnor, in which truth owned our service in a good degree, and passing over Schuylkill, went to Plymouth, North Wales, Skippack, and New Providence. The last meeting, for want of more careful notice was very small, and not being easy in my mind, I had a singular freedom to let them know, that I would endeavour to be at that place again on the second-day following, and should be glad they would please to give full notice thereof. Having a strong draught in my mind to turn back to North Wales, I went the same evening to Robert Jones's, at Skippack, and next day to see a Friend who had been a long time indisposed, with whom we had a good opportunity, which I believe was of advantage to the Friend, through the goodness and mercy of the blessed Shepherd of Israel. I also visited two other Friends, and we were comforted together in the renewing of heavenly goodness. On first-day I was at North Wales meeting, which was large and satisfactory, and at Providence

again on second-day, where Friends generally met, and I had an opportunity to clear myself in a particular manner. Then went to Evans' meeting by the side of Schuylkill, and had a meeting the same evening at the house of Thomas May, both which were to some satisfaction; afterwards went to Maiden creek, Exeter and Richland, and from thence over Delaware to Kingwood, and visited the meetings in Burlington, Gloucester and Salem counties, as far down as Greenwich, and returned homewards by Haddonfield. I called to visit Hannah Cooper, whose husband had not long been dead, she seemed under affliction of body and mind. I felt a near sympathy with her, and though we did not converse much together, yet in the owning love of Him who is a friend to the afflicted, we were mutually comforted. She expressed her satisfaction in a tender manner, saying that soon after I came, her exercise was lightened, and she was refreshed in a sense of the kindness of the Lord, in affording a sympathy and inward feeling to the children of his family. My soul was humbled in reverent thankfulness to him the Author of all good, who is worthy of praise for ever. In the morning I had a passage over the Delaware, which by reason of ice had not been passable for several days before; and tarrying in Philadelphia that night, I went next day to Darby meeting, and the day following got well home, and found my dear wife and family well.

On my leaving home to perform this visit, I felt great inward weakness, and in going from meeting to meeting, frequent humbling baptisms attended, in which the present state of the church was seen, and the conditions of many spoken to in the love of truth, which made me often think it seemed like a farewell visit, at least for a long time.

As I passed along in this visit, I observed some people would earnestly press me to go home with them, and would say they would not take it kind if I did not, and Friends did not use to serve them so, that is, pass by them; yet I thought there was not much of the innocent sweetness of truth to be felt at their houses, or even about them. They would say, thou hast hit the nail on the head, there is just such people among us as thou hast spoken of; and seemed as to themselves, safe and easy, when perhaps their religion lay much in thinking that good Friends were familiar with them and thought well of them. I also took notice of another sort, who though they were not fond of having Friends to go with them, would speak well of their service, and deal it out liberally to others in a censorious manner, not seeing themselves in a true light, which would have led them to smite



their own breasts, with a feeling, short prayer, rather than apprehend themselves better than others, when perhaps covetousness and a worldly spirit had almost destroyed charity, which is the sure product of true religion. A third sort, I beheld humbled and bowed, whose words were few, and would frequently, if they said any thing, lament the state of the Society, and speak of their own weakness, and fear lest they should not walk in the uprightness of truth before their own families and the church. The dew of heaven rested on them in their humble situation. I was thankful in the sense I had, that there were a few of these in almost every meeting, and I had a firm belief, that some among the youth were under the hand of the great Preparer of men for his own work. These children are mostly modest and diffident of themselves, sincerely affectionate, not over forward or fondling, but lovers of truth in heart, to whom I felt great nearness of spirit, believing they would grow in the root of life. I beheld some others among the youth, who I feared had too great a delight to live on the labours of others, who nevertheless had been favoured with the reaches of divine love, but for want of dwelling deep and humble, with the pure witness in themselves, ran out in the affectionate part, and were greatly delighted to hear truth's testimony, and valued instruments according to their own liking. These, though they appear as goodly flowers, for want of an humble abode in the vine, do sometimes wither away as grass on the house top. "If ye love me, keep my commandments," is a precept of our holy Lord and Master; to keep his commandments, we must dwell with his grace in our hearts, by which the law of the spirit of life is known and understood, by the enlightening and everlasting sure Word of prophecy, which will privately interpret, and secretly show to every man his duty, and the calling of God, and abilitate to abide therein; and his law is light and his commandment as a lamp to the feet of his people for ever.

As I sat in a week-day meeting in the winter of 1748, I felt great weakness and poverty attending my mind, which occasioned a deep inquiry into the cause. After a time of inward waiting, the humbling divine presence was felt in reverent profound silence, yet the gentle operation of the divine power caused an inward trembling, and the following was uttered in a language intelligible to the inward man; "gather thyself from all the cumbers of the world; and be thou weaned from the popularity, love, and friendship thereof." I believed this to be the voice of the holy One of Israel, as a merciful warning to prepare for

my final change, or to stand ready for some service which would separate me from temporal business and the nearest connections in life; and from that time I endeavoured to settle my affairs, and contract my little business as well as I could. In the summer following I met with an unexpected trial, for without my knowledge my name was put in the new commission for justices of the peace, and endeavours were used to persuade me to be qualified in order to act in that station; and some of my particular friends told me it seemed providential, and they thought it was my place to accept thereof, as I might be helpful by way of example, to some in the commission who were Friends. For a short time I was exceedingly straitened, but my eye being fixed on the Lord for counsel, it pleased him in great condescension once more to revive the sentence before mentioned, "gather thyself from all the cumbers of the world," &c., which settled the point, and I became easy in mind, and humbly thankful to my blessed Instructor who had called me for other service.

After my return home from the visit to Friends in New-Jersey, I felt such an inward silence for about two or three weeks, that I thought I had done with the world, and also any further service in the church, and the preparing hint was brought to my mind, with thankfulness that I had endeavoured in a good degree to practise it. One day walking alone, I felt myself so weak and feeble, that I stood still, and by the reverence that covered my mind, I knew that the hand of the Lord was on me and his presence round about, the earth was silent and all flesh brought into stillness, and light went forth with brightness, and shone on Great Britain, Ireland and Holland, and my mind felt the gentle, yet strongly drawing cords of that love which is stronger than death, which made me say, Lord! go before, and strengthen me, and I will follow whithersoever thou leads. I had seen this journey nearly fifteen years in a very plain manner, and at times for ten years, thought the concern so strong upon me that I must lay it before my friends for their advice; but was secretly restrained; being made to believe that an exercise of that sort would ripen best to be kept quiet in my own heart to know the right time, by no means desiring to run without being sent. To see a thing is not a commission to do it; the time when, and judgment to know the acceptable time, are the gifts of God. The time I had to prepare for the journey was short, and I therefore thought it was needful to employ it to the best advantage; and as I had a desire to see Friends of several particular meetings, namely, Bradford,

West and East Caln, Uwchland, Nantmill and Goshen, my sister, Dinah James, went with me to those meetings, which through the goodness of the Lord were solidly profitable. We had also a meeting at Henry Hockley's, near French creek iron works, which was to some good satisfaction, and so to the quarterly meeting at Concord in the twelfth month, where I met my brother William Brown, who queried of me where I had been, and what I had been doing? I told him I had been doing as he and every honest man ought to do, collecting little debts and paying where I owed, and endeavouring to settle my affairs; for that such care was necessary when one expected a great sum would be immediately demanded. In a few days after my return from the quarterly meeting, I laid my concern before our preparative meeting, in order that Friends might have a month to weigh and consider it before I spoke for a certificate. I wanted their feeling concurrence in this weighty undertaking, firmly believing, that my great and good Master would not require any thing of me in which my dear friends could not concur, and though while the power of truth was upon me, I was made freely to give up; yet now home, and the near affection to a dear wife, only son, relations and friends, were exceedingly quick and affecting, and something in me seemed to have a choice, that my friends would judge that I was too weakly and infirm in body, or not otherwise qualified for the service, and if that should be their mind, I thought I should be clear. In the interval I visited the neighbouring meetings, and carefully attended to the motion of truth therein; and in the first month, having the concurrence of the preparative meeting, I laid my concern before the monthly meeting, and attended our general spring meeting at Philadelphia. My brother, William Brown, having spoken for a certificate on the like concern, it seemed pleasant to think of crossing the ocean together, and Friends were for proposing a passage, and what ship we should go in. I felt a secret prohibition against being any ways concerned about a passage until I had a certificate, and knew that I was fully clear; so returned home. Having a desire to see Friends in York county, over Susquehanna, I went there, accompanied by my brother, James Brown, to the meetings at Newberry, Warrington, Huntingdon and Monallen, which were mostly to a good degree of satisfaction. In my return, being humble and low in mind, and ruminating on my European journey, which was before me, my spirit seemed to sink, and my affection to my dear wife and family, and friends, so awakened upon me,

that it looked to me impossible to part from them and live. But endeavouring to retire, blessed be the name of the Lord, the helper of his people, by whose power a silence was known, and by a gentle, instructive, inward voice, my attention was gained, and my mind diverted from its pain by the following query: "Suppose thou shouldst lend a valuable thing to a neighbour of thine, to be returned on demand, and thou shouldst favour him therewith from time to time, not only one year, but seven, and then shouldst see cause to demand it to be resigned; wouldst thou not think that neighbour ungrateful, if he did not resign it cheerfully, and with thankfulness and acknowledgment suitable to thy kindness?" The proposition demanded my assent, and my understanding was fully opened by the following application: "All that thou enjoyest is mine, dost thou love these things more than me? If not, why is it so hard for thee to resign all to follow me? Which made me cry, Lord! enable me, and I will follow thee, it is only by thy strength I can do it." By the gracious help of Christ, my great and good Master, I felt an humble resignation to his will, who being all things to his people, is worthy to be followed and obeyed for ever. I was led to believe this was the instruction of his blessed spirit to me, and as I had much comfort and satisfaction thereby, I am free to leave it as a hint, that others under trials of what kind soever, may be encouraged to look unto him for help, who is the Lord, mighty to save and able to deliver to the uttermost all who sincerely trust in him.

My certificate being signed in the second month, I attended our quarterly meeting at Concord in the third month, and went to Philadelphia to seek for a passage, and with my brother, William Brown, found one to our liking and to the satisfaction of Friends, which we also valued. I then returned home, waiting until the ship was nearly ready to sail, and during that time visited several neighbouring meetings, taking leave of my neighbours and friends; and on the 1st day of the fourth month, 1750, taking leave of my dear wife and aged mother, I left home before sun-rise, and went to Philadelphia that night. I spent the next day in visiting some of my acquaintance, and on the first of the week attended three meetings; in the morning at the Bank, which was a satisfactory good meeting, wherein Friends were exhorted to attend on the gift of God, for instruction and ability to perform every good word and work, and in the afternoon and evening at the Market street house, which though not quite so open as the other, were in the main solid good meetings.



## CHAPTER IV.

*His visit to Great Britain, Ireland and Holland, from the year 1750 to 1754, with observations on the state of our religious Society in the course of his travels.*

On the 4th day of the fourth month, 1750, being the second of the week, we left Philadelphia, accompanied by several of our relations and friends to Chester, and went on board the ship *Carolina*, Stephen Mesnard, commander, bound for London, where my brother, William Brown, and myself, took leave of them. We went out to sea in the afternoon of the 6th of the same month, and had a good passage, in which I was not seasick, though my brother was most of the time. We landed at Dover on the 6th of the fifth month, being just five weeks from the time I left my own house, and we had to rejoice with humble thankfulness, that during the passage, we were careful to keep our meetings in the great cabin twice a week, in which we felt the presence of our great Lord and Master, and therein were comforted. On the day we landed we had a meeting at Dover to good satisfaction, then took passage in a stage coach to Canterbury the same evening, rested there on seventh-day, and on first-day sat with Friends in their morning and afternoon meetings to some satisfaction; though I had little to say to them, I thought there was a tender people in that city, and William Brown had an open time. Next morning taking our passage in a stage coach, we reached London the same evening, and continued in and about the city until the 21st of the sixth month, in which time I wrote letters to my wife and particular friends in Pennsylvania, and was several times at each of the meetings in the city. I sat mostly silent, under a great exercise of mind, from a sense of a too forward ministry, which rather disturbed the solemn quiet thereof than ministered instruction to the humble waiting children, of which number I thought there were many in that city; though it seemed delightful to those who loved to hear words eloquently delivered, and to have the itching ear pleased, yet in heart were libertines, and in practice, disorderly walkers. I sometimes thought, that my silent sitting was so ordered for an example to others for a more steady waiting in their own gifts, to know life to arise into dominion in meetings. My exercise increased so, that my sleep seemed to depart from me, and I remained as one sealed up as to ministry, nor had I freedom to go from house to house to dine, or to make many acquaintance, and I

was therefore censured by some as singular and narrow.

At length I felt great enlargement of heart towards other societies, though my mouth was shut towards our own, and for a time, it seemed as if I must go and have meetings among those who did not profess with us. One day, as I was walking towards Ratcliff fields for the air, the draught of affection flowed so strong towards some in high stations in government, that I concluded, I must declare the way of life and salvation through Christ Jesus our Lord among them, feeling a greater openness toward them than to Friends; but making a stand, I secretly cried, ah Lord! what then will become of the family whom thou drewest me hither to visit. After a little while, that charge came into my mind very fresh, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," which brought great sweetness, and an increasing heart-yearning for and love to the household, and made me acknowledge, good art thou oh! Lord God, for thy mercies endure forever and ever. I remembered that Nehemiah quietly viewed the state of Jerusalem by night; and I saw that if I had any service to do in London, the time for it was not yet come. I also remembered what came into my mind at the second meeting I was in after my landing, in which I had but a few sentences to speak, and the motion of life ceased, and I sat down, as I have always found it safe to do, and felt inward poverty and weakness, yet a quiet and attentive mind. My brother, William Brown, had good service and an open time among the people, at which I admired, and said in my heart, he is fit to be sent abroad; but alas! I am one of the meanest servants that was ever sent over the sea to preach the gospel; when this gentle caution came before me, "Mind thy own business, and be faithful in thy gift, thou hast a great journey before thee and thy store is small; live therefore frugally and spend carefully, and covet not another's, and thou shalt not want what is convenient for thyself, and something to spare to the needy." I desired with an humble heart, to be preserved in patience and meekness, becoming a disciple of my great Lord and Master, and therein to wait for renewed instruction and ability to labour without repining in mine own gift, however small.

In a few days I felt some openness towards the west of England, and informed my brother, William Brown, thereof, who, after a little pause, told me that his way opened eastward. On consideration of the matter, we concluded it was best for each of us to mind the pointings of truth, though in some cross to our own

wills; for this prospect seemed to part us; and if we should endeavour to go together for a time, and then part, some might judge there was a dislike, or want of unity between us, and on communing with some of our friends, they were of the same mind; so in much love and affection we took leave of each other.

Understanding there was a yearly meeting to be held in Somersetshire for several of the western counties, and having drawings to attend it, I left London on the 21st of the sixth month, in company with my friend John Hunt, at whose house I lodged, and John Pemberton, who came over sea with us on account of his health, and had a meeting that day at Staines, which was pretty good and open, next at Basingstoke, and so on to Salisbury and Shaftsbury. The last two were dull meetings, which is often the case where Friends are not careful to live near to truth. We reached Ivelchester, the place where the yearly meeting began, on seventh-day in the evening, the 25th of the month; on first-day we had two meetings in the town-hall, and many people being there, meetings were held at the market cross in the street, at the same time. I sat silent that day; on the next there was a meeting of ministers and elders in the morning, in which I had some remarks to make respecting ministry; there were also two public meetings, one of which was dull, the other more open, and on third-day two meetings rather better, when the yearly meeting ended. Some meetings being laid out for me, John Hunt returned to London, but John Pemberton concluded to go with me a few days, and his company was kindly accepted of by me, he being a sober, well inclined young man.

We went to Ilminster, in which the good presence was witnessed much to my comfort, for I saw that the Lord was near, and helped me in my gift by opening the state of the meeting; blessed be his name for ever. I also had an evening meeting at Chard, and next day at Yeovil, which was large and open for doctrine; then at Sherborne, on the edge of Dorsetshire; from thence we went to visit the wife and children of Jonah Thompson, at Compton, he being in Pennsylvania on a religious visit; I had good satisfaction in the family, and tarried there a day. Then went to the meetings at Long Sutton, Puddimore, Grinton, Glastonbury, Shipton-mallet, and Frome, in which I had mostly close and plain service; yet not without a degree of the sweetness and power of truth, in a sense whereof I was often made humbly thankful to the Lord. Proceeding to Bath, was at the forenoon and afternoon meetings there, and had an evening meeting at Caleb Tyley's, which were owned by truth; but there is a

want of weighty solid Friends in this place, which is much frequented on account of the waters. From thence we went to Bradford and Pickwick meetings; but not being clear at the first, I returned, and had an evening meeting there, to which many came, and it ended to satisfaction. Having a desire to see Friends by themselves, and something on my mind in a close manner to the Society; when I stood up and began to speak, the house was soon almost filled by others, who would wait without, setting some one to watch when there was any thing spoken. Upon their coming in, the subject in my view closed, and an opening in a doctrinal way presented, and my mind turned to it, and I believe it was to the satisfaction of some seeking people present. After I sat down, finding no ease respecting my concern towards Friends, I informed the people that the public service of that meeting was now over, but I had a desire that the members of the meeting would stay a little while; on which a Friend went to the door, and when the others had gone out, shut it, and the Friends mostly kept their seats. In a little time, the state of the meeting came freshly before me again, and I had an opportunity to clear myself in a very plain manner, showing that the greatest enemies to the truth were the professors of it, who did not observe the instructions of the grace of God in their own hearts. For although the doctrine thereof when declared by qualified instruments, was clear and powerfully convincing, having the love and sweetening evidence of truth with it, reaching the witness in their hearts; yet when the eyes of such were turned to behold the steps and conduct of the libertine professors among us, they were stumbled by their example, and such were an offence to the little ones, and their portion is hinted at by our Lord, when he says, "But whoso shall offend one of these little ones who believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." From thence we went to Westbury and Lavington meetings, and to the quarterly meeting for Wiltshire, held at Devizes, which began on the first-day of the week, by two meetings for public worship, and one in the evening for ministers and elders, and next day for worship and business. I could see no time or room to clear myself to advantage for want of more stillness; the service of meetings may be hurt for want of silence, and the minds of people become too unsettled to understand and hear to profit; in a sense whereof, I left this place with a heavy heart, and went to Chippenham, Corsham, Charlcot and Melksham meetings. Besides these I had three evening meetings, one at



Pickwick, in a school house belonging to Thomas Bennet, with his scholars and others; one at John Fry's, of Sutton Benjar, and the other at Samuel Rutty's; some of which were good meetings. Leaving Wiltshire, we passed through Bradford and Bath, and came to Bristol on the 22nd of the month, where I tarried until first-day, the 7th of the eighth month, constantly attending their meetings as they came in course, and visiting several families as truth opened my way. My spirit was bowed very low in this city, under a sense of a declension and falling away from truth, into pride, high mindedness, and the spirit of the world, and a conformity to the vain customs and fashions thereof, of which I frequently made mention amongst them. I was at their two weeks' meeting for business, and the quarterly meeting for inspecting the affairs of truth, and laboured much to encourage them to hold weekly meetings for ministers and elders, in order to inquire how meetings for worship were attended by public Friends, and whether their ministry was acceptable, and the lives and conversations of ministers and elders correspondent with their doctrine and profession, which care they had dropped for sometime. I was at sixteen meetings in this city, and one at Frenchay, and visited Anthony Purver's boarding school at that place, and being easy to leave Bristol for the present, we went to Chewmagna, in Somersetshire, and had a religious opportunity in John Hipsley's family, and the next day a meeting at Portishead, an evening meeting at James Players', then to Claverham, Sidcot and Mark, some of which were good meetings. A few elderly Friends here live near truth, and there was a visitation to the youth, several of whom appeared tender and growing in religion; though many professors are seeking after the gain, love and friendship of the world, not enough considering that godliness with contentment, is the best gain. Our next meeting was at Bridgewater, then at Taunton, and we were comforted together with Friends in their morning and afternoon meetings; in the divine presence there is life, and the living are made able to praise the Lord, who is worthy. From thence passing to Minehead, Milverton, Wellington, Spiceland, Columpton, having a meeting at each place, we came to Exeter, in Devonshire, and attended three meetings there on first-day, in each of which I had something to offer; but was much depressed under an apprehension of the prevalence of a deistical spirit over some, which, with the indifference of others about religion, and a light forward zeal in some others, without the deep, inward, baptizing knowledge of truth, occasioned the pure and ever blessed power thereof to be at a low

ebb in that city. When the children of the Lord know him, their Redeemer, to live in them by his heavenly power, they also live thereby, and feelingly know his truth and precious testimony, and by this knowledge are influenced with a holy, humble zeal, in love and meekness to work in his vineyard, the church, to the honour of God and the edification and restoration one of another.

Leaving Exeter, we went to Topsham and had a dark dull meeting, and at a Friend's house, one who, as I understood, could not spare time to attend the meeting, asked me if I was ever in New-England, and whether I could inform him what sort of a country it was; adding, I have heard people say that the corn, that is wheat, will not ripen there, but is smitten with a rotting mildew, which blasts the wheat in the ear. I suddenly felt that I had need of being careful in answering, but knew not why. I answered with caution, that I had seen wheat in that country which looked to be well grown, but in the ear where grain should be, there was little else but a black smut in form of a grain. I have heard, said he, that it would bear full, good wheat formerly, and what can now be the cause why it is blasted, didst thou ever hear? I related to him a passage I had heard, viz: Two persons had a curiosity to see the old prison, from whence those Friends who were hanged at Boston for their religious testimony and principles, were led to execution, and an inhabitant of the town going with them, brought them to the prison. One of the men said to their guide, is this the old jail where the Friends lay who were hanged? An old woman who sat knitting at the door, though not spoken to, answered, yes it is, and we feelingly know it, for a curse has been on the land ever since, so that it will not bear wheat without a blasting, and we are beholden to other colonies for bread. He replied with an air of jesting, I have heard so, but I believe nothing of it. I told him we might observe, that the Almighty sometimes manifested his displeasure on a people or nation, by famine, the sword, or pestilence, for their transgressions, if we had a belief in the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament. He said it could not be, that the Almighty who is love in perfection, and in himself infinitely happy for ever, should delight in severity, and take vengeance on man the workmanship of his hand; some who are narrow in their way of thinking might believe such things, but for his part, he had ideas more noble of the Deity, than to believe such notions. I perceived he was a Deist, and did not regard the Scriptures, and that it would be vain to say much to him; having often thought it was very

difficult to say any thing to reach those low freethinkers, who exercise themselves in the wisdom which is from beneath, and dwell safely in their own imaginations and conceits, whose communication is often infectious to others, and to be perceived in the meetings and neighbourhoods where they reside.

From thence we went to Bovy, Newtonbushel, Totness and Kingsbridge. At the last, after the morning and afternoon meetings, we had one in the evening with Friends selected, which was to satisfaction. Hearing of one family that lived many miles from any meeting, I had a desire to see them, and went thither. I let the Friend know, that I came there on purpose to see him and his family, and should be glad to have them come together and be still a little while, desiring it might be soon, for we intended to go that night to Plymouth. He said it would not answer them at that time, his children being employed in pressing out cider. I let him know, that I hoped I should not detain them long, and if they lightened the press, the cider would not run over; but could not prevail with him, though I informed him, that I had left all my business, and had come some thousand miles to see my friends in this nation, and hearing how remote he lived from meeting, had a particular mind to see him. He replied that he should be glad it had suited them, but could not put his business by at that time. With a heavy heart I left his house and went to Plymouth, where we had a meeting next day; then to Germains, Liscard, Loe, Austil and Denny's, in Cornwall, at which last place the people are mostly employed in the tin mines, and we had a pretty good meeting, a visit from a Friend being acceptable to them, and they willing to leave their business, though poor people. From thence we proceeded to the Land's-end, intending to take the meetings on our return, and were at Penzance meeting on sixth-day. At this meeting my companion, John Pemberton, spoke a few words in way of testimony, tender and broken, being the first time, and I thought had a good degree of the savour of truth attending. On seventh-day we went to visit an ancient Friend, sick and bed ridden, near the Land's-end, where formerly there had been a meeting; returned in the evening to Penzance; on first-day had a meeting at Marazion in the morning, and at Penzance in the evening. We then turned eastward, and attended a meeting at Falmouth, and five others in this county of Cornwall; then passed through Devonshire, taking a meeting at Oakhampton, and twelve others in Somersetshire, some of which were large and open. Many seeking people came to the meetings at Bridge-

water, and I hope some of those opportunities were through divine favour profitable to some of them; and not being easy in my mind to leave this county without being at the quarterly meeting for business to be held at Glastonbury, I returned thither, and was concerned to lay before Friends the declining state of the Society in that county, and to exhort them to put the discipline in practice, that the church might be cleared from disorders which caused reproach. It was thought by Friends to be the most solid quarterly meeting which had been held in that county for many years.

From thence we went to Caln, in Wiltshire, and were at their meeting on first-day the 16th of the tenth month, where we met our friend and countryman, Daniel Stanton, from Philadelphia, in the course of his religious visit, and were glad in each other's company, though the meetings both forenoon and afternoon were but dull; the people looking for words, were disappointed. The next day we went together to a monthly meeting at Chippenham; the meeting for worship was held in the meeting house; at the conclusion of which Friends rose and went out. I asked them where they were going, for I felt very uneasy, they said to do the business of the meeting, and feeling a strong engagement to be with them while they transacted the affairs of the church, I followed them, though it rained very fast. They went into a spacious house where a room was prepared for the purpose, and a good fire. I sat down with them, though sorely distressed; they seemed to do the business in a formal ready way; I endeavoured to press them to weightiness of spirit, that they might feel the state of the Society, and the need there was to put the discipline in practice, for religion was at a low ebb in that county. They seemed not to understand me, and indeed I found but little room or openness to say much to them; they soon finished their business. When I rose up and moved for going away, they informed me that Friends staid to dine where the business was transacted, and that the Friends of the house would think it very strange if I went away. They told the woman that the Friend was going away; she met me in the hall, and said I must not go before I took dinner; I told her I should, for that I had not freedom to stay to eat or drink in the house; she asked me why? I pressingly desired her to inquire of the truth in her own heart, and she might find the cause, so I went away, and a Friend followed me out, and showed me the way to his house where I left my horse, and there I found Daniel Stanton and my companion, who went not to the meeting for business. Daniel



informed me, that he followed us to the door, but could not go in, for he thought he felt the life of truth struck at, or trampled upon in that house, and therefore returned to the other where we had left our horses, and John Pemberton with him. I was glad that he had such a sense, and he expressed satisfaction that I did not stay to dine, so we dined together, after which Daniel went westward, and we towards London, taking several meetings in our way, and arrived there the 31st of the tenth month, and staid in the city until the 25th of the eleventh month. I carefully visited all the meetings, in great awfulness, being bowed in spirit under a sense of a forward ministry, and sat chiefly in silence among them. I also attended their meetings for discipline; namely, one quarterly meeting, the monthly, two-weeks, second-day morning meetings, and meeting for sufferings, and was in much heaviness of mind, having a sense of a great neglect in some who were active members, in not waiting for a true qualification to act for the honour of God and edification of the church; nevertheless there is a remnant who are concerned to seek his honour, and to wait for the influence of his divine spirit and power, to whom I was, at times, concerned to speak by way of encouragement. To transact the weighty affairs of the church in as light and easy a manner as men commonly buy and sell in a market, will always rather bring death over a meeting than life.

We left London on the 26th of the eleventh month, and went to Chelmsford, in Essex, and the next day sat with Friends in their forenoon and afternoon meetings, to pretty good satisfaction, through the goodness and power of the Lord, whose presence was measurably felt among us to the praise of his ever worthy name. Taking meetings as regularly as we could, we visited that county in twenty-four days, and had twenty-three public meetings and some family sittings. My service for truth in this county was in a close plain way, mostly with but few words; for it often appeared to me, that there was a greater desire to hear, than to put in practice those things they were exhorted to, for which I often mourned, and had a strong sympathy with the few sensible, baptized Friends amongst them.

We then passed to Ipswich, in Suffolk, and had a meeting with Friends there to some satisfaction, there being a tender sincere remnant among them; and taking the east part of the county, we had ten meetings, and visited several indisposed Friends to good satisfaction. Then went to Yarmouth, in Norfolk, and after attending their meetings in the morning and afternoon on first-day, had a large

satisfactory one the same evening, many of the people of the town coming to it; then going to Norwich, we tarried with Friends there about a week, in which time I had four meetings in that city, and one at Lammas, near it; and also visited divers indisposed Friends, and had satisfaction therein. Intending to visit all the meetings in Norfolk county, a Friend undertook to lay them out for me, and made a list of them, of which he gave me a copy, and told me it was the way to take the meetings with the least travelling. I felt a strait in my mind, which I had always found safe for me to attend to until I saw a way open, and being thoughtful about it, I desired him to inform me, what meeting bore most to the north-east from that place; he told me it was North Walsham. I desired him to begin there, and name the meetings most regular afterwards, and I would tell him if the list felt pleasant as he went on; he then proceeded, and we readily finished one which was easy to me. I desired him to set down the distances as he had done in the other, and on comparing them, we found the last to be at least three miles less riding; he seemed to be pleased, and said it was not the usual way of taking those meetings. I was willing to lay out nine, but told him, I was not easy to venture the giving public notice further, that perhaps the weather might be difficult. He said there would be a general meeting in a few days, when Friends from many meetings would be together, and likely to have full notice very easily given for a few meetings further, which he thought I had best leave to him; so we went forward to North Walsham and had a satisfactory meeting, and taking the meetings in course, came to the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders at Norwich. The Friend who laid out the meetings informed me, that if I had taken them according to his first list, I should have interfered with a public Friend at several, who was then on a visit, and he thought there was a hand of Providence in turning me; for as we were both strangers, we should have been straitened through a tender regard to each other's service; he likewise let me know, that he did not remember that their quarterly meeting began the next day after the meeting beyond which I told him I was not free to appoint any, and that having sent the list to a Friend to publish at the general meeting before mentioned, he had been obliged to attend that meeting to stop the notice respecting the few meetings he talked of, otherwise I should have missed the quarterly meeting, and he thought it would teach him to be more cautious in future. I mention this occurrence with a degree of reverent thankfulness and humility, with

no other view than to encourage those ministers who are called forth to visit the churches, diligently and innocently to attend to the motion of truth, which the more we are humbled and inwardly quiet, the clearer it is understood and felt; but as this is instruction for ourselves, it is safer for us to treasure it up in our own hearts, than to make it too cheap by talking thereof to others. This quarterly meeting, both in respect to public worship and transacting the affairs of truth, was held to satisfaction, through the Lord's favour, who will be near to them that diligently seek him, blessed be his name for ever!

Then taking Ellingham meeting, we went to Thetford, and had a meeting with Friends there, both which were distressing, from a sense of the prevalence of a ranting spirit. Here it appeared expedient to lay out meetings for the ensuing week, in order that suitable notice might be given; and as they were named to me in course by Friends, I felt a remarkable desire to see the Friends of one certain meeting by themselves, at or near the eleventh hour of the day, although quite a stranger to their situation, numbers, or state; and a Friend being present belonging to that meeting, I requested her care about it, and then went to Edmondsbury, and attended the meetings there on the first-day morning and afternoon, which were in the main satisfactory; and in the evening had a meeting with a sick Friend. In this town there is a considerable number of hopeful Friends.

We then went to Ratlesden, Bardwell, and through Livermore to Brand, the place where I had the desire to see Friends by themselves, as before mentioned, and coming to the Friend's house whose wife had been intrusted with the notice, I asked her if it was not time to go to the meeting, she said, thou must ask my husband, appearing to be distressed. I asked where he was, she replied in his warehouse, and sent for him; he coming after a while, I suppose about twelve o'clock, I asked him the time of the meeting, he answered at six in the evening, to be sure. I told him that I had informed his wife of my desire that it should be at eleven; he replied, she said so, but I thought it would be dishonourable, for few only would attend it at that time, for the people of that town were chiefly such as were obliged to do their day's work, which would be finished at six o'clock in the evening, when the house would be nearly full. I told him, I did desire to see Friends by themselves, and supposed they could meet at any hour; he granted that they could have met at the time proposed; but said he was a man of a more liberal spirit than to want to eat his morsel alone, but was desirous his neighbours should

partake with him, and thought it his duty to endeavour to inform and help those whom he apprehended were backward or ignorant in the performance of their duty; and he said that the end and intent of ministers going forth was to publish the gospel, and he thought, to the more the better. I let him know that it was necessary for those who were called to the work of the ministry, to know also to whom they were called, or otherwise they might be mistaken, and go north instead of south, or to a different nation or country; he answered, that he believed if they were rightly called, the spirit would inform them where they were to go. I replied very well, and when they are come to the right place, the spirit would let them know what they have to do; he said, I believe so too. Whereupon I told him, if I knew the language of that spirit that called me from my native land to Old England, it was the same that inclined me to see the Friends of that town by themselves, and afterwards if I felt an enlargement of mind, could have proposed a public meeting with the town's people in the evening; and why not one opportunity for both? he queried, adding, "for I should be willing that all the town might hear what thou canst have to say to us." I then said to him, "if a certain great person on whom thy prosperity in all things temporal did absolutely depend, should in singular kindness to thee, send a messenger to acquaint or advise thee of some matter relating to thyself in thy own particular conduct, in which thy prosperity, peace and interest would, without thy immediate care, be nearly affected, wouldst thou judge it prudent to say to the ambassador of such a friend, deliver not thy message to me, until I call my neighbours and the people of the town to hear it, and so expose thy own weakness to thy disadvantage, without benefit to thy neighbours? Consider it carefully, my heart yearns to the professors of truth in this town, and it seems to me that my business at present was only with them, and as I can not have an opportunity according to my freedom and desire, I shall hold myself excused." He answered, if nothing but a meeting with Friends will do, we must send them word to come together as soon as they can; I told him that would now by no means do; for he was at present so chafed in his mind, that he could not hear to much advantage. He then asked me what end would be answered by my coming there? I told him to detect such heady unsound members as he was, that thought it dishonourable for a few Friends to meet together to worship God, though their number was more than two or three, to whom the promise was. He said, then what will become of the meeting? I let



him know he must look to that, who had without orders appointed it, and so left him and went to Mildenhall, where a Friend told me he was at the meeting aforesaid, when public notice was given, and it was on this wise; "Friends and neighbours! please to take notice, that a Friend from America desires a public meeting here on wednesday next, at six o'clock in the evening;" which circumstance I did not know when I was at his house. On the whole I had inward peace in my observations and conduct to this man, and many Friends rejoiced; for several had been overborne by him to their grief; and I was since informed, that he laid the matter to heart, and was often heard to say, that he would not serve any Friend so again.

We had many meetings in this county, and passing into Cambridgeshire, had eight meetings therein, and I thought the life of religion was low in general, though there are a few tender Friends in several places; we then went to meetings in Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, in which it was mostly my lot to point out to Friends the danger they were in of losing the pure savour of truth, for want of humbly attending to the dictates thereof in their own hearts, which had already occasioned a dwarfishness among the professors in those parts. Several Friends met us at Waltham Abbey, from London, with whom we went to that city, in order to attend the yearly meeting, which began on the 26th, and ended on the sixth-day of the week, the 31st of the third month, 1751, and in the several sittings thereof, both for public worship and the transaction of the affairs of truth, was thought, by many, to be the most weighty and solid meeting that had been known for many years; which was cause of humble rejoicing and deep thankfulness to many Friends, in that the Lord had vouchsafed his heavenly presence in wisdom and power, to the praise of his sacred name. Several Friends staying in the city after the meeting was over, we had a large and satisfactory one on the seventh-day of the week, and I tarried, attending divers meetings until the 6th of the fourth month; then went to Chelmsford, and sat with Friends in their morning and afternoon meetings on first-day; and from thence to the yearly meeting at Colchester; but being taken ill of a fever, was prevented attending more than one sitting of that meeting; yet through mercy was resigned, and had peace. Staid their meeting in that town on the fifth-day of the week, and the next day set forward with my brother, William Brown, John Griffith and my companion, in order to attend Woodbridge yearly meeting, which began on the 17th of the

month, and although the fever had not left me, I was enabled to attend every sitting of it, which was a large and solid meeting throughout, and friends were refreshed together; praised be the Lord! whose mercy is great to his people. My companion, John Pemberton, went with my brother to some adjacent meetings, but I staid the week-day meeting in this town, which was through divine favour satisfactory. We met again at the yearly meeting at Norwich, in a few days, which concluded to satisfaction, and Friends were made truly thankful to the Lord for this additional favour; we spent a few days longer at this city, and attended their monthly meeting; after which, having a desire to visit a few meetings in company with my brother, William Brown, where ranterism seemed to prevail, he having the like concern, we took a monthly meeting at Wimondham, also the meetings at Matssil and Ellingham, in which we were concerned to use great plainness to clear ourselves on account of that ranting spirit. Then went to Wareham, and had a precious meeting with the few Friends of that place, and to a very large general meeting at Downham, many of other societies being there; and it became my concern to recite the words of our blessed Lord, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me, and ye will not come to me that ye might have life;" from whence I had to show them the danger of trusting to information and knowledge, whether by reading the Scriptures, or hearing them preached, and neglecting to attend to the inspeaking voice of Christ immediately in the heart, which is the only sure interpreter of the Scriptures, leading those who attend to his instruction, in the sure way to life eternal.

Then parting with William Brown, we went to Wisbich and Thornyfen, in Cambridgeshire, and taking meetings in Lincolnshire, we passed into the East-riding of Yorkshire, in which we had twenty-four meetings, and taking eight in the county of Durham, we came to Shields, in Northumberland, New Castle and Alnwick Abbey, and reached Kelso, in Scotland, on the 1st of the seventh month, where we met Susanna Fothergill, on her return home. We attended the morning and afternoon meetings at Kelso, on first-day. Alas! truth is here at a low ebb, and feeling my mind not to be clear of Friends in this place, I desired to have a select meeting with them, which Susanna and her companion attended, and we had an opportunity of clearing ourselves of Friends there, who had much fallen from the simplicity of the pure truth, into the modes, fashions and customs of the world, in their dress, language and manners;

and truth owned our service with a degree of its divine authority; blessed be the Lord, the God of truth! We then went to a meeting at the house of John Cristy, at Ormston, to which many people came and behaved quietly, and the doctrine of truth opened pretty freely to them. From thence to a meeting at Edinburgh, in which I had a sense that silence was best, apprehending the people had been too much fed with words. After sometime one stood up, and spoke of the excellence of resignation in ministers to speak, or contentedly to be silent; to be anything, or nothing, as the Lord was pleased to order. A secret distressing fear attended my mind, that he was not enough inwardly engaged to distinguish the order and motion of the Spirit of Truth, from the busy imagination and will of the creature, unsubjected to the Divine Spirit. I found a concern to show the nature of true resignation, and the low humble quiet that attended the minds of ministers, or hearers, who had come to the real knowledge of it; the desire of such was turned unto the Lord only for heavenly instruction and an inward evidence of the life and motion of truth; for want of which, true gospel ministry was sometimes obstructed, and the reason of silence not fully understood. After I sat down, the same person again stood up, and in a flow of words and a zealous tone, said that weakness, or the want of experience, led people to mistake both their own and the condition of others; as he appeared to me to be actuated by a confident, ranting spirit, my mind was greatly exercised after the meeting. I remained at this place the two following days, being detained by rainy weather, and attended the meeting in the morning of first-day, at which I sat silent; but the same person spoke some time in words very encouraging to the auditory, as if all was well with them, which tended to increase the exercise of my mind, having a very different sense of the state of the meeting. I again attended their meeting in the afternoon, when the same person seemed as if he intended soon to stand up; but feeling the testimony of truth strong against that forward ranting spirit, and the sense thereof being weighty upon me, I endeavoured to keep under it in patience, and soon the concern of that person began to diminish, and he to be drowsy, after which I had a favourable open time to clear my mind of the exercise that had been upon me.

Next day we passed over the Frith about seven miles broad, landed at Kinghorn, and rode to a town called Cowper, and the day following reached the house of one who esteemed himself a Friend, near Montross, where we endeavoured to have a meeting, but he would not allow it, alledging, that it would do

his people, or servants no good, and as for himself, he thought he knew as much of the truth as we could inform him. Indeed he seemed so whole and self-righteous, I thought it would not avail to say much to him. We were informed by a person who accompanied us a few miles, that this man, in his younger years, had a public testimony to bear for the truth, but had for a long time left it off, as he worded it, and now his men servants must not approach him with their heads covered. "If the light in you become darkness, how great is that darkness." From thence we went to Ury, the seat of Robert Barclay, grandson to the Apologist; but had no meeting until we came to the Old-town, near a mile north of Aberdeen, which was through the goodness of the Lord, somewhat strengthening. From thence went to John Elmslie's, at Old Meldrum, and on first-day morning attended Killmuck meeting, and in the evening one at Old Meldrum, to which many people came, and through divine favour, these meetings were satisfactory. The next day we had a select meeting with Friends, of whom there are several here who are tender and valuable, and we parted in love. Going to Kingswells, had a meeting there with many Friends and others, truth owning the service, which was cause of humble rejoicing. Continuing at and near Aberdeen, we had a large meeting on first-day at Robert Barclay's. Although the descendants and children of Friends who were as bright stars in their day, may value themselves on the worthiness of their parents, yet if they do not love and serve the God of their fathers with a perfect heart and an upright mind, he will not own them with his heavenly presence, but they will be as unsavoury salt.

We set forward on our return towards England, taking two meetings in our way to Glasgow, where, on first-day, we had also two which were large, open and satisfactory. Many tender inquiring people came, who behaved well, and in the evening of the same day, we had another with those called Friends, by themselves, having a concern to lay before them the need they had to look to their ways and conversation, that they might be as lights and good examples among the people in that place, who were seekers after the truth, and not give them occasion of stumbling through an evil conduct. We went to Carlisle, in Cumberland, Morehouse, Scoby, Solport and Kirklington, in most of which meetings truth seemed to be professed, but too few had the life thereof in possession, which occasions hard dry meetings. We rode to Cornwood, in Northumberland, and lodged at the house of a man who had been for several years of a disorderly conduct, and much given to the



excessive use of strong drink, until he had very much impaired his constitution. But it pleased the Lord to open his understanding, and make him acquainted with his blessed truth, whereby he was made free from that evil, and received strength to forsake his old companions. His joining with Friends was a great grief to his wife, who informed me, that through prejudice for a time, she would rather he had continued his former course of living, than to become a Quaker, until observing the sweetness of his temper and the recovery of his health in some degree, with a solid and sober conduct, she was made to believe in the power by which he had known such a victory, and joined herself in the same religious profession; they appeared to be steady Friends. I would to God that all tipplers and drunkards would turn to that great Prophet who is in Israel, that they might by him be cleansed from that leprosy of sin! We had a comfortable meeting the next day in his house, with his neighbours and some Friends; and on first-day were at Allondale meeting, where are some solid Friends, though others much tainted with a spirit of ranterism, which is a confident, self-righteous spirit, and very hard to be won upon. After having a meeting at Aldstinmoor, we passed to the meetings at Penrith, in Cumberland, Terril and Strickland, which is in a corner of Westmoreland. It was with some difficulty we had the meeting at Terril, a man of that place saying, he thought it needless, or questioned whether it would be to advantage, as most of their members had been at Penrith meeting. But after the meeting, he desired I would not think hardly of him for endeavouring to discourage me, owning that he was mistaken. I cautioned him to be more careful in future, how he discouraged such who had come so many thousand miles to visit them.

Having meetings at divers places in the week following, I travelled in great pain and anguish of mind, from a sense of the prevalence of a dark, deistical spirit over many of the professors of truth, of which concern the Lord was pleased to give me strength and understanding to clear myself both in public and private; there is no power but his, that can enable his servants to do his work, and is over all the powers of satan. On the next first-day we were at Holme meeting; in the forenoon I sat silent, one of the stock of the old ranters was there and very troublesome, accusing many Friends, no doubt falsely; and in the afternoon meeting I had not much to say, believing that ranting spirit is rather fed with words, and delights in contention. I found it my place to exhort Friends to retire

deeply inward in all their meetings, humbly waiting to be admitted into the heavenly presence, to know their place of feeding to be out of the reach of such ranting spirits; for if they suffered their own spirits to rise or resist their ill usage, the meeting would be the more disquieted. Our next meetings were at Allonby and Broughton, from whence I went home with our friend Christopher Wilson, to his house at Graysothen, and the next day attended the burial of a young man at Pardsay Hall, and the day following, the burial of a young woman at the same place, both of which meetings were very large and solid, and I hope through Divine goodness profitable to many. The first-day of the following week, we were at two meetings at Whitehaven, in both which I had some service under the influence and owning of truth. We put up our horses at a Friend's house, who had been used to lodge public Friends, but I was not free to tarry there, being burthened with the manner of his entertainment, which was with a superfluity and grandeur, no way becoming the simplicity of truth. After showing my dislike therewith, I went to the house of John Harris, at Highfield, his wife being with us, and rested there a day, the weather being exceedingly rainy. Then going to the meetings at Cockermouth, Isel and Graysothen, we returned to Cockermouth and had a meeting with Friends by themselves, that is, without giving public notice, which was through divine favour to good satisfaction. Resting another day with our friend John Harris, we went to meetings at Pardsay Hall and at Keswick, at which last I was concerned to exhort the few Friends there to keep up their week-day meeting, having a fear they were very slack on that account. We lodged at an inn, where we had the company of some of those Friends, and in particular one who was a public Friend. Some of them said if he would attend the week-day meeting, they believed the rest of them would; which gave me occasion to observe to him, that he did not example well, and ought to be more careful, as he had a public testimony to bear for truth. He replied that he was obliged to be industrious to support his family; but at last confessed, that "He did not like to sit with so few Friends, for none else would come on a week-day, and it was very dull and poor sitting, and he liked to sit in meetings where there were many assembled, for then he had something to say, so life did arise and all were comforted and edified." It appeared that he had greater satisfaction in preaching, than in humble silent waiting to experience the worship which is performed in spirit and truth, to edification

and comfort. I told him that I feared he was too much a stranger to pure religion and the nature of divine worship.

From thence we went to Hawkshead, in Lancashire, and had an evening meeting there in a Friend's house, and next day were at the Hight meeting, and then at Swarthmore, where George Fox formerly lived. Though it had been famous for the prosperity of truth, it is now at a low state there. We went to Kendal, in Westmoreland, where we attended their two meetings on the first-day of the week; and after taking some other meetings in the neighbourhood, returned to that town, in and about which we tarried several days, and visited more than twenty families and attended ten public meetings, many of which opportunities were made precious through the goodness and great condescension of our Lord and Saviour. In the school of our friend Thomas Rebanks, I had an extraordinary meeting; where many young folks not of our Society were reached by the power of Truth, which was comfortably over all, praised be the Lord for ever. In the course of our visiting families here, during our silent sitting in one of them, my mind was much taken up in thinking of a watch, and the several wheels and movements thereof, until I was grieved at such trifling thoughts, as I esteemed them, when suddenly there appeared something instructive therein, and I had a freedom to say, the several parts thereof seemed to represent the excellent faculties and gifts bestowed on man. Though the wheels, &c., of a watch were truly made, and placed in their proper order, yet there must be a main-spring to give them motion; so the gifts and faculties of men must have their main-spring and cause of motion to every good work, a zeal to the honour of the Lord their Creator, and a fervent holy desire to answer the end of their creation; and as there is a regulating spring to a watch, so also there should be the true knowledge of God and of themselves experienced in his light, to preserve from going too fast, knowing by his heavenly instruction, that no wisdom, zeal, strength or ability, will enable to do the Lord's work to his honour and the good of man, but that which God giveth. In order that a watch may answer the end intended by its maker, there is a visible face and hands to discover the inward motion, thereby showing time; so it is needful that a man should be a co-worker with the spirit and gift of grace in his heart, that others beholding the light thereof might be taught to glorify God, and in his light so to number his days and walk in his fear, as to die in his favour. As a zeal for the cause of truth and a fear of falling short of duty, may at times

prompt man to rush on too fast, it is needful that he should wait in humble reverence to feel the love of God, and the influence of that knowledge and wisdom which is from above, and experienced by those who are spiritual, that the end of all their labour may be in the spirit of meekness to restore those who are overtaken in error. In order that men may dwell in that which gives ability to labour with success in the church of Christ, it is needful that their minds should be enclosed in the bosom of truth, in humble retirement, to be preserved from the various tumults, cumbers, cares and temptations of the world, which would otherwise clog their minds and deprive them of their true spiritual sense and motion. So in a watch it is needful that all the inward parts, which are so curious, should be enclosed from damps, vapours, mores and dust, otherwise it would thereby be deprived of its motion and become useless for keeping time.

My intent in this relation is to show the infinite condescension of Him whose mercy is over all his works, to instruct the children of men, each as it were, in his own tongue or language, suitable to his understanding; the man being by trade a watch-maker. He seemed to be tenderly reached, and we parted in a degree of sweetness; it was the Lord's doing and marvellous to me, praised be his holy name for ever!

Being clear of Kendal, we took leave of Friends in much affection and went to a general meeting at Brigflatts, in Yorkshire, and to visit our friend Alice Alderson, who had been on a religious visit in our country with Margaret Cowpland, whom we had before seen at Kendal, where she lives. Alice was glad to see us, and we found her tender in spirit and strong in her love to Friends. After attending meetings at Ravenstonedale and Grisedale, we rode to our friend John Burton's, who with his companion William Backhouse, had also been in our country on a religious visit; we rejoiced to see him, and were comforted by his grave conversation and conduct. We then went to a meeting at Dent, which was large and favoured by the overshadowing of truth, through the loving kindness of our Lord, who is worthy of all praise for ever! Taking several meetings in Lancashire, and tarrying two days with our friend William Backhouse, which was an acceptable rest to us, the weather being very cold, the ways bad and we weary, we came to Lancaster, and had an opportunity of visiting our friend Lydia Lancaster, who several years past had visited our country; her faculties of mind and love to Friends appeared fresh and strong. From thence attending some other meetings



in that county, we went to our friend Samuel Fothergill's, at Warrington, where we continued from the 2nd to the 14th of the first month, new style, 1752. He and Susanna his wife, being tender and kindly affectionate, we were refreshed in their company, having several meetings in that town and at Penketh, some whereof were made precious by the ownings of truth. After many other meetings in this county and Yorkshire, we reached Richmond, and had a meeting with Friends there, and next morning set forward with a guide for Masham, in order to attend a meeting there, of which Friends had previous notice. The distance was nearly sixteen miles, the days short and roads deep and miry; after we had road five or six miles, I desired our guide to mend his pace, fearing we should be late. A little further on we came to a place where the roads parted, and he taking the left hand I became uneasy, and asked him if he perfectly knew the way. He said he thought he did. I let him know my being in doubt about it, and desired him to inquire of a man we saw in a field at some distance; but he rode on yet faster. I told him that I was persuaded we had almost turned our backs on the way we should go, at which he smiled; but when we had gone about a mile, seeing a man by the way-side at work, I asked him if that was the way to Masham; he replied, nay, you have left it and must go back, unless your horses can leap over ditches, you may then save a mile, and pointing over a field showed us a moor, on the other side whereof our right road was. Our guide set forward, we followed with some difficulty over the ditches, and he rode on a gallop and soon left us. My mind inclined me to vary from his course, and espying a gate, called to him, pointing to it and proceeded thither, on which he turned and came up, but said he believed we were wrong. I let him know that my mind was easy to go that way, and in a while we came into a road at a public house, which he knew to be right. We just reached the meeting in time, which through divine favour was profitable and edifying. I mention this passage with no other view than to encourage Friends to be inward in their minds, and to regard the secret sense which the pure Spirit of Truth sometimes gives on particular occasions: for want of an inward stillness and attention thereto, the way is often missed in more respects than one.

At Masham we lodged at the house of John Kelden, who related to me something that passed between a knight of the shire and one of his tenants, a member of our religious Society, as follows, viz:

*Landlord.*—So John, you are busy?

*Tenant.*—Yes, my landlord loves to see his tenants busy.

*Landlord.*—But John, where was you that you was not at your quarterly meeting at York the other day, I saw most of your staunch Friends there, but you I missed!\*

*Tenant.*—Why thou knowest I have a curious landlord, who loves to see his tenants thrive and pay their rent duly, and I had a good deal in hand that kept me at home.

*Landlord.*—Kept you at home! You will neither thrive nor pay the better for neglecting your duty, John.

*Tenant.*—Then I perceive my landlord was at quarterly meeting, how didst thou like it?

*Landlord.*—Like it! I was at one meeting and saw what made my heart ache.

*Tenant.*—What was that?

*Landlord.*—Why the dress of your young folks, the men with their wigs, and young women with their finery, in imitation of the fashions; and I thought I would try another meeting, so next day I went again, and then I concluded there was little difference but the bare name, between us whom you call the world's people, and some of you; for you are imitating us in the love and fashions of the world as fast as you can; so that I said in my heart, these people want a Fox, a Penn and a Barclay among them, and so turned from his tenant.

I thought it would be a pity that the true and solid remark of this man should be lost, understanding that it was rather expressed in pity than derision.

From Masham we proceeded to visit many other meetings in this county, and called to see good old John Richardson, who was strong in spirit, though feeble in body, and nearly blind through age, being about eighty-seven. Finding a draught to visit Friends once more at Scarborough, we were there on first-day the 15th of the third month, and had peace in my own mind, having done what I thought was my duty; but from a sense of the prevalence of pride, which had occasioned a great poverty as to true religion among the professors of truth in that place, I left them with an aching heart, and went on our journey in order to attend the quarterly meeting at York, taking meetings in our way. The several sittings of this quarterly meeting were in the main satisfactory, but not having time fully to clear myself, I did not leave York quite easy; after which having had a number of meetings, we attended the quarterly meeting at Lancaster, which began on the fifth-day of the week with a meeting of ministers and

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\* The assizes are held at York, always at the time of the quarterly meeting.

elders, and was comfortable; next day was the meeting for public worship and the discipline, wherein we were made to rejoice together and praise the name of the Lord who is worthy forever. Went to Kendal quarterly meeting, which was satisfactory and very large; then set out for the quarterly meeting for Cumberland, held at Carlisle, which began with a meeting of ministers and elders; next day were held two public meetings, and the day following a meeting for discipline, which ended in the afternoon with another for worship; and going home with Christopher Wilson, we were at a good meeting at Pardsay Hall on first-day.

My mind had been for sometime drawn towards Ireland, and being desirous to lose no time, we went to Whitehaven, several vessels being there for Dublin; but on viewing them I had no freedom to take a passage, at which I was much straitened. Turning my mind inward, Ireland was hid from my view, and going to the house of a Friend, we sat a while still, and I had freedom to let Friends know that I had no prospect but the vessels might go their voyage with safety, and did not decline a passage on that account; but feeling a full stop in my mind, had no freedom to proceed any where at present, save to return with our friends John and Hannah Harris, to Highfield. We therefore returned with them, and attended Pardsay Hall monthly meeting, where I had freedom to propose that Friends would enter on the service of visiting families. They informed me that some years before they had nominated Friends for that service, but meeting with some discouragement, they had not performed it; and being about to turn over the book to see who were then appointed, considering it was a long time since, they concluded it was better to proceed to a new choice, but seemed at a stand about naming Friends. I had a freedom to let them know, that although I was a stranger, I could point out some who I believed would answer the service if they would submit to it. After a solid pause, a Friend said, As our Friend has the matter before him, I am free that he should choose for us; to which I replied, that being a stranger to their members, one might be chosen who was under some impediment, and therefore it would be safer for the meeting to choose; but perceiving they were at a loss, I pointed out a few Friends in great fear, with a single eye to the sense which I did believe truth gave me, and the clerk took their names; a Friend said he believed it was the truth which had made the choice. I then mentioned, that if they could soon enter upon the service, I found a freedom to accompany them therein, if Friends had unity therewith, which several

expressed, some women Friends being also named by their meeting to join in it. Before the service was much proceeded in, a heavy concern came upon me from a secret sense I had, that one of them was under the censure of some, by which I feared her service would be laid waste, unless it could be removed. Although I had no intimation of any thing of the kind from any person, I became heavily exercised, and at length requested a Friend to invite the man and his wife to dine with him, who I apprehended were uneasy with the woman, and I desired her and her husband to come to the same house in the afternoon, who accordingly came, and thus the parties met unexpectedly to each other. I was humbled under the weight attending my mind, and no others being present except the Friend and his wife at whose house we were, I ventured to let them know the exercise I had been under some days, from an apprehension of a difference, or prejudice subsisting between them, which if not removed would devour like fire, by which I believed they were already much affected. As I had not received information, more or less, I might be mistaken, and did not desire they should say any thing on the subject before me, but honestly confer on it between themselves first, and if it was so, remove the cause, and if nothing was amiss, then to let me know, that I might be warned to be more cautious in future. I then left them and walked by myself about an hour, when the man of the house called me in, and they told me I was not mistaken, for there had been an hardness subsisting for sometime, which they hoped was now done away. But when in the course of our visit, we came to the house of the Friends who had been uneasy, I felt it as fresh as before, and told them I did believe they were not easy that the Friend should go on in the service; to which one of them answered, if she judges herself to be clear and others are easy, I have no objection. I asked what others were meant. The man replied, her husband and relations; and as the matter rested upon me, it appeared that endeavours ought to be used for reconciliation before we could with satisfaction proceed on our visit. Believing the Lord had secretly engaged me, I hoped he would accompany and bless the labour for the restoration of peace, which in a few days he was pleased to accomplish, and then we proceeded more cheerfully, and I think I may say that the Lord was with us, to the praise of his great and eternal name, who is worthy for ever.

We visited the families of Friends in Whitehaven, Broughton, Cockermouth, Pardsay Hall, Eaglesfield and Graysothen, and others more



remote, and had several profitable public meetings in those towns and places adjacent. Having spent about seven weeks within the verge of Pardsay Hall monthly meeting, and finding my mind clear, we went to Whitehaven and took passage in the ship *Globe*, James Grason master, for Ireland, on the 8th of the sixth month, 1752, new style, and parting with our dear friends in much love, set sail about the fifth hour in the evening, and landed at Dublin on the 11th of the same month, and were kindly received at the house of Samuel Judd. As I was going there, this secret hint was presented to my mind, "Live retired, and be not suddenly acquainted with any man." After dinner our kind landlord said, I do not well in that I have not informed Friends of your arrival, they will blame me. I answered, let us first know that we are here, we have just come from sea and are weary. We had a troublesome passage by contrary winds and heavy rains, John Pemberton, my companion, having been very sea-sick, and myself a little so. The next day we attended Sycamore-alley meeting, where we had the company of Susanna Hatton, who had been in America with Ruth Courtney. We were at eight meetings in Dublin, also at a monthly meeting and a quarterly meeting for their young people, in which I was deeply concerned on account of the prevalence of pride and the world's fashions, which was declared to them in the love of truth; and the Lord was pleased to favour several of the meetings by his heavenly presence, to the praise of his holy name.

Leaving this city we went towards the north: at Drogheda there is a meeting house belonging to Friends, but they are there so declined, we could not have a meeting to satisfaction. We therefore went on to a meeting with a few Friends at Rathfriland, then to Monallen, where the meeting was comfortable; and on first-day had two meetings at Lurgan, at which place pride and a worldly spirit much prevail. Taking meetings at Newton, Lisburn, Hillsborough and Ballinderry, the last of which was a large good meeting; we had one at Antrim, where the savour of truth seems much lost by the few professors there. We then passed on to Grange meeting, which was very dull, through the prevalence of a worldly dark spirit, and from thence to a meeting at Ballynacre, and to Colerain, where we had a satisfactory opportunity with some of the town's people, who came to the meeting out of curiosity. I felt no freedom to express the sense I had of the state of Friends then, and as the meeting broke up, I stepped to a young woman, a Friend, who lived near the meeting house, and desired her to step forward and turn the few Friends in there, as

she knew them, and let the others go by, which she readily performed. When we were all set down, it soon felt to me that if I delivered my concern in general terms, the intended end would not be answered, being in pain for their good, and close matters spoken might be taken by those to whom they least belonged; and being greatly humbled, I was desirous to be rightly instructed, not knowing their names, to speak to them separately. The Lord, who never fails those who humbly trust in him, showed me where and with whom to begin, and so to the next; and mine eye being fixed on the person to whom I directed my speech, each knew what was delivered to them in particular, and I hope the opportunity was beneficial; for I had great peace. When the Friends were gone, I asked the young woman, who seemed in some surprise, what ailed her; she said that several were very exactly told their condition, and feared they would judge her for an informer. I told her she need not matter that, as she knew herself to be innocent. I mention this occurrence as a remarkable kindness from the merciful Lord to the children of men, for their help and instruction, and that his servants may be encouraged to wait upon him for instruction to discharge their duty as faithful stewards in his sight, who knows the secrets of all hearts, and taught his servant in old time to know the wife of Jeroboam, though she feigned herself to be another woman. Blessed and magnified be his holy name, who is over all worthy for ever and ever!

Taking meetings at Toberhead, Charlemont and Ballyhagan, we attended the men's meeting at Lurgan, having a great desire to sit with Friends there in the management of their discipline, which was adjourned to this time at my request. It began with a meeting for worship, men and women being generally together, at the conclusion of which, the men went into the room where the meeting for business was usually held; when after sitting sometime in silence, a leading Friend said, this is only an adjourned meeting, and bid the clerk enter it, and they might adjourn to the usual time to do their business, when it would be more select. The meeting sat a while without proceeding any way, and I asked them what was meant by the words, "more select," observing that if any persons were present who had not a right to sit there, they should withdraw; they knew their own members. If they meant the Friend who came with us, he was a neighbouring Friend and an elder; and I esteemed myself a proper member of their meeting, as I came to visit them with the concurrence of my brethren at home, and had certificates from them, wherein

I was recommended to Friends in Europe and elsewhere, and if I did anything among them worthy of censure, I should submit to their dealing. I therefore desired them to go on with their business, for I had come thither with a concern to see how the affairs of the church went on. Without more debate or much reply they proceeded, and to my surprise, things of disorder had lain several years without proper dealing with various offenders, such as drinkers of healths, some that had been at cockfights and races, and one or more marriages out of the order of truth; which gave me an opportunity to clear myself fully of the concern that had for some days lain with weight on my mind, which I believe was acceptable to some secretly pained Friends, however contrary to some others. I left the place with a peaceful mind, and thankful to the Lord who had given me an innocent boldness to assert my right of membership; for I believe if we had not been there, the meeting would have been thought select.

We then went to Ulster province meeting at Ballyhagan, which held two days; the elders and other concerned Friends here inquire into the state of things among their members in the province, and it was in the main a satisfactory meeting. From thence we went southward, taking meetings at Castleshane, Coothill, Ballyhais and Old Castle, and to Ballymurry, in Connaught, having a meeting in a barn at Gailey, with a few Friends, it being the only one kept up in that province, except at Athlone, which we likewise attended, and came to James Clibborn's, at the Moat of Granoge, where we also had a meeting. I had travelled every day for more than a week with a fever on me, occasioned as I thought by a cold taken by lying in damp beds, and was now very unwell, but sat the first-day meeting. Next day my illness became very violent, so that Friends thought I should lay my body there, and sent for an apothecary, who bled me, which somewhat allayed the fever, and I fell into a sleep, when I began to bleed again, which brought me very weak, that I was awakened at midnight with great drops of sweat on my face, and sickness. Calling my companion, who watched with me, we found that I had bled much, the orifice in my arm being very large and not carefully bound up. My kind landlord and his wife being anxious about me, had prevailed with the apothecary to lodge in the house, who being called to me, on his coming I desired him to peel a bladder and apply a thin piece of it about as broad as a half-penny, on the wound. He asked for what; I told him he would see, and when it was applied, I requested him to hold his finger on the piece

over the orifice, so as to stop the blood, until the plaster dried and stuck, which it soon did and it bled no more; he said that he had not seen the like. Next morning a physician of the town came to visit me, and feeling my pulse, I asked him what he thought of me? He making no answer, I said, "Be not afraid to tell me, for I am not afraid to hear;" he replied, "That is happy for you;" by which I supposed he thought I should not recover. He said I was in a deep consumption, and he visited me daily for a week, and could hardly believe I should recover, though I told him I believed I should. He still judged my cough to be consumptive, and at length told me, if I did recover, to go home as soon as I could, for that the Lord was more merciful than to require such an one as I was to travel as I did, and that I had already acted as a madman, to travel so long time with that fever before I lay by. I asked him, if he was master of a vessel at sea which had sprung a leak that could not be stopped, what he would do? He replied, endeavour to make to the next port for a dry-dock, to unlade and search out the leak. Why doctor, said I, this is just my case; I saw no place to lay by until I came hither, at which he laughed, and wished me well. I think I never was reduced to so weak a state in so short a time, which might be occasioned by my great loss of blood; but the Lord was pleased to heal me.

I gathered strength to admiration, and on first-day sat the meeting, which was comfortable, and continuing to recover, though not fit to travel, I tarried until fourth-day and attended their monthly meeting. Understanding they had been endeavouring to visit families, but were backward in beginning, I told Friends I had a freedom to accompany them in the work for a few days for their encouragement, and we accordingly went with them to a few places to good satisfaction, and Friends received strength to go on with the service. Taking an affectionate leave of our kind landlord James Clibborn and his wife, who is grand-daughter to Robert Barclay, the Apologist, we went to meetings at Birr, Kilconnermoor, Cashell, Killcommon, Glonsmell, Youghall, and so to Cork on the first-day of the week, where we also attended the men's meeting for discipline, and visited the women's meeting, which were both to some good satisfaction. Then going to Bandon, we returned to an appointed meeting at Cork for parents and their children; and having strength given me to clear myself, it was, I hope profitable to many, being a large meeting. At Malo, we had a seasonable opportunity with a family of Friends, thence to the province meeting for Munster, held at Limerick, the public and



select sittings of which and for the discipline, ended comfortably; and after attending the week-day meeting, we went to a meeting at Ross, and returned to Limerick. Being unwell with a cold, we tarried their meetings on first-day, which were large and satisfactory, and in the evening had one with a sick Friend; and taking three meetings in our way, we proceeded to Leinster province meeting at Mountmelick, which began on the sixth-day of the week with a meeting of ministers, the next day for worship and the discipline, and on first-day morning was a large and precious meeting. In the afternoon the town's people came in and it was a good satisfactory meeting, though not so large, Friends being mostly gone home. We had a meeting next day at Tullamoor, and returning to Mountmelick, had a satisfactory one with the children in James Gough's school. After the week-day meeting in this town, we went to Ballacarroil, Ballanakel and Cooperhill, having a meeting at each; then to Catherlough monthly meeting on first-day, and the next day to Athy; then to Ballitore, which was through Divine goodness, made profitable, and we had also a satisfactory meeting with the scholars in Abraham Shackleton's school. After a meeting at Newton, we went to Samuel Watson's, at Killconner, whose wife, late Abigail Bowles, had been on a religious visit in America several years before. She was now near her end, but sensible and in a good frame of spirit, and greatly rejoiced to see us, and we were mutually comforted in a sense of the Lord's presence, for which his holy name was praised. We went to Waterford, and sat with Friends in their morning, afternoon and evening meetings on the first-day, in all which, having cleared myself honestly, my spirit mourned under a sense of formality among the people, and a deadness to the pure inward life of religion. Taking meetings at Ross, Lambstown, Wexford, Randal's mills, or Castlesaw, Cooladine and several other places, we came to Wicklow, at which meeting many soldiers attended, who behaved well, and truth owned the service in a good degree. I have observed where the soldiers came into our meetings, they were an awe to the rabble and loose people, who are sometimes apt to be rude. We went to Dublin, in order to attend the national half-year's meeting, and were kindly received by our old landlord, Samuel Judd and his family.

Leinster province meeting began on second-day, the 6th of the eleventh month, and on third-day the national meeting, which held four days; the several sittings thereof being in general attended with a sense of Divine goodness, and the testimony of truth ran strong against hypocrisy, covetousness, liber-

tinism, and pride among the professors thereof; but in a consolatory stream to the humble and contrite children of the family, in a thankful sense whereof the name of the Lord was praised, who is worthy for ever and ever! We tarried a few days longer with Friends in Dublin, and then went to meetings at Baltiboys, Timahoe, Rathangan and Edenderry, and a religious sitting in John Pim's family at Nurney. Returning to Edenderry, attended their monthly meeting, where having a concern to visit some families of Friends, we went to most of them in that town, and to the house of a widow in the country, where we had a good opportunity with her and her children. I asked the Friend who accompanied us, whether there was any other Friend's house to which we had not been; he said he thought not. My mind had a draught to some house, and I pointed toward it, he then said he believed he knew where; so we went to the place, and the family being called together, I inquired whether there was not another belonging to the house, and was told there was. As soon as he came, I knew it was the man whom my mind was concerned to visit, and something I had to express reached and tendered him very much, he being exceedingly wild and fashionable, and did not love to attend religious meetings, but truth now reached him. On the first-day following I saw him at Edenderry meeting, where the visitation seemed to be renewed to him; I afterwards heard that he continued to be sober and thoughtful, and I was thankful to the Lord that he was pleased to condescend in mercy to gather the outcast of Israel. Being clear of this place, I returned to Dublin, and having a concern to visit the families of some who made profession of truth, but were disorderly in their conduct—we began that service, being accompanied by several Friends, and the Lord was pleased to own the work. During our stay we were careful to attend all the meetings in this city for worship and discipline, one of which was a quarterly meeting for the youth, in which many were tendered by the love of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. We visited about sixty families, in most of which the Lord was pleased to favour with authority to set the testimony of truth over the heads of the corrupt disorderly professors, and to influence with understanding to divide the word and counsel of truth to the different states of those we visited; in an humble sense whereof, let my soul obey and adore Him who is alone worthy for ever.

As I apprehended the women's meeting to be deficient in doing their part as true helps in the exercise of the discipline, and a proper care over the flock and family of the Lord, a

weighty concern attended me to express in writing my sense of what was the proper business of women's meetings, which I showed to the men friends, and had their concurrence to lay it before the women's meeting, in order for their encouragement and practice in the wisdom of truth; and it was afterwards sent to the women's meetings throughout the nation.

The vessel in which we came to Ireland being ready to sail, and the master desirous of our company to return with him, I felt so clear and easy that I intended to go; but when he sent us word to come on board, I was more inclined to stay that day, and went to meeting, being first-day, and he sailed. But meeting with contrary winds and dark weather, he was obliged to put back into Dublin harbour after about a week's fatigue; my being withheld from embarking, I thought was a remarkable kindness and favour from my great and good Master; praised be his name! We had afterwards several good meetings, in some of which it became my concern to recommend silence by example, of which they stood in much need; and on the 23d of the first month, 1753, after having travelled in Ireland thirteen hundred and fifteen miles, and had one hundred and thirty-four meetings, besides many family visits, feeling my mind to be fully clear, we went on board a ship of Whitehaven, Allen Wilson master, having in much love taken leave of our friends. After a short, but rough passage of about twenty-three hours, we arrived at Whitehaven, with hearts humbly thankful to the Lord who had preserved us; the master saying that he had not known the like for twelve years, although he had sailed between the two ports very constantly. Next day after our arrival, our friend John Harris, of Highfield, with whom we had left our horses, brought them to us and we went home with him, visiting the meetings in the neighbourhood; several of which, particularly the last at Pardsay Hall, were large and precious opportunities, and I thought I could perceive that my former painful labours among them had been blessed, for which I was truly thankful to the holy Head of the church, and the Master of the assemblies of his people. From thence we went to Lortonhall and had an evening meeting with the people of the town, to which came the priest and most of his hearers; and although the craft and conduct of the hirelings were set forth, all was quiet and it ended well.

From thence we went to Kendal, and staying a general meeting there, proceeded to others in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and to one we had appointed at Coln, where are no members of our Society, and though a poor

dark town in respect to religion, the people behaved soberly, and many were tendered by the gentle, yet powerful reaches of Heavenly goodness. I may say, that in riding through some towns in England where no Friend dwelt, I felt a secret salutation of love to the inhabitants, though as a seed yet ungathered; but my present business in general was to the children of the family, that when it shall please the Lord to open the eyes of others to behold Zion, no stumbling-block may appear to offend beholders, or dim her heavenly beauty.

At Halifax we had a large open meeting, and divers others in Yorkshire, until we came to Sheffield, where we visited some families to our satisfaction, and after attending two meetings in Derbyshire, returned to John Haslam's, and again to Sheffield, and sat their morning meeting on first-day, and in the afternoon attended the burial of Ellen Atwick, a Friend of good repute, to which many people came, and I had a favourable opportunity. I went to Blythe, in Nottinghamshire, and had a meeting, and several in other towns this week, and reached Rawcliff, in Yorkshire, on first-day. On the night before, I had a dream which much affected me; "I thought I heard a kind of melody and singing at my left hand, whereupon I said, what do ye rejoice at. But it continuing, I said, your singing is somewhat like David's rejoicing before the ark, but I see it not. I then heard a voice on my right saying, the ark is in the land of the Philistines, where it was taken through the wickedness of the priests and the sins of the people, who removed the ark from Shiloh to strengthen them in battle." I awoke and was under some exercise for a time, concluding it was ominous, but saw no further, until we went to meeting in the forenoon, where I soon heard a kind of tuneful sighing, which kept increasing; and turning my head to discover from whence it came, found it to be at my left hand. After a while a person stood up and spoke a few sentences of extraordinary enjoyments which were to be felt. My mind was pained, and after he sat down I stood up and said, "What are ye doing? and what do you feel to occasion this rejoicing?" and should have proceeded to have told them my thoughts, but instantly my dream came into my mind, and so with little addition I sat down very sorrowful. After the meeting I went to dinner, but could not eat much or be cheerful. At the afternoon meeting we had the same tune until my spirit was afflicted; but labouring to know that quiet which is not easily disturbed, I received strength in a loving frame of mind to inform them, that I feared they were mistaken in their states and conditions, for that death reigned, and it was rather a



time of mourning. As truth arose in some good degree, that formal spirit became dried up; and in the evening having the company of the chief singer among them, I had a freedom simply to relate my dream to him, with a desire that he might examine whether the ark enclosing the pure testimony, was preserved safe amongst them; which shut up further conversation. In a few days after, an intimate friend asked me how I fared there; I repeated to him my dream, and he told me it was very significant, for that a withering had taken place in that meeting, and that man had several children who were married to persons who did not profess with us; and being treated with as a parent, he said it might be a means of increasing the meeting, if those they married came to meeting with them, and discouraged Friends from dealing with them, lest it should prevent them.

Then taking a meeting at Selby, we proceeded to the quarterly meeting at York, which continued two days, and was a good meeting. Here we met my brother, William Brown, to our mutual comfort, after a separation of nineteen months; we soon parted again, he going towards Lancaster, and we to several meetings in Yorkshire and some in Lincolnshire. In some places I observed the form to remain and life to be wanting, and in others the professors of truth are too generally declined from both. True life gives birth to a true form; but the mere form will never produce the life of truth. Frome thence we went to Retford and Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire, and at the last town had two meetings, one of which was with Friends by themselves; for it did not always appear convenient to deliver too publicly, those things which tended to the reproof of some disorderly walkers in the family, lest it should rather harden than restore and heal, especially where their conduct did not occasion open reproach. Taking a meeting at Broughton, we went to Nottingham, and had three meetings there on first-day; next at Oxham, with a few Friends who were glad thereof, being sometimes missed by travellers; and the day following we had an appointed meeting at Nottingham to satisfaction. In this place they are troubled with some ranters, who force themselves into meetings for discipline. Friends were exhorted to keep up the testimony of truth in the meek humble spirit thereof, in which its dominion will stand for ever. We spent some time in visiting meetings in Leicestershire, taking one at Oakham, in Rutlandshire, where some innocent Friends live, and I think it is the only meeting of Friends in that county. At Boswellstreet we had a meeting with some who had been lately convinced, but had not yet known a true es-

tablishment in humbly waiting for the power of truth, to give a solid growth in pure religion. The same evening we had a meeting at Coventry to good satisfaction; and the week following came to Dudley in Worcestershire, where we lodged at James Payton's, whose sister Catharine was preparing to go on a religious visit to America. Staying the meeting on first-day in Dudley, we went to others in this county and Warwickshire, and came to Eaden in Northamptonshire, to which meeting many people came, some of whom were very unruly, but the power of truth prevailing, it ended quietly, praised be the Lord who is all sufficient for his own work. At a meeting held in an evening at Chipping-Norton there were many tender young people, to whom I felt a salutation in the love of truth; but before I thought it safe for me to stand up, a young man not much like a Friend stood up, and began to exhort them to be faithful in discharging whatsoever the Lord required of them, and how eminently he would be with and qualify them for his work, as though they were all appointed to enter upon some extraordinary great service. My mind was much grieved, for I thought it would be more suitable for them deeply to retire and wait for the virtue of truth and sap of life, to experience a growth in grace and the knowledge of God, that they might be prepared to work out their own salvation. To expect a young tree to produce abundance of fruit before the branches are come forth and spread with strength to bear it, is not reasonable. The words, "sit down," passed through my mind for some time, and at length I spoke them so that he heard, which I perceived by a small stop he made; but going on again, I said prithee friend sit down, which he did. I felt that my saying so, surprised the people and perhaps offended some, and that it would be in vain to deliver what was on my mind, so expressing a few sentences only, I sat down very sorrowful, and the meeting ended. I was informed by a Friend at our lodgings, that he was one lately come from the Methodists, which I before apprehended by his appearance. On going to bed I was much concerned lest it should hurt him, and deeply sought to know whether I had not spoken to him in a selfish spirit, because he had taken the time of the meeting appointed on my account, and feeling love towards him, I prayed in spirit that the Lord would be pleased to preserve him from harm thereby, and that if I had done wrong, I might be made sensible of rebuke for my future instruction; when in great calmness I understood that it would not hurt him. After a meeting the next day at Sibbard, a woman Friend who was at the meeting the evening

before, desired me to send by her a message, or write to the young man, for she was fearful he would go beside himself; I told her that when I spoke to him I thought myself right, and knew what I was about; but now I could not see what to do at present, and to act by her direction was dangerous, so we parted, and in about a week after, a Friend let me know that there was no danger of his receiving hurt, but hoped he would be benefited.

Taking a few meetings on our way, we arrived at London on the 7th of the sixth month, and next day attended Grace-church street meeting, and in the following week the yearly meeting, which was comfortable and solid, divers weighty matters being therein proposed for consideration from several of the counties, which tended rather to benefit. In the management of the affairs, there appeared in some a disposition to oppose what they thought to be new, notwithstanding the same things appeared very expedient to others, who from their views thereof, might urge their sentiments rather too strongly. A prospect of the Lord's servants truly disciplined, armed and qualified for his work, and of such who equip, arm and arrange themselves, and move by their own direction, was presented to my view in a dream one night during the time of this meeting; "I thought I beheld two armies set in array against each other, one of them well armed with swords and muskets; the other had no weapons for their defence, but a charge given them by their general to keep their ranks, and gently to march directly forward as he should lead, no man reaching forth his own hand to defend himself. They joined in battle, and when one of the unarmed soldiers was borne hard upon by his opponent, he reached forth his hand at arms length, when a sword took off one of his fingers, and the blood sprinkled on several of his fellow soldiers; whereupon knowing the orders given, I cried out, if that hand had not been so stretched out, this wound would not have been received, and so I awakened." On the morrow I was fully convinced that in transacting the affairs of truth, the honour of God should be our only view, with a single eye to his direction, and self made of no reputation, which will be a shield against all reflections and personal censures. It so happened, that a valuable zealous Friend, being strongly reflected on as a prejudiced party, and a little warmed thereby, made an over hasty, and perhaps too warm a reply, which is apt to stir up warmth in those who depend on no other guard than their own armour, and with their own strength use a selfish weapon; by this unguarded reply, the Friend brought a reproof on himself and some others, that were united in the cause of truth.

The victory belongs to the Lamb for ever, who when he was spit upon and reviled, did not again revile.

After staying in London and attending the Peel meeting on first-day, and the meeting of ministers and elders on second-day morning, we went to Chelmsford, and rested a day or two with our friend John Griffith, attended their week-day meeting and a general meeting at Easterfordkelvedon, and proceeded to the yearly meeting at Colchester, which held three days and was a time of Divine favour. Then going to Ipswich and to a monthly meeting at Woodbridge, we continued there on first-day, and on the next began their yearly meeting, which held until the fourth-day of the week, in all eight sittings, some whereof were large and very good. No praise to him that willeth, or to him that runneth, but to the Lord alone that showeth mercy. There being a marriage at the meeting on fifth-day, I had an open time, wherein I had to set forth, that as man in the beginning was taken from the earth by the hand of the Lord, and a life breathed into him different from the earth, by which he became a living soul, and stood in the image and liberty of his Creator, but falling from the heavenly image and liberty therein through transgression, he is now of the earth, earthly in his love and liberty, so he must be separated from the earthly low estate which stands in the transgression and death, by the regenerating Word of power, and transformed by the renewing of his mind, will and affections, and placing them on heavenly objects. For as the potter separateth the clay from the other earth, and tempers it by itself before he formeth and maketh a vessel thereof, so must man by the operation of the Heavenly hand, be tempered, wrought, prepared, and freed from his own stubborn will, and made submissive to the Heavenly will, that he may not be marred on the wheel, but bear the turning of the Heavenly hand until he be formed a vessel to honour. But if the will of man does not become subject, but stands in rebellion, the Lord who said, "My spirit shall not always strive with man," hath power over the clay to reject that which will not be wrought into a vessel for honour, and suffer it to be marred in its own stubborn will. When an earthly potter hath formed a vessel for use, he carefully setteth it aside, until it be prepared to bear a further operation, to harden and glaze it for the use for which it is made; if man should put even water into an earthen vessel formed for that use, before it is hardened and prepared by fire, he would both mar the vessel and expose that which was put therein. Let not such therefore who have known the Heavenly hand so to prepare them,



that they are willing to be whatsoever the Lord would make of them, marvel if the Lord should be pleased to set them by a while for the trial of their faith. If the earthly potter's vessel should crack in drying, it would be marred, so if these vessels of the heavenly Potter keep not the word of his patience in this their drying season, to prepare them for the operation of the heavenly fire and furnace, in which the Lord will sanctify and fit his vessels for the use of his holy sanctuary, they will also be marred; but otherwise they will come forth vessels of honour in his house.

I thought this was a remarkably good meeting, the praise thereof belongs to the Lord alone. We had also a select meeting with Friends, and visited several families in the town to satisfaction, truth owning us together, and after a good opportunity at a Friend's house in the country on our way, we went to Norwich and attended their meetings on first-day. The yearly meeting began the next, and ended on fourth-day, after seven sittings generally large and satisfactory, through the overshadowing of Divine goodness. I continued in this city several days after, visiting families and steadily attending their meetings, and had some open satisfactory opportunities. My way now opening for Holland we went to Yarmouth, several Friends accompanying us, and on the 26th of the seventh month, embarked on board the ship *Three Brothers*, Richard Smith master, my companion John Pemberton, being willing to continue with me.

On the first-day of the week following, we landed at Rotterdam and lodged at an inn. Next morning feeling my mind drawn forward, we went in a stage wagon to Turgow, and from thence in the track-skute to Amsterdam in the evening, the metropolis of South Holland, and were conducted to Friends' meeting house at the *Three-hooks*, in *Princes' street*, in which Michael Laars and his sister lived, and were kindly received, and rested the next day.

I found a concern to visit the families of Friends in this city, in which service we spent most of the week to our satisfaction, John Vanderwarf, jr., being interpreter; we also attended their week-day meeting, in which Peter Linders was interpreter. On first-day following, the meeting in the morning was pretty large, and many people came to that in the afternoon, some of whom behaved rudely; but truth came over, and they were stilled, and seemed to depart satisfied. We continued here until their week-day meeting again, which many not of our Society attended, and it was to general satisfaction. I then felt my mind drawn towards North Hol-

land, and taking passage in the track-skute, passed through several towns and arrived at the city of *Hoorn*, where we were met by our friend Cort Hendricks, who took us in his wagon to his house at *Twisk*, in North Holland, the same night. Here finding the like concern, we visited the families of Friends, and had a meeting with them in the evening. Next day we went to *Abbey Kirk*, a village about two miles distant, where about five or six families of Friends live, whom we visited. Friends generally seemed to receive our visits kindly, except one family, where I was concerned to open that saying of our dear Lord, "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees," &c.; for I was much burthened under a sense of a self-righteous, exalted spirit; and in opening that passage, was also led to speak of the parable of the pharisee and publican, who went up into the temple to pray, which probably touched the heads of that family, and I felt a strong opposition in them, and perceived the passage was not pleasing to our interpreter; I could not shake off my burden, yet was preserved quiet in my mind, having honestly done my part. Returned to *Twisk*, where the meeting was held for both villages, and on first-day morning was pretty large, Friends being generally there; but our interpreter had most of the time, so that he was too far spent to interpret much for me. Several not professing with us, attended in the afternoon, and I had a satisfactory time with them early in the meeting, when an awful sense of truth seemed to be over us, after which our interpreter had something further to say. I have often lamented the increase of words, and a repetition of former experiences without the renewing of life, which disposition seems to prevail in too many, burdening the sensible members in our Society.

As we sat this evening in a Friend's house at *Twisk*, two elderly women came in, professors of truth, but very talkative. I had seen them several times before, and been burdened with them, and now had something to speak to them; but feared such plain dealing would be too strong for our interpreter, who appeared to be very sociable with them; therefore I delivered my mind without singling them out, several others being present. These women took it to themselves, but not in such a disposition as I desired, being disturbed; they followed us to our lodgings, and made their complaint to our interpreter, bidding him ask me if I took them to be such persons as I had described; if so, they desired to know what I had to accuse them with? At first it put me to a stand, but being still, I soon thought it was providential that they thus gave me an

opportunity to clear myself of the burden I had borne on their account. I told them that to enter into particular charges was not my business, but was free to let them know that I had been in pain on their account from the first time I saw them, and that if I had a true sense of their states, they were not such as they ought to be, but had lost the savour of what they professed to enjoy, and could so freely talk of. I told one of them that I took her to be dark and ignorant of her own state; and the other, that she was too light and chaffy in her spirit, and that they both wanted the true clothing of the Lord's children, which is humility of heart and reverence of spirit, which would season all their conversation and conduct, that they would not be stumbling blocks to their neighbours, as I feared they were. I also told them, that I believed when I spoke as I did at the Friend's house, it belonged to them, in which I was now confirmed, for had they been sincere hearted, they would have borne it without flinching; but they had shown that their sore places were touched, and I dared not to lessen the weight of what was then said, but desired them to receive and ponder it well; for I was sure it was delivered in love, and believed it to be a visitation to them in their old age. This being interpreted to them, they spoke something to the interpreter which I did not understand; then one of them said she had yet love in her heart for me: I told her I had nothing but good will towards her, and so they went away.

Afterwards the interpreter told me he had known these women many years; that I had a true sense of them, and he had delivered my words honestly, and hoped they would do them good.

We next had a meeting with Friends of Twisk by themselves, in which we were favoured with the savour of truth, the sincere hearted being refreshed, and the disorderly warned to be more careful.

After taking some refreshment, we hastened to attend another meeting appointed for us at Abbey Kirk in the afternoon, which was held in the house where I felt the opposition before mentioned. I soon was sensible of some matter in my mind to divide to the people; first to a low afflicted state, and things opened pretty clear, and were interpreted readily. But proceeding to the other states, I felt the current obstructed, and the force of my sentences evaded, and had a sense that the minds of the Friends of that house were shut up against what I had to deliver. I forbore going on, and the interpreter soon began and continued to speak nearly an hour. When he had done, I felt a great weight on my mind, and desired him to interpret a few sen-

tences for me; he did not seem very free to do it, saying, "Let it be short then." The substance was, "That I had come in love to see them, and was in no way prepossessed or informed concerning any person or case among them; yet found they were shut up against what I had to deliver. Nevertheless, I could not be easy without letting them know that I did believe, unless they humbled themselves, and were stripped from that self-righteous wholeness, wherewith they had clothed themselves, they never would grow in the life of true religion; but would be as stumbling blocks to the sincere hearted among them." I went out of the house and returned to our lodging, not having freedom to stay there longer. Our interpreter, who tarried with them after we were gone, told me that they supposed a certain Friend who had been in Holland sometime before, and spoken very closely to them, had informed me concerning them; and I thought the interpreter also favoured that sentiment, which made me not to wonder at the opposition I had felt both in him and them. I told him, until that time I never knew that the Friend whom they thus judged, had been there, and that I had never heard of their names, nor the name of the town, until I came with him, and desired him to give it in charge to a Friend of Twisk, who was present with us, to let those Friends know from me, what I then said of my innocence.

Feeling myself now pretty easy respecting that place, we returned towards Amsterdam, accompanied by two Friends to Hoorn, where no Friends now live, though formerly there were some, and at times meetings have been held there. I had thoughts of having one; but being under discouragement, had almost concluded to proceed on our way; but in walking through the city to the skute, which was to set off for Amsterdam in a few minutes, I felt my mind affected with a sense that my great and good Master was near, and desired with earnest breathings to know his will, and if he would be pleased to be with me, I was willing to do the same, as he should require and enable me. I then felt such a stream of love towards the inhabitants, that I was convinced there was a visitation to them, as though the Lord would in his own time gather a people there. I had not disclosed my mind to any one, although I felt a draught back; but seeing a young man in the street, I desired the interpreter to ask him if he thought we could have a meeting in that town, to which he readily answered that he believed we might, and taking hold of my baggage, said, if we would please to return to his house, he would endeavour to procure a place and acquaint



the people, which he very punctually, and with great speed performed. We met about four o'clock in the afternoon at the house of Cornelius Olyslager, and had a good opportunity with a friendly people, several of whom were reached and tendered by the virtue and savour of truth, which spread freely; for which the Giver of all good was reverently praised, who is worthy forever. The people departed in much love, and we returned to the young man's house, where we were affectionately entertained that night; we should have been glad to converse with the people, but could not understand their language, yet had a sense that they were satisfied with the meeting.

Accompanied by this kind young man, Derrick Meschaert, our landlord, to the trackskute, we took leave with tears on each side, and arriving at Amsterdam, sat with Friends that afternoon in their week-day meeting to satisfaction. We then visited the remainder of Friends' families in this city, and were comforted therein, the Lord being pleased to own our labour, and I pray it may be blessed to them. On first-day morning we had a large solid meeting, at which were several strangers, particularly two young men, Italians, who behaved well; also many of the citizens who had never been at a Friends' meeting before. The afternoon meeting was also large, but some of the lower sort who came to gaze out of curiosity, behaved rudely; yet it ended better than I expected. There seemed to be an openness in many to hear the testimony and principles of truth declared; but it is a dull way to speak by an imperfect interpreter.

On the 22nd of the eighth month was held what they call their yearly meeting, which was attended by several not of our Society; but it has little more than the name of a yearly meeting, the discipline of truth being much lost.

Feeling some concern still to continue on my mind towards the Friends at Abbey Kirk, where I was sensible of the opposition before hinted, I had freedom to write them a letter; but on considering that the Friend and his wife to whom I wrote were persons of note, I was fearful that their resentment might hurt some others; and having a tender concern towards the sincere hearted, it was with me to prepare the way by writing an epistle to Friends of the meeting at Twisk, to which those of Abbey Kirk belong; both which I got a Friend of Amsterdam to translate; that to the meeting I sent immediately, that it might be read on a first-day, and directed the other to be sent soon after.

That to Friends at Twisk, was as follows:

Dear Friends,

The honest and sincere hearted amongst you, I salute in gospel love; and as I believe there is a small remnant who are desirous to witness the peace of God in your hearts, and a sure hope of receiving the answer of well done at the conclusion of your time in this world, mind the instructions of the Spirit of Christ Jesus in your own hearts, for it is this which leads into all truth; it shows unto man, of what sort the thoughts of his heart are, and it witnesseth against every bad word and action. The Spirit of Truth hath taught the children of God in all ages; it was by this spirit that our worthy elders were led from the lo-heres and lo-theres, which are in the world; and established on the true foundation. The revelation or teaching of the Spirit of God in their own hearts, upheld them under sore afflictions and outward sufferings from the powers of the earth; and by this they were preserved in the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace.

Dear Friends, beware of letting out your minds after the doctrines and teachings of men, who have not the Word of life committed to them to preach in the love and power of truth. For if ye do, ye will be unstable and wavering, and a wavering man is as a wave of the sea, tossed to and fro with every contrary wind of doctrine. Neither look you too much to the example one of another, but wait to receive in yourselves a sense of what ye ought to do and to join with, and what ye ought to be separated from, then will you be able to judge what you hear and see; because you have the Spirit of Truth in your own hearts; for that is the true rule, judge and guide, which leads into all truth.

Since I was with you, I have often thought that you will never grow strong in the truth, nor teach the principles thereof one to another, until you be obedient to its teachings in your own hearts, and act and behave in all things according to the pure witness thereof in your own selves; this makes living, sound, steady members, zealous both of love and good works in themselves, and amongst their brethren and sisters.

Dear Friends, be careful to meet together, and admonish those who fall short of their duty herein. And when you are assembled, wait on the Lord with a mind turned inward; and if ye wait in faith and patience, the Lord will be found of you, and reveal himself in the midst of you, to your comfort and consolation.

With sincere desires that every good thought and secret inquiry after the knowledge of God

in each of your hearts, may be strengthened and blessed, I remain your affectionate friend,

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Amsterdam, 23d of the eighth month, 1753.

A copy of my letter to the Friend and his wife, here follows:

My friends,

I have had an exercise on my mind ever since I came first into your house, to visit your family, which was on the 11th instant. I came an entire stranger, free from any information from man concerning you; but as soon as I came into the house, I felt the innocent life of truth and pure seed of the kingdom oppressed in you.

Our dear Lord said, "Learn of me, for I am meek and low of heart." His spirit in us, if we take heed thereto, will teach us to be meek and low in heart. At this day his teaching is the same, and will remain to be so to all his followers forever. Oh may you be humble, for it is the humble that the Lord teaches of his ways; and the meek he guides in judgment. But from the whole and self-righteous, who are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own conceit, the Lord will hide the mysteries of his pure wisdom. To the babes who are truly changed and born from above, and those sucklings who are weaned from the breasts of the world and its wisdom, and are leaning on the breast of Christ their beloved, desiring the sincere milk of his word, that they may grow thereby, the Lord will reveal true knowledge and wisdom from above. This wisdom is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, and those who have the same in possession, have the seasoning virtue of truth; they have salt in themselves, and are therefore preserved in peace and unity with the pure truth, and also one with another. Such professors who know and receive the most holy faith, they know the same to work in them by love, to the purifying of their hearts. These are Jews inward, circumcised in heart, true Israelites indeed, in whom there is no guile; and their righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and pharisees.

I heartily wish that you may, in your old age, be concerned to know the life of pure religion; a sense of the want thereof in your family, burthened my life whilst I was in your house, which was the reason why I could not be free to eat and drink with you.

In order to discharge myself towards you, have I written these few lines, desiring that you may examine yourselves, and see if there be not a cause; and in the love of truth, which

leads us to deal plainly one with another, I remain your real friend and well-wisher,

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Amsterdam, 23d of the eighth month, 1753.

We continued with Friends in this city and attended their two meetings on first-day, and in the evening had an opportunity with several to satisfaction, for our love rather increased. Next morning feeling my mind clear of Friends in Holland, I was easy to return towards England, and accompanied by several to the skute, we took leave and went to Turgow by water; from thence by wagon to Rotterdam, in all about forty-two miles. There are no members of our Society in this city; we went to see the meeting house and had some thoughts of having a meeting; but being the time of a great fair, which occasioned a concourse of rude people, there was no prospect of having one to advantage.

John Vanderwarf, jr., came with us to Rotterdam, with whom we parted in much love, early on fourth-day morning, the 29th of the eighth month, and went on board the same ship which brought us hither; it having made a voyage to England and back since. We sailed with a fair wind down the Maese to the Briel, before noon, when it becoming contrary, we lay at anchor until first-day morning; then proceeding, we passed over the dangerous sands and to sea, and arrived at Yarmouth about one o'clock the next day, and had a meeting with Friends the same evening. In this journey to Holland, we travelled by sea and land about five hundred miles.

From Yarmouth we went in a chaise to Norwich, where Friends were rejoiced to see us, and we were thankful for our safe return; and being concerned to spend some more time among them in this city, we visited a few families and attended their monthly meeting, also their two meetings on first-day, which were dull and heavy; the minds of the people being too much outward, I found it my place to recommend silence by example; more than by words, in both those meetings.

Next day I went to visit Hannah Lucas, a school mistress, who was newly convinced; she was in a low state of mind, and our visit was to mutual satisfaction, being comforted together. At their week-day meeting on third-day, I had a seasonable time to discharge my mind towards Friends in that city, in which I was led to deal plainly with them. They are a loving people to strangers and each other; but there is a want of weightiness of spirit, and of a proper care in the exercise of the discipline of the church.

Before going to Holland, I was several times



at the shop of a barber in this city to be shaved. The second time I was there, I had to wait awhile for my turn, he having no assistant; and when others were gone out, he told me he was sorry I had to wait and hoped he should have my custom, and that if I would come on Saturdays and Wednesdays in the forenoon, I need not wait; but in the afternoon others came. I asked him what days of the week those were which he called Saturday and Wednesday? He seemed to wonder at my ignorance, but knew not how to tell me otherwise. I said, I do not read in the Scriptures of any days so named. He replied, that is true. For what reason then, said I, dost thou call them so? Because it is a common custom, said he. Suppose then, said I, that we lived in a heathen country among infidels who worshipped idols, should we follow their customs because common? He replied, by no means. I then said, if I have understood rightly, the heathens gave the days of the week those names. I never heard that before, said he, pray for what reason? I answered, they worshipped the sun on the first-day of the week, and named it after their idol, Sunday; the moon on the second-day of the week, so came Monday; and the other days after other idols, for they had many gods; third-day they called Tuesday, after their idol Tuisco; and after the idol Woden, they called fourth-day Wednesday; and fifth-day after their idol Thor, they called Thursday; from Friga, Friday; and after Saturn they called the seventh-day, Saturday. As I believe in the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, and expect eternal life by no other name or power, I dare not, for conscience sake, own the gods of the heathen, or name a day after them; but choose the names which the days were called by, when the Most High performed his work of creation, viz: first, second, third, and so on, which is Scriptural, most plain and easily understood.

He seemed affected with the information, and I desired him to inquire into the matter for himself, and not to think I designed to impose upon him. The next time of my going to his shop, he showed me some papers whereon he had begun to learn algebra, and asked me how I liked it. I said it might be useful to some, but that I could take up grubbing or follow the plough without studying algebra, as he might also shave a man, &c., without it; besides I found it a more profitable and delightful study to be quietly employed in learning the law of the Lord, written in my own heart, that I might walk before him acceptably.

On my return from Holland to Norwich, a

man ran to me in the street, putting a paper into my hand, and immediately left me, whom I soon found to be this barber. The letter contained an innocent childlike acknowledgment to me for my freedom with him, as is before mentioned, in language rather too much showing his value for me as an instrument; and believing him to be reached by the love of truth, and in measure convinced thereof, I thought it best to leave him in the Lord's hand for further instruction, to learn by the immediate teachings of the holy Spirit, that his love might be centred on the true Beloved of souls; for want whereof many are hurt, looking outward and growing in head knowledge, seeking the esteem and friendship of man, from whom we are to cease, his breath and life being stopped at the Lord's command.

I mention this passage with a view to stir up my friends of the same holy profession, to let their language be the language of truth to all men, in purity of spirit, and not to name the days of the week or months, after the heathenish idolatrous customs; saying for excuse, that they to whom they speak best understand them, and that it saves further explanation, which excuse is far from a disposition apt to teach, and letting the light of truth shine as they ought. "Neither do men," said our blessed Instructor, "light a candle and put it under a bushel; but on a candlestick, and it giveth light to all that are in the house." Nor doth the Lord enlighten his candle, that is the spirit of man, with the pure knowledge of truth, that we should cover it, either with an easeful disposition to save ourselves trouble, or hide the work thereof under the bushel of worldly saving care, after the gain and treasure of this world; but that it may stand on the candlestick, and thereby crown those who are thus favoured with the holy light, that as a city set on an hill they cannot be hid.

The corrupt language of you to a single person, and calling the months and days by heathen names, are esteemed by some to be little things; but if a faithful testimony in these little things, was blessed in the instance before mentioned, even to the raising an earnest inquiry after the saving knowledge of God and his blessed Son, whom to know is eternal life; perhaps such who baulk their testimony to the pure talent of truth given them to profit withal, may one day have their portion appointed with the wicked and slothful servant.

After the last mentioned meeting I found my mind easy to leave Norwich, and went with Richard Brewster and wife to Wymondham that evening, and next day to Edmondsbury. Feeling an engagement of mind, we staid at this place eight days, attending their several meetings and monthly meeting, which

is composed of five particular meetings; where, under a sense of a forward formal ministry, my soul mourned and was clothed with sorrow. Next day we had a precious meeting, and the same evening another with the ministers and solid Friends; in which it became my concern to set forth the care they ought to exercise over each other, and how necessary it was to deal plainly with those who did not keep their places: truth owned us together, and I believe the opportunity will be remembered.

My mind being drawn towards Wales, my companion, John Pemberton, who had been with me three years, having travelled together in much love and unity, inclining to go towards London, we parted in the same love. Accompanied by my kind friend, Richard Brewster, I went to Henry Gray's, at Godmanchester, in Huntingdonshire, and the next day to Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, and was at their meetings on first-day, the 23d of the ninth month, which were heavy, for want of more faithful inward labourers; that evening I also had a sitting with a sick Friend.

Next morning several Friends coming to take leave of me, I had an opportunity to remark to them the reason that their meetings were so dull and cloudy; for I thought I clearly saw there was a neglect among them of putting the discipline in practice, where disorders were evident; and that this neglect had caused them to suffer, which would still continue and increase, until they set the testimony of truth over the heads of such who by disorderly walking, had brought a reproach thereon. The Friends were affected, and acknowledged they believed it to be the case amongst them. We parted in tenderness, and I proceeded on my journey with the income of solid peace, and after riding thirty-seven miles, reached Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and the next day Easington, in Warwickshire, where I met with my friends, Richard Partridge and Mary Weston, of London, and we were truly glad to see each other, spending the day together, and had a meeting with Friends in the evening to our mutual comfort. We went in company to Warwick and Coventry, and at the meeting at the last place, which was comfortable, I thought I sensibly felt the benefit of the painful labour I had been exercised in when there before. Richard Partridge returning to London, Mary Weston went with me to the quarterly meeting at Leicester, which began with a meeting of ministers and elders, and one for worship and discipline was held the same day; the service in which lay heavy upon me, and truth favoured, the power thereof being felt to the comfort of

many. I wish that season may not be forgotten by the members of that meeting. On the first-day following I went to a general meeting at Badgeley, and had an evening meeting at Polesworth. I next went to Allen England's, at Tamworth, and had a satisfactory opportunity in his family, to which I had felt a drawing in my mind for some time; but did not know that it would fall in the way to the quarterly meeting at Stafford; which I attended, and there met my friend Joshua Toft. In company with him I returned to Ridgeley, and next day had a meeting at the widow Morris's, and another that evening at Uttoxeter; from thence to Leek, and after a favoured meeting went home with Joshua to Hargate, where after resting one day, had another meeting at Leek, and an opportunity with some Friends at Joshua Strangman's, I had a degree of peace.

Accompanied by Joshua Toft I went to a general meeting at Eaton, in Cheshire, then to Macclesfield, Stockport, Morley and Farnly, the last of which was a good meeting. Here my friend, Samuel Fothergill met me, and we went to a meeting at Sutton; the next day Susanna Fothergill and her brother Alexander came to see me, and we had a comfortable time together at Thomas Hough's, being owned by truth. I was next at a laborious meeting at Newton, though it ended well; next day at Middlewich, then at Nantwich and Chester, from whence I rode to John Bellows', at Stretton. My labours through Cheshire were in a particularly close manner, though there are some solid Friends in that county.

Passing to Shrewsbury in Shropshire, I was at a meeting on first-day at Colebrookdale, and had some close work; but truth seemed to give the victory, and in the evening at Abraham Darby's house had an opportunity, in which the testimony of truth prevailed to the tendering some high and lofty young people; whose faults were told them in the power of the Searcher of hearts, for which the sincere were truly thankful.

Next day returning to Shrewsbury, I went to visit Benjamin Thomas and Richard Bellows, who had been confined in prison about four years and a half for their conscientious refusal to pay tithes, and we had a comfortable season together in the jail, feeling the living presence of the Lord, which makes his people free, even in prisons.

The day following had a meeting in this town, and one in the evening at the house of John Young, both which afforded some peace; but the life of truth is at a low state in Shropshire, and the professors with us few in number.

I then passed into North Wales, to Charles



Lloyd's, at Dolobran, in Montgomeryshire, John Young being with me, and had a meeting there. At this place there was formerly a large meeting; but it is now much declined. From thence we went to Tydynygarrig, in Merionethshire, and had a meeting with a few sincere Friends at the house of Lewis Owen; after which I proceeded on my visit to the other meetings in this county; first in the family of Humphrey Owen, which was a comfortable time, though no other Friends live in this place; then at the house of John Goodwin, in Esgingoch, in Montgomeryshire, where were several tender Friends; but the living are scarcely able to bear the weight of those professors, who although they know the truth, do not abide therein, and so are as withered branches cast forth. Next was a pretty large and satisfactory meeting at Talcoyd, in Radnorshire; then at Cwm and Gluerindrew, and on a first-day at Penbank, where are many professors, though but few solid Friends. After these I was at Penplace and Caermarthen, which last meeting was much to my satisfaction; the few Friends here being of the better sort. Thence to Haverfordwest, staying their meetings on first-day, which were mostly with Friends by themselves; the afternoon was open and satisfactory, as to others professors who came in; but pride and worldly mindedness have much hurt the members of our Society, though there are a few tender Friends. In the evening I had another opportunity with Friends, and was enabled to relieve my mind among them with a degree of thankfulness. The next meeting was at Jamestown, and in the evening of the day following at Larn with the people of the town, who behaved civilly, but seemed barren as to true religion; there was but one in this town in unity with Friends, and he seemed near his end. Crossing a ferry nearly a mile broad, we were in great danger, being driven on shore and the wind very high, the boat was likely to fill with water, and I was obliged to go over a marsh to Caermarthen, being thankful for the deliverance. I had a public meeting with the town's people, to a good degree of satisfaction, and next morning met with my brother, William Brown, at Swanzey, and we were made joyful in the company of each other. Here we had two meetings, and another with Friends selected, in which he got some relief. He left me here, and having a concern on my mind I visited the families of Friends, though not without fear; but felt the help and strength of my great and good Master, who furnished me with power and skill to discharge my duty, both to the lukewarm and the corrupt disorderly professors, without wounding his own children, some of whom

there are in this town. I staid their meeting on fourth-day, which being divinely favoured, I pray may not be forgotten; the power which alone can enable to tread on scorpions or serpents, and preserve from the force of deadly poison, was over all: the honour, praise and glory, be ascribed to the Lord, who is worthy for ever!

Next day I rested, and in a degree of humble thankfulness made these remarks.

I continued many days longer in this town, in which time I had several meetings, some of which were very satisfactory, many of the town's people attending, and the good hand of the Lord was stretched forth towards them; for which I was truly thankful. After spending sixteen days among them, I went to Llantrishon, and the next day had a meeting at Trewaruge; then one at Hillary with a tender inquiring people; also at Cardiff with a seeking people, who had separated themselves from the public worship and met together in silence; this opportunity was an instructive season. On the first-day following I was at Pontypool at two meetings, and had many close things to deliver, observing a want of order among them. In the evening had an opportunity with some of the Friends most active in the discipline, and endeavoured to discharge myself; and on third-day a large and pretty open meeting. Being detained by a great snow, I had another meeting with Friends of the foremost rank on sixth-day, in which I cleared my mind of a great burden I had borne, on account of a formal ministry among them. My next meeting was at Shere Newton, which was pretty large, though dull, the savour of truth being much lost among Friends here; yet I was favoured with strength to discharge myself, and in the feeling of peace went that night to the passage over the Severn, and next day to Bristol.

On third-day I attended their meeting in Bristol, but sat in silence, and was very heavy hearted under a sense of a forward spirit, which would prompt to answer the expectations of the people, and is apt to prevail on some who seem to be called to the work of the ministry; but truth only blesseth its own motion.

I continued in and near this city about four weeks, attending their several meetings, but did not feel relief from the burden I was under. On the 15th of the first month, 1754, hearing that my brother, William Brown, was at Ann Young's, at Erthcot, I went there to see him, and we were comforted in each other's company, and next day attended their meeting to our refreshment; from whence we returned together to Bristol, where we tarried until the 26th. In this time I had several

open meetings, which set me at liberty to leave that city, when we again parted, and I took meetings at Ulverstone, Thornbury, Sadsbury, Dedmartin, Tedbury and at Nailsworth, when I had an opportunity to ease my mind, which was heavily oppressed on account of the formal professors of truth, also to the comfort of the faithful, which was cause of thankfulness.

Calling to visit the widow Fowler who was in affliction, I went to meetings at Plainswick, Gloucester, Ross in Herefordshire, Almerly, Leominster, and Upham; where I visited the wives of the two Friends who are imprisoned at Shrewsbury for their testimony against tithes. Returning to Leominster, I attended the monthly meeting there, in which truth owned us, and taking a meeting at Brooms-grove went to Worcester, and on first-day was at two comfortable meetings, and another on third-day, and the next day attended the quarterly meeting, which was a precious time, wherein Friends were comforted. Finding a concern on my mind I went into the women's meeting, wherein the power of truth accompanied, which is the crown of our religious meetings; here is a tender seed, which will thrive if the Divine power is kept unto.

Being clear of this city, I departed with peace to meetings at Tewksbury, Cheltenham, and again to Nailsworth, where I was at two meetings, in which though hard, I had an evidence that the Lord had not forsaken his seeking people. After attending a conference with several Friends endeavouring to compose a difference, which ended to satisfaction, I proceeded to the quarterly meeting for Gloucestershire, held at Tedbury. Divine goodness and a good degree of the authority of truth attending in the time of worship, and in transacting the affairs of the church.

Next day I went to Cirencester, where I had a hard and dull meeting, the professors of truth having too much departed from the savour thereof; at another in the evening I had an evidence of having discharged my duty. Then proceeded to meetings at Farringdon in Berkshire, Litchfield, Burford in Oxfordshire, Milton, Stow in Gloucestershire, Chipping-Norton, Charlbury, Witney, Abingdon, Warbury, North End, and from thence to High Wiccomb, where the weather being very cold I tarried six days, visiting several families of sick Friends, and the last public meeting being in the evening, which many of the town's people attended, and it was a solid opportunity. From thence I went to Amersham, though with difficulty on account of the snow, and on first-day had a meeting at Chesham; then to Hampstead, and had a meeting, which

was much enlarged by the scholars of William Squire's school, several of whom were affected. After a good opportunity with Friends at Albans, I went to London, where I remained seven weeks and three days, visiting the meetings, and felt much of the weight and burden of the service before me there, and in the opening and authority of truth, I had to speak to the present state of our Society, not only to the instruction of the seeking children and comforting of the mourners; but also by way of rebuke to the disorderly, and close warning to the rebellious.

During my continuance here I felt my mind drawn towards Wiltshire, and thought of attending the quarterly meeting there; but on the day I expected to set forward, found a stop in my mind; though not relieved from a solid concern, which engaged me to inquire secretly what I should do. Notwithstanding this concern to Wiltshire, my burden respecting London seemed rather to increase; but as I kept quiet, I found my heart warmed in love and my mind opened, to write an Epistle to to that quarterly meeting, which with thankfulness I esteemed a great favour from my good Master, being in a poor state of health, the weather unfavourable, and the journey long. In the opening of truth, I wrote as followeth.

#### TO FRIENDS IN WILTSHIRE.

Having had strong desires in my mind for your welfare in the truth, I purposed to attend your quarterly meeting, but being let at this time, and not knowing that I shall ever have an opportunity to see you, I feel a freedom to visit you with a few lines in the opening and love of truth, which flows to you ward.

Dear friends, old and young, as many of you as are desirous to be called the children of God and followers of Christ Jesus, be humble, that you may be taught of him; for it is the humble he teaches of his ways; and be ye meek and low in heart, that you may serve him in your generation and one another in his pure fear, so you will know him for your rest, and his peace your quiet habitation.

My soul hath mourned, and is in some degree covered therewith at this time, under a sense that the love of the world, and its pleasures and delights, abound in too many, which are iniquity, and because thereof the love of many towards God waxeth cold. For want of witnessing the love of God in a pure heart, the mind becomes lukewarm, and indifferent about the things which belong to our peace and future happiness; and so fathers and mothers, masters and mistresses, become dull, if not dead to that holy concern, which should



excite them, both by example and precept, to instruct and train up their children and servants in godliness of life and conversation.

Oh dear friends! search your hearts, and diligently inquire whether something hath not subtilly crept in and stolen away your affections from God; and the deep attention of your minds from the instructions of his holy Spirit of truth. If this becomes your concern, I fully believe the Lord will bless you with enlightened minds to see, and willing hearts to give up all to the fire and sword of his Word and Spirit, that your hearts may be purged, and made temples in which he would take delight to dwell. If the soul is chaste in love to God, and the eye of the mind single to the instruction of the Spirit of Truth, the whole body will be full of light. It is here that the children of God are preserved safe in their steps before the Lord, and free from giving occasion of stumbling to others.

I am fully persuaded there is a remnant amongst you, who feelingly know, that the living sense of the presence and power of God, in your meetings both for worship and discipline, is not plentifully enjoyed, but is at a low ebb. And it is in my mind to let you know what has appeared to me to be one great reason of it, viz. There are many professors of the truth amongst you, who delight to be accounted Friends in esteem in the Society; who have a smooth and fawning behaviour, and flattering tongues, and do seek the love and friendship of such as are Friends of truth, for their own honour and credit, and the reputation of self. Dear friends of such beware, for their friendship is poison, and their intimate fellowship, if cleaved unto, is benumbing, even to insensibility. And for want of a clear discovery of that spirit, some of the tender and sincere hearted amongst you have suffered.

In whomsoever earthly mindedness prevails, or the love of the world and its friendship; there is a secret giving way to, and a gradual reconciliation with its sordid practices; and the eye that once saw in the true light, becomes closed or dimmed, if not wholly blinded by the god of this world.

Liberty is then taken by parents, and indulgence is given to their children; which occasion pain and distress of heart to those who have not lost their sight and feeling. But some, for fear of being rebuked and disesteemed by such who have a sense of them, will court their affections; with which bait they have been taken, and so have been afraid to speak their minds plainly, lest they should offend, or drive them further from the Society; concluding there is a tender thing in them, because they seem to love Friends. Thus many who might have made great progress

have lost ground, for want of speaking truth to their neighbours; and the infection of pride, libertinism, and earthly mindedness has spread and prevailed, even to the hurt of some families who were once exceedingly grieved therewith.

Wherefore my dear friends, fear God with a perfect heart, and in his light watch over your own selves and your families. So shall your hearts be warmly influenced and filled with holy zeal and love to God and his truth; in which you will be bold to act in your meetings for discipline, and in the power of God, which is the authority of the church, you will be able to judge those who walk disorderly; and being faithful therein, you will remove the stumbling blocks, and roll away the reproach which is imputed to the church.

The Lord would feed these faithful labourers with his heavenly bread, and honour them with his life giving presence, and whether the disorderly would hear or forbear, the Lord would be the shield and exceeding great reward of his people, and fill their hearts with praise to his name, who is worthy forever and ever.

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

London, 4th of the Fourth month, 1754.

Let this be read in your men's and women's meetings.

In my travelling to the meetings in Wiltshire, and attending the quarterly meeting in the seventh month, 1750, I was straitened to clear myself towards them, which occasioned me to leave them in pain of mind, but now having sent them this epistle I was made easy, believing they would read it, and send copies thereof to their several monthly meetings, which would be likely to be heard by more Friends than if my concern had been delivered in the quarterly meeting only. Enclosing it to an innocent Friend at Chippenham, I desired him to deliver it to the said meeting, which I afterwards understood he did, and that Friends had answered my request.

Feeling my mind easy to leave London for a while, I went to Esher, in Surry; was the next day at a large meeting at Kingston, on Thames, which was pretty open as to doctrine, and the people seemed attentive, and several much tendered; there are but few Friends here.

I then visited other meetings in Hampshire and Berkshire, being made thankful to the great Author of all good, who had been with me in the journey under my indisposition of body. Coming to London I met with many Friends from different parts of the nation,

assembled in order to attend the yearly meeting, which began on the 2nd day of the sixth month, and continued ten days, being a very large and in the main a solid meeting. Many weighty affairs relating to our religious Society were therein considered, and it was agreed, that in future this meeting should begin with a meeting of ministers and elders, on the seventh-day of the week, at the third hour in the afternoon, that inquiry might be made into the state of the ministry in general, which I hope may be attended with good service hereafter.

On the 11th of the sixth month after the parting meeting, I went from London and attended a yearly meeting in Hertford, which was very large. The next day I accompanied several Friends who were appointed to visit a monthly meeting, the members of which paid tithes and contended for liberty so to do without censure. We had a conference with them, in which the testimony of truth was set over them, and they were taken and confounded in their own arguments. After this I attended a general or yearly meeting at Baldock, which was very large and satisfactory, returning next morning to London. I was truly thankful that I had been enabled to attend these three meetings, enjoying great peace in my labours there, which lay heavy upon me; my gracious and good Master gave me wisdom, boldness and strength to clear myself in the love and power of truth, to the tendering of many hearts; may I ever remember his mercies to me, and be enabled to bless and praise his holy name, who is worthy for ever! Continuing in and near London about ten days, I then went to a large satisfactory meeting at Rochester, in Kent, where were several clergymen, who behaved well. Next day had a meeting at Loos, in the house of Thomas Crisp, with a few Friends and others; then going to my friend William Patterson's, at Canterbury, I was at their meeting in that town, and the day following had one on the isle of Thanet, where there are a few friendly people. The meeting next day at Dover was pretty open; on first-day I was at two meetings at Folkestone, which were dull and heavy, though there are many Friends in that place, amongst whom I was favoured with strength to ease my mind.

I then visited a number of meetings and came to Chichester, when finding a concern to visit the families of Friends in this city, I spent two days in the service and had some close exercise, though a good degree of peace. I also attended their two meetings on first-day, which were heavy and laborious; for though here are some tender people, yet the spirit of the world has brought a blast on several pro-

fessors. I went to Gosport, in Hampshire, where we had a meeting; also one in the evening at Portsmouth, John Griffith and Jeremiah Waring being with me; then going to Cowes, on the isle of Wight, had a good meeting at Newport, likewise one in the evening with the town's people. After another opportunity with Friends, returned to Cowes, where I had a meeting with a few of our brethren, and on first-day the 21st of the seventh month, attended two meetings at Pool, in Dorsetshire, which were dull and laborious; a worldly libertine spirit has brought a blast on many. Next day we had a meeting with a few Friends at Weymouth, and then at Bridport; truth seems at a low ebb in Dorsetshire. The next meeting was at Ringwood, in Hampshire, which was dull; where the life of truth is not abode in, people will wither. The same evening we had a meeting to pretty good satisfaction at Fordingbridge, and one at Alton; at which place we had another very satisfactory meeting on first-day, and that evening at Godalming; and taking a few others, I came to London for the last time, and spent eight days more with Friends in that city. On my coming here from Albans, on the 19th of the third month before mentioned, I felt great fear to possess my mind, having before spent about thirteen weeks in that city, mostly under a close exercise of spirit, without an openness to say much in public or private to obtain relief; so that to go thither again appeared to me like entering into a cloud, although I was secretly bound in spirit to proceed. But attending all the meetings as they came in course, I felt a gradual openness and strength to declare those things, which before had been sealed up, being now made sensible that every opening or vision, which the Lord is pleased to manifest to his servants, is not for immediate utterance. The Lord who gives judgment, should be carefully waited upon, who only can show, by the manifestation of his heavenly light, the time when, and by the gentle putting forth of his arm of power, give ability in the opening of his spirit, which giveth tongue and utterance to speak the word of truth in the demonstration of the spirit and power, that openeth a door of entrance in the hearts of them who hear. Our dear Lord said, "For it is not ye that speak; but the Spirit of your Father, which speaketh in you."

As my service opened and strength increased, I was invited by some to their houses, who before looked on me with indifference; but now said they should be glad to see me there to be more acquainted. I felt on my first arrival in this city, a secret prohibition from going much from house to house without inward leave, and the same restraint continued



with me, lest by going to such places I might somewhat contradict, by example, the precepts which truth had directed me to deliver in public, to wit: a life of self-denial and temperance in eating and drinking, with a steady inward attention to the teachings of the Spirit of grace, in order to know an establishment of heart thereby, as being the certain duty of every follower of Christ Jesus our Lord. I think I have seen that there is great need to be exceedingly careful, when the Lord is pleased to reach unto and convict disorderly walkers by instrumental means, that we do not lessen the weight of Divine reproof, by being familiar with such, as if all was well; for they are apt to be fond of the instrument through whom they have been reached; and if by their fondling, they gain the esteem of such a Friend, it seems to heal them before their wounds are searched to the bottom; so that I rather chose retirement, and to live as privately as I well could. I also saw, that if I had sought many acquaintance, and thereby beheld the conduct and behaviour of some in their families, my way would not have been so open as it now was.

In many meetings the love and power of truth was felt by the humble dependent children, whose eyes were fixed on their heavenly Helper, and at some of the last in London, I had with an innocent boldness to appeal to Friends to bear witness of the manner in which I had spent my time in that city; that I had not sought to be popular, nor endeavoured to gain the praise of any, or the friendship of those who were not the real Friends of truth, keeping in a good degree under the innocency and simplicity thereof. Though with a near affection I felt my spirit united to the children of the heavenly family amongst them; I had never sought to steal their love from the great Parent to whom they did belong; my prayer and heart's desire having been, that their abode might be in the truth, and their affections placed on God, and the whole delight of their hearts to meditate in his holy law. If through me as an instrument they had received any benefit, the praise belonged to the Lord, the only Supreme good; and if in future they did but love, fear and serve him, it was little to me whether they remembered that I had been amongst them. Nevertheless a participation of the love of God by the members of the true church, has taught them to know the communion of saints and the deeply engraven unity of the one spirit, which makes them as epistles written in one another's hearts, which time or distance can never erase.

Having spent first and last in London about twenty-three weeks, on the 9th day of the

eighth month and sixth of the week, after a solid meeting at Grace-church street, I felt myself at liberty to set my face homewards. The ship in which I came over, and the same captain, Stephen Mesnard, being now ready to go for Philadelphia, I went that night to Gravesend, accompanied by about twelve Friends. Next morning we went on board the ship, where we had a precious uniting time, and then returned on shore to dine; after which my friend, Samuel Fothergill and myself, taking leave of our friends, went on board again and passed down the Thames to Margaret bay, near the isle of Thanet. On first-day, the 11th, we went to the Downs, by Deal, and though very much indisposed in body, I enjoyed such quietude of mind, that I was borne up and preserved from repining. Samuel Fothergill, before mentioned, came over with me on a religious visit to Friends in America; and during our passage, great nearness was between us; we held meetings constantly on the first and fifth days of the week, and landed near Wilmington, in New Castle county, on Delaware, on the 24th of the ninth month, 1754, in the forenoon. My brother, William Brown, with our friend Joshua Dixon, from the county of Durham, in Great Britain, who was coming over also on a religious visit to Friends in these colonies, having embarked in another ship, which sailed some time before us, arrived on the same day, and quite unexpectedly to each other we met in this town to our mutual joy and satisfaction; from whence after dining, they with Samuel Fothergill, proceeded up to Philadelphia, and I went home that evening, where I found a kind reception. In this visit I was absent from home four years and twelve days, having travelled by land about nine thousand one hundred miles, and attended about one thousand meetings, besides those in London and Dublin, in which cities I spent nearly half a year, and visited all the families of Friends in North and South Holland.

#### CHAPTER V.

*His attending the quarterly meetings at Philadelphia and Concord.—The yearly meeting at Philadelphia and quarterly meeting at Shrewsbury in New-Jersey.—An account of an exercise attending his mind relating to the war and public commotions.—A conference of several Friends thereon, with their address to the Assembly of Pennsylvania on the subject, and an epistle to Friends in that province, in the year 1755.—His attendance of the general spring meeting in Philadelphia, in 1756, and*

*some account of the calamities of the Indian war in Pennsylvania.—An account of the yearly meeting in Philadelphia the same year.—A relation of a visit of Peter Gardiner to Friends in Scotland.—A brief account of an Indian treaty at Easton, in 1757.—Some sentences expressed in two of his public testimonies.*

OUR yearly meeting for worship at Nottingham, was held in the week after I landed, and I was greatly rejoiced to see many of my friends and acquaintance there.

In the eleventh month following I went up to the quarterly meeting in Philadelphia, and returned to ours at Concord, where also was Samuel Fothergill. It was a very large meeting, in which he was divinely opened in speaking to the state of Friends in his public ministry, and serviceable in the discipline; he also attended our general meeting in the same month at London-grove, which was large and profitable; then went towards Lancaster, on his way to the Southern provinces.

I spent this winter mostly at and near home, at times attending some neighbouring meetings, until towards the spring, when I took a small journey to seven or eight others.

During my late travels in Europe, beholding the declension of many of the professors of truth from the ancient simplicity in habit and deportment, I sometimes was ready to cry out and say, O Pennsylvania! may thine inhabitants be for ever strangers to the vanities of the world, and the professors of truth keep their garments clean from the spots thereof, pride and superfluity of every kind; but now with sorrow of heart, I thought I beheld many of the youth in our Society taking their flight as into the air, where the snares of the prince of the power thereof are laid to catch them; some of whom are already much ensnared to their unspeakable hurt, and their demeanour and habit being exceedingly altered in a little more than four years; yet to my comfort I saw a few, who by walking in the light, had escaped the wiles of satan and were growing in the truth.

In the fourth month, 1755, I attended the general annual meeting at Duck creek, also meetings at Little creek and George's creek, the last of which was more open than I expected, several of other societies being there, who behaved orderly. I spent most of the summer at home, diligently attending our meetings for worship and discipline, and had to observe that the greater part of the members of our meeting, were for some time remarkable in their care to come together near the hour appointed, and we had some precious

opportunities, many of which were held in silence. I often saw it to be a time of renewed visitation to many, which if not carefully improved, would not be continued very long; but that a more trying season would overtake us, of which I was sometimes led to speak as truth opened, wherein the door of outward ministry would be more closed up, which would prove the religion of the professors of truth, and manifest what they attended meetings for, whether to wait upon God for the spiritual bread, or on man for outward ministry.

In the ninth month I attended our yearly meeting in Philadelphia, which was large and solid, wherein many weighty matters under consideration, were concluded to satisfaction; and many Friends parted in a feeling sense of the overshadowing of the Heavenly wing, with reverent thankfulness of heart.

In the tenth month I attended Shrewsbury quarterly meeting in East Jersey, at which also were our friends John Evans and Joseph White. It was large, the sittings thereof being favoured with a degree of the Divine presence. We also attended the monthly meeting there and had some service; Friends were encouraged to deal with such who were disorderly in conduct, there having been some slackness among them in that respect.

As the sound of war and public commotions had now entered the borders of these heretofore peaceful provinces, some solid thoughts attended my mind at Shrewsbury, respecting the nature of giving money for the king's use, knowing the same to be intended for the carrying on of war. John Evans accompanying me homewards, we took three meetings in our way, the last being at Evesham; at which place I told him I felt an engagement of mind to go to Philadelphia, and he consented to go with me. When we came to the city the assembly of Pennsylvania was sitting, and we understood that a committee of the house was appointed to prepare a bill for granting a sum of money for the king's use, to be issued in paper bills of credit, to be called in and sunk at a stated time by a tax on the inhabitants; on which account several Friends were under a close exercise of mind, some of whom being providentially together, and conferring on the subject, concluded it was expedient to request a conference with those members of the house who were of our religious profession. On applying to the speaker, who was one himself, we obtained an opportunity of conversing with them; after which we believed that an address to the assembly would be necessary; but we then being only few in number, consulted with several weighty Friends thereon; at length upwards of twenty met together, who after



solidly considering the matter before us, were all of opinion that an address to the assembly would be proper and necessary; whereupon one was drawn up, which being considered, agreed to and signed by all of us, we went together to the house, and presenting it to the speaker, it was read while we were present; a copy whereof here follows, viz :

*To the Representatives of the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met: The address of some of the people called Quakers, in the said province, on behalf of themselves and others.*

The consideration of the measures which have lately been pursued, and are now proposed, having been weightily impressed on our minds, we apprehend that we should fall short of our duty to you, to ourselves and to our brethren in religious fellowship, if we do not in this manner inform you, that we shall at all times heartily and freely contribute, according to our circumstances, either by the payment of taxes, or in such other manner as may be judged necessary, towards the exigencies of government, and sincerely desire that due care may be taken, and proper funds provided, for raising money to cultivate our friendship with our Indian neighbours, and to support such of our fellow subjects, who are or may be in distress, and for such other like benevolent purposes. Yet as the raising sums of money, and putting them into the hands of committees, who may apply them to purposes inconsistent with the peaceable testimony we profess, and have borne to the world, appears to us in its consequences, to be destructive of our religious liberties; we apprehend many among us will be under the necessity of suffering, rather than consenting thereto, by the payment of a tax for such purposes; and thus the fundamental part of our constitution may be essentially affected; and that free enjoyment of liberty of conscience by degrees be violated, for the sake of which, our forefathers left their native country, and settled this then a wilderness.

We sincerely assure you, we have no temporal motives for thus addressing you; and could we have preserved peace in our own minds, and with each other, we should have declined it; being unwilling to give you any unnecessary trouble, and deeply sensible of your difficulty in discharging the trust committed to you, irreproachable in these perilous times. This hath engaged our fervent desires, that the immediate instructions of Supreme wisdom, may influence your minds; and that being preserved in a steady attention thereto, you may be enabled to secure peace and tran-

quillity to yourselves and those you represent, by pursuing measures consistent with our peaceable principles; and then we trust we may continue humbly to confide in the protection of that Almighty power, whose providence has heretofore been as walls and bulwarks round about us.

Philadelphia, Eleventh month 7th, 1755.

A bill was however brought in by the committee of the assembly, and a law enacted for granting a large sum of money proposed to be sunk by a general tax.

When this service before related was over, in which I apprehended it my duty to be concerned, I returned home; but a close exercise remained on me as well as on the minds of divers other Friends, on account of the law now passed; and as care had been taken to apprise the assembly of the solid sentiments of Friends thereon, that we apprehended our charter respecting liberty of conscience, would thereby be affected; therefore a large committee of the yearly meeting, which had been appointed to visit the quarterly and monthly meetings, met at Philadelphia in the twelfth month, had a conference thereon, together with another committee nominated to correspond with the meeting for sufferings in London; and after several solid opportunities of waiting on the Lord to be rightly instructed, and being favoured with a renewed sense of the ownings of truth, many Friends thought they could not be clear as faithful watchmen, without communicating to their brethren their mind and judgment concerning the payment of such a tax; for which purpose an epistle was prepared, considered, agreed to and signed by twenty-one Friends; copies thereof were concluded to be communicated to the monthly meetings, being as follows, viz :

*An epistle of tender love and caution to Friends in Pennsylvania.*

Dear and well beloved Friends,

We salute you in a fresh and renewed sense of our heavenly Father's love, which hath graciously overshadowed us in several weighty and solid conferences we have had together, with many other Friends, upon the present situation of the affairs of the Society in this province; and in that love, we find our spirits engaged to acquaint you, that under a solid exercise of mind to seek for council and direction, from the High Priest of our profession, who is the Prince of peace, we believe he hath renewedly favoured us with strong and lively evidences, that in his appointed time, the day which hath dawned in these latter ages, foretold by the Prophet, wherein

swords should be beaten into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, shall gloriously rise higher and higher; and the spirit of the gospel, which teaches to love enemies, prevail to that degree, that the art of war shall be no more learned. It is his determination to exalt this blessed day, in this our age, if in the depth of humility we receive his instructions and obey his voice. And being painfully apprehensive, that the large sum granted by the late act of assembly for the king's use, is principally intended for purposes inconsistent with our peaceable testimony; we therefore think, that as we cannot be concerned in wars and fightings, so neither ought we to contribute thereto, by paying the tax directed by the said act, though suffering be the consequence of our refusal, which we hope to be enabled to bear with patience. Though some part of the money to be raised by the said act, is said to be for such benevolent purposes, as supporting our friendship with our Indian neighbours, and relieving the distresses of our fellow subjects, who have suffered in the present calamities, for-whom our hearts are deeply pained, and we affectionately, and with bowels of tenderness, sympathize with them therein; and we could most cheerfully contribute to those purposes, if they were not so mixed, that we cannot in the manner proposed, show our hearty concurrence therewith, without at the same time assenting to, or allowing practices, which we apprehend contrary to the testimony which the Lord hath given us to bear, for his name and truth's sake.

Having the health and prosperity of the Society at heart, we earnestly exhort Friends to wait for the appearing of the true light, and stand in the counsel of God, that we may know him to be the Rock of salvation and place of our refuge forever. Beware of the spirit of the world, that is unstable, and often draws into dark and timorous reasonings; lest the god thereof should be suffered to blind the eye of the mind. Such, not knowing the sure foundation, the Rock of ages, may partake of the terrors and fears, which are not known to the inhabitants of that fold, where the sheep and lambs of Christ ever had a quiet habitation, with a measure of which a remnant have to say, to the praise of his name, they have been blessed, in this day of distress.

Our fidelity to the present government, and our willingly paying all taxes for purposes which do not interfere with our consciences, justly exempt us from the imputation of disloyalty; and we earnestly desire that all, who by a deep and quiet seeking for direction from the holy Spirit, are, or shall be, convinced that he calls us as a people to this testimony,

may dwell under the guidance of the same Divine Spirit, and manifest by the meekness and humility of their conversation, that they are really under that influence; and therein may know true fortitude and patience to bear that, and every other testimony committed to them, faithfully and uniformly. And may all Friends know their spirits clothed with true charity, the bond of Christian fellowship; wherein we again tenderly salute you, and remain your friends and brethren.

Philadelphia, Twelfth month 16th, 1755.

In the year 1756 I attended our general spring meeting in Philadelphia, at which we had the company of our dear friends, Samuel Fothergill and Catharine Payton, from Great Britain, and her companion, Mary Peasley, from Ireland, and it was a solemn edifying meeting. The Indians having burnt several houses on the frontiers of this province, also at Gnadenhutzen, in Northampton county, and murdered and scalped some of the inhabitants; at the time of this meeting, two or three of the dead bodies were brought to Philadelphia in a wagon, with an intent as was supposed, to animate the people to unite in preparations of war, to take vengeance on the Indians, and destroy them. They were carried along several of the streets, many people following, cursing the Indians, and also the Quakers, because they would not join in war for destruction of the Indians. The sight of the dead bodies and the outcry of the people, were very afflicting and shocking to me. Standing at the door of a Friend's house as they passed along, my mind was humbled and turned inward, and I was made secretly to cry, What will become of Pennsylvania! for it felt to me that many did not consider that the sins of the inhabitants, pride, profane swearing, drunkenness, with other wickedness, were the cause why the Lord had suffered this calamity and scourge to come upon them. The weight of my exercise increasing as I walked along the street; at length it was said in my soul, This land is polluted with blood, and in the day of inquisition for blood, it will not only be required at the frontiers and borders, but even in this place where these bodies are now seen. I said within myself, How can this be! since this has been a land of peace, and as yet not much concerned in war; but as it were in a moment my eyes turned to the case of the poor enslaved Negroes. And however light a matter they who have been concerned in it may look upon the purchasing, selling, or keeping those oppressed people in slavery, it then appeared plain to me, that such were partakers in iniquity, encouragers of war and the shedding



of innocent blood, which is often the case, where those unhappy people are captivated and brought away for slaves. The same day I went to Pine street meeting in an exercised, mournful state of mind, and thought I could be willing to sit among the people undiscovered.

I attended our quarterly meeting at Concord in the fifth month, and in a few days after went to the yearly meeting at West river, in Maryland, which was large and in a good degree satisfactory. Then went to meetings at Herring creek and the Clifts, and returned the following first-day to West river, where I had a good opportunity to clear myself towards Friends of that place; being concerned on account of several of the elders, who did not conduct so exemplarily as they ought before the youth. I left them relieved in my mind, and returned home, taking several meetings in my way.

In the ninth month I was at our yearly meeting for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, held this year at Burlington, which was large and edifying; many weighty matters being in much brotherly love resulted to satisfaction. Our friend, Thomas Gawthrop, from Great Britain, was there. In the time thereof, our worthy friend and brother, John Evans, of Gwynnedd, departing this life, Thomas and I went to attend the burial, on which solemn occasion he had a seasonable opportunity to remind a large gathering of people of their latter end; and I thought it was a solid time.

Being one of the committee appointed by the yearly meeting to visit the quarterly and monthly meetings, I was careful in attending on that service as way was opened, in company with other Friends, as likewise our meeting for sufferings, established this year, and held monthly in Philadelphia, frequently taking meetings in my way going and returning. In the spring of the year 1757, I also attended our general meeting for ministers and elders, held at Philadelphia.

I have often remembered a remarkable account given me, when in England, by our ancient, worthy Friend, John Richardson, which made such an impression on my mind that I committed it to writing, and think it is worthy to be preserved, being nearly as follows, viz:

"Peter Gardiner, a Friend who lived in Essex, England, had a concern to visit Friends in Scotland; but being low in circumstances, and having a wife and several children, was under discouragement about it. The Lord in mercy condescended to remove his doubts, by letting him know he would be with him, and though he had no horse to ride, and was but a weakly man, yet that he would

give him strength to perform the journey, and sustain him so that he should not want for what was sufficient. Having faith in the Divine promise, he laid his concern before the monthly meeting he belonged to, with innocent weight; and friends concurring with him therein, he took his journey along the east side of the nation, through Norfolk, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and coming to a week-day meeting at Bridlington, where John Richardson then dwelt, he lodged at his house. In the evening the doors being shut, Peter asked him if any Friend lived that way, pointing with his finger; John told him he pointed towards the sea, which was not far from thence. He said he believed he must go and see somebody that way in the morning. John asked him if he should go with him? he said he believed it would not be best, and so went to bed.

"In the morning when John's wife had prepared breakfast, he thought he would go and see if the Friend was well, but found that he was gone; at which John Richardson wondered. Soon after, Peter came in, to whom John said, Thou hast taken a morning walk, come to breakfast. Before they had done eating, a Friend from the quay, or harbour, which lay in the direction that Peter Gardiner pointed to over night, came in, and said, 'I wonder at thee, John, to send this man with such a message to my house;' and related as follows, viz: That he came to him as he was standing at the fish-market-place, looking on the sea, to observe the wind, and he asked him if he would walk into his house? To which Peter answered that he came for that purpose; this was in the twilight of the morning. When he went into the house, Peter inquired whether his wife was well; to which the man answered, that she was sick in bed, and invited him to go in and see her; he said he came so to do. Being conducted into the chamber where the sick woman was, he sat down by her; and after a short time told her, that the resignation of her mind was accepted instead of the deed, and that she was excused from the journey which had been before her, and should die in peace with God and men. Then turning to the man, her husband, he said, Thy wife had a concern to visit the churches in another country beyond the sea, but thou wouldst not give her leave, so she shall be taken from thee; and behold, the Lord's hand is against thee, and thou shalt be blasted in whatsoever thou doest, and reduced to want thy bread." The man seemed angry with John Richardson, who said to him, "Be still, and weigh the matter, for I knew not of the Friend's going to thy house; but thought he was in bed, and did not inform him about

thee nor thy wife;" at which he went away. Peter pursued his journey towards Scotland, John Richardson and another Friend going with him to Scarborough on horse back, for he would not let them go on foot with him, he kept before them as fast as they chose to ride; and when they had gone about half way, he gained on them, and John said he was filled with admiration, for he seemed to go with more slight and ease than ever he had seen any man before. Riding fast to overtake him, he thought he beheld a small white cloud as it were encompassing his head; and when he overtook him John said to him, Thou dost travel very fast. Peter replied, My Master told me, before I left home, that he would give me hinds feet, and he hath performed his promise to me.

When they came in sight of Scarborough, Peter said, take me to a Friend's house if there is any there. John replied, I will take thee to the place where I lodge, and if thou art not easy there, I will go until we find a place, if it may be. So John Richardson took him to his lodgings, and just as they entered the door, they heard some one go up stairs, and the woman Friend of the house coming down with a neighbour of hers, invited them to sit down. In a short time Peter said, Here is light and darkness, good and bad in this house. After the woman had got them some refreshment, she came and asked John, Who hast thou brought here? A man of God, he replied. Having a meeting at Scarborough the next day, John Richardson staid with him, and said he had good service; he also went with him to several Friends' houses there, and he frequently spoke his sense of the state of the families; but as they were about entering one house, Peter stopped, and said, My Master is not there, I will not go in, so they turned away.

Next morning at parting, John Richardson asked him how he was prepared for money, telling him the journey was long. Peter answered, I have enough, my Master told me I should not want, and a bit of bread, and some water from a brook refreshes me as much as a set meal at a table. John insisted to see how much money he had, which was but two half-crowns; upon which John took a handful of small pieces out of his pocket, and forced Peter to take them, telling him it was as free to him as his own, for so the Lord had put it into his heart. Thus they parted, John and the other Friend returning home.

In about two weeks afterwards the man's wife, before mentioned, died, as Peter had foretold. At that time, the man had three ships at sea; his son was master of one, and

a second son was on board of another, and in their voyages they were all wrecked, or foundered, and their cargoes chiefly lost; his two sons and several of the hands being drowned. The man soon after broke and could not pay his debts, but came to want bread before he died, though he had been in good circumstances, if not very rich.

Some time after, John Richardson heard that Peter Gardiner died in Cumberland, on his return from Scotland, and being attached to him in near affection, he went to inquire how he ended.

John Bowstead, a noted Friend near Carlisle, informed him that Peter had been through Scotland, and came to Carlisle, and the small-pox being there, he took the infection very suddenly, and lay ill with it. John Bowstead went, just as the pock was coming out on him, and took him to his house; they never came out kindly, but swelled him very much, so that he was blind, and died about the seventh day. He was quite sensible to the last, and knew the states of those who came to see him.\*

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\* The further account of this journey is taken from John Barclay's History of Friends in Scotland.

"In the year 1694-5, the Friends in Scotland were visited in the love of the gospel by Peter Gardiner. Some few and extraordinary passages, relative to his journey so far north as Yorkshire, have already appeared in print in the pages of John Churchman's valuable Journal. After some search, the author of the present volume has ascertained, that Peter Gardiner, or Gardner, for his name is spelt both ways in the original documents, lived not far from Castle Hedingham, in Essex, perhaps within the borders of Suffolk; which may explain the substitution of one county for the other, in some of the records about to be referred to.

"With regard to his movements among Friends in Scotland, we have but a few scattered particulars. The first to be adduced, relates to his visit at Aberdeen, and is mentioned by the Friends there, in the following terms:

"We had at this monthly meeting, 3d of eleventh month, 1694-5, the acceptable and comfortable visit of two English Friends, Peter Gardiner, in Suffolk, and James Leech, in Berwick.' At the next monthly meeting there is a more extended notice of the former of these, by way of testimony to the goodness of the Lord, in thus favouring his poor instrument, and the congregation at large.—'Our dear Friend, Peter Gardiner, mentioned to have been at the last monthly meeting, was eminently attended with a singular gift from God, in travelling for and bringing forth several young plants among Friends' children, into a public ministry, about the middle of last month: particularly Robert Barclay, Robert Gerard and Margaret Jaffray, whose mouth was first opened: as well as he was the instrument of awakening several other young ones by a very



On the 12th of the seventh month, this year, I left home in order to attend a treaty to be held between the Indians and our government, at Easton, in Northampton county; and proceeded to Philadelphia, where I was

present at several conferences with Friends; the governor having declared his dislike to their attendance at that treaty, or their distinguishing themselves by giving the Indians any presents. The result was, that as mutual

tender visitation, which yet continues among them: And, O that it may continue, and they in the sense of it, to the end of their days! As also, about this time, the blessed God of our life was graciously pleased to give us a new, fresh and large visitation, in abundantly pouring out his Spirit and life among us in our gatherings; and some more mouths were opened among elders, particularly dear John Forbes of Aquorthies, as also Jane Molleson.'

"A confirmation of the above, may be seen in the language of the Friends of Ury meeting, on the like occasion. They speak of Peter Gardiner as being 'an honest and faithful man, of a weighty and discerning spirit.' 'He had great service for truth hereaway with good success, in several places, particularly at Aberdeen and Ury, and Montrose; where many were wonderfully tendered and broken before the Lord, and several mouths were opened in testimony and prayer; particularly at Aberdeen, Robert Gerard, James and Timothy Forbes and Margaret Jaffray; at Ury, Robert and David Barclay, and their sisters Christian and Catharine, their aunt Jane Molleson and Joseph White; at Montrose, Jane Bettie, wife of Robert Bettie.'

"In further illustration of the truth and import of the last mentioned circumstances, it is pleasing to be able to produce an interesting, though rough draft of this devoted labourer's services in the neighbourhood of Ury; but especially in the family of 'the Apologist,' whose widow then resided on that estate, with her seven children, the eldest of whom, Robert, has been already spoken of.—It will not have escaped the recollection of the reader, how beautifully George Fox, in his sympathetic address to this bereaved widow,—after setting forth the consolations which flow from an union with the Lord, as the Husband and Father of his people, endeavours to stimulate her to do the day's work, to put on his strength, and to hope for his blessing on a faithful discharge of her duty, as a spiritual nursing-mother over her household. Indeed, he goes further; and subjoins his fervent prayer, that her children may be established upon the Rock, Christ Jesus, and thus be favoured of the Most High, through the fervent exercise of their surviving parent. But in proceeding to describe the successful issue of such labour, it may be well to pause—and hold up to view one means, among others, which she used, by way of laying open the ground of the hearts of her tender offspring to the genial rays of Divine Light. We are informed by a Friend, who, about this time, passed several days under her roof, that 'when her children were up in the morning, and dressed, she sat down with them before breakfast, and in a religious manner waited upon the Lord;' 'which pious care,' he adds, 'and motherly instruction of her children when young, doubtless had its desired effect upon them; for, as they grew in years, they also grew in the knowledge of the blessed truth; and since that time, some of them are become

public preachers thereof.'—*J. Gratton's Life.* Thus cherished and watered, did Peter Gardiner find this group of young 'olive plants,' when he entered their abode.

"Upon the 16th of the eleventh month, 1694, it pleased the Lord to send him to Ury; having come by Aberdeen, Kinmuck, and also Kingswells; in which last place he was made instrumental in the Lord's hand, in bringing forth Andrew Jaffray's eldest daughter in a public testimony. Afterward, in a meeting at Jane Somervill's, at Aberdeen, he was under a great exercise, and said, he felt the life stopped in some there, and could not get forward, until the Seed was at liberty; after which, he was again brought forth in a living testimony, to the refreshment of all the meeting.

"When he came to Ury, which was on the third-day of the week, Andrew Jaffray, David Wallace and Robert Gerard accompanying him from Aberdeen, he had a meeting there on fourth-day. From thence he went to Stonehaven on fifth-day, being accompanied by most of them of Ury; and there he and Andrew Jaffray had, each of them, a good opportunity among the people that came into the meeting. From thence we came that night to Springhall, a house on the estate of Ury, and had there a good meeting; only he said he felt the life stopped in some there, who would not give up to the Lord's requirings. The same night, after supper, he had a blessed opportunity with Robert Barclay, David and Patience Barclay, John Gillie, David Wallace and Robert Gerard; where we were all so mightily overcome, that we were made to cry out; and Robert Barclay, aged twenty-two years, was opened in a few living words of exhortation to the young generation there present, which reached and melted our hearts in a wonderful manner. He said, it was himself who had occasioned the life to be stopped in the foregoing meeting, by not giving up to the Lord's requirings; and so, he concluded in a few living words of prayer. After this they retired to rest. Robert Barclay and Robert Gerard had a remarkably comfortable night, neither of them minding sleep much. Next day, which was sixth-day, we had a blessed meeting among the children; where Christian Barclay, the younger, aged fourteen years, had her mouth opened in prayer, to the refreshment of us all. That same day we had a more general meeting at Ury; where Friends at Stonehaven, and those also about Ury attended.

"On the seventh-day we had another blessed morning meeting among the children; and the first-day of the week following, we had a good meeting about the middle of the day, where there was more people than usual; and Robert Barclay bore a living testimony among them. Life so went along with him in it, that it reached the hearts of many of them, and astonished others; his testimony being much to this purpose:—That the Lord had given them line upon line, and precept upon precept, one visitation after another, to

tokens of the revival of ancient friendship had passed between Friends and the Indians, with a view to promote a general peace, it would be of bad consequence now to neglect or decline attending on this important occasion;

the reaching of many of them; exhorting them to take up the cross and despise the shame, and so become fools for Christ's sake; that thus, they might think nothing too dear or near to them, in comparison with Him. And further he told them, he believed it would be the last visitation of the Lord to some of them; and advised them to turn in time, before it was over: for the Lord had now raised up the third generation to bear a testimony for his truth among them in that place. In that meeting was also his aunt Jane Molleson's mouth opened in a few words of testimony. That same night we had a blessed meeting at Springhall; where David, aged twelve years, Catharine, aged sixteen years, and Christian Barclay, the younger, bore, each of them, a testimony to the truth: yet, notwithstanding all this, our friend, Peter Gardiner, could not obtain ease, but felt the life stopped in one there, and at last named the person and desired him to clear himself; and so John Chalmers, their schoolmaster, aged about nineteen years, afterward an acceptable minister in Dublin, stood up, and said a few words by way of testimony. Then Peter ended the meeting in prayer, and came away easy. That same night we had a good little meeting together in the school room. Next morning he had his farewell meeting at Ury; and so he, together with Robert and David Barclay, took his journey. But as we were parting at the end of the garden, Robert Barclay had some living words by way of testimony, to those who had accompanied us there.

"We came to Montrose that night; where, after we had rested awhile, we had a little meeting. Next morning we had a meeting among ourselves. About the middle of the day, we had a meeting of all the Friends of the town; and some other people came in: both Peter and Robert Barclay preached on that occasion. We had also another meeting that night, where Peter fully relieved his mind. Robert and David Barclay both declared the truth among them, also John Gillie had some words of prayer. The substance of the testimonies borne in that meeting, were much to this purpose:—That none should sit down in Zion at their ease, but that they should travail for the prosperity of the truth in themselves and others; and that none should love the world or the things of it too much, nor be covered with any other covering than the Spirit of Truth; and that a profession of the truth would not do, till persons came to the life and possession of it. Next morning we had a blessed farewell meeting; and so parted from each other in much tenderness of heart. Peter Gardiner, David Wallace and their companion, went towards Edinburgh.

"After they were gone, Robert and David Barclay, John Gellie and Robert Gerard, had a precious meeting together, where Robert Bettie and his wife were present. They returned to Ury that night, a little after nine o'clock. Next day we had a blessed meeting among the children.

though it was judged necessary for Friends to act with great caution. We therefore set forward, and taking a meeting at Gwynnedd in the way, reached Easton on fourth-day, the 21st of the month, the governor having arrived

The day following, being the 25th of the same month, we had a glorious meeting, where Patience Barclay, aged nineteen years, was opened, both in testimony and in prayer, to the refreshing of all our hearts. We held another good meeting among the children the day after; where James Forbes, being then at Ury, had some words of testimony.

"And so, the Lord God, as he hath begun a good work, will carry it on, if we be but faithful to him, over all that the enemy or his instruments can do to hinder it. Oh! that we may think nothing too dear to part with, for Him; but that we may give up all freely for Him, if he please to make use of any of us as instruments in his hand; and that our eye may be unto Him, and so abide faithful unto the end: which will be of more value than all the perishing pleasures and transitory enjoyments of this world.

"With regard to the application of these facts to our own day, and to individual experience, it may truly be said, 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.' Do we not see, in them, the accomplishment of one of the most prominent among the standing miracles foreordained, respecting these gospel times?—'And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy:—and on my servants and on my handmaidens, I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy.' And again, another ancient language, which has equal reference to more modern periods:—'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise.' It is hoped, however, that none will be inclined, in perusing the above statements, to cast these things from them; taking up the conclusion, that these 'marvellous things' do not concern them. For assuredly, 'Those things which are revealed, belong unto us and unto our children.' The example of such as have listened and heard, and answered the call of the Lord, to give up their hearts to his disposal and direction, that he may work in or by them, altogether according to his own good pleasure,—most certainly, these examples speak forth the inviting language, Follow us, as we have followed Christ: they form one link in that chain of evidence, in mercy continued down, even to us of the present age, through the long line of patriarchs, prophets and believers of every degree—that God is most favourably inclined, to draw near and to dwell with all who diligently seek him,—that he will richly reward them, even in this life, with the lifting up of the light of his countenance,—that he will dignify all who trust in and obey him, with the manifestations of his love and power, and even make them, in one way or another, instruments of his glory for the good of souls.

"Peter Gardiner, proceeding on his journey through the other meetings of Friends in Scotland, on his way homeward, arrived at Carlisle:



about two hours before us; but did not enter on business that day.

Many Friends from Philadelphia and other parts being here collected, we held a meeting on fifth-day, which was low and dull, things

appearing very dark. In the afternoon, the Indians with Teedyuscung, their king, or chief man, went to the governor and signified the sincerity of their intentions to promote the good work of peace, when he deli-

from this place, as it is supposed, he wrote the ensuing epistle, but a very short time before he was taken with his last illness. It affords some clear indications of a sound and living faith, simplicity of love, a heavenly meekness and gratitude, which were now fast ripening for a better state.

“‘It is thought fit,’ observe the Friends of Aberdeen, ‘here to insert our dear friend and brother Peter Gardiner’s last salutation of love to this meeting, by way of epistle, a little before he laid down the body; it having pleased the Lord to remove him a little after, by the small pox, at Carlisle, as he was returning homeward, about the — of — 1695: which paper follows—he having been so notable an instrument hereaway.’

“‘This is the tender salutation of my love to Friends in general, belonging to Aberdeen.

“‘My dear and loving Friends, which are near and dear to me in the everlasting truth of my God!

“‘In the love of God, with which our souls have been refreshed together—in this love, doth my soul dearly salute you all; hoping these few lines may find you all in good health, as, glory to my God! I am at this time;—and I have had a prosperous journey—glory be to the eternal God! Though my inward exercises have been very great, yet, this is matter of great joy, that the work of my God is going on. For the Lord is pouring out of his Spirit in a glorious manner, in the west of Scotland:—there are three come forth in a public testimony, to the great refreshment of the souls of many. Therefore, dear Friends, let us labour together in the work of our God.

“‘And I beseech you all, in the love of God,—which I do at this time feel to spring towards you, do not despise the day of small things; for whosoever despiseth the day of small things in themselves or others, a withering day will certainly come upon them. Therefore, dear Friends, cry mightily unto the Lord on behalf of your children; for I do believe, that the Lord will pour out his Spirit upon them, and make them very glorious, as they give up in obedience unto him:—for I feel the love of God very large, towards you and your children. And I was glad to hear of the sweet stream of life, which I heard ran among you since I came away.

“‘So, dear Friends, in a fresh stream of life, doth my soul dearly salute you all, desiring the continuance of your prayers for me: so I remain your friend and brother in the Lord,

“‘PETER GARDINER.’

“The only remaining memorial which has come to hand respecting this faithful follower of a self-denying and crucified Redeemer, is that conveyed in a letter from John Bowstead, a Friend of Carlisle, to Francis Stamper of London.

“‘Aglionby, 12th of Third month, 1695.

“‘Dear friend, Francis Stamper,

“‘By these thou mayest understand, that I received thine from London, the 30th of first month, and it is now before me; and thy request therein I hereby answer in the following lines.

“‘Our dear friend, Peter Gardiner, made a very sweet and heavenly end, to the general satisfaction of all present; for the Spirit and power of God was with him: and at divers times in his sickness, he spoke many seasonable and weighty words; of which I take some, as follows:—On the fifth day before he departed this life, I was sent for by some Friends of the city of Carlisle; and when I came into the room where he lay sick, I asked him how it was with him? He said, Ah, John! I am sick in body, but the Lord reigns gloriously in Zion: his power is over all his enemies. And, often using the word John, as I sat by him, he said, Ah, John! there is a terrible day approaching this nation, the weight of which bowed my spirit as I came along—I saw it before I left the kingdom of Scotland—Oh! it bowed me, it was even like death unto me. So he lay still a little time, and I asked, how it was with him?—for I felt him under an exercise of spirit;—and I asked him, if he would have me write his will? Yea, said he, and what thou doest, do quickly. So I wrote it, and read it to him, and it satisfied him much. Then sitting in silence a little while, I was moved of the Lord to prayer: after me Peter Gardiner prayed very powerfully,—That the Lord would preserve his people together in unity, and would spare and overshadow them with the wing of his power, until the storm be passed over;—or words to that purpose. And the power of the Lord being over all, I think all that were in the room, were melted and broken into tenderness; and some that were fallen back from the truth, being present, were also tendered, and made to confess that the Lord was with him,—and so he was. So lying quietly for a little while, there came into the room one that was not a Friend, but under convictions in his heart; Peter Gardiner asked me, as I sat upon the bedside by him, Who that was that came into the room? There being many, and most of them Friends, I said, ‘This is a Friend. Ah! said he, it is no Friend; is it not such a one? so called him near,—and it was so. Peter Gardiner was so full of the small-pox, that he could not see at that time. He then spoke to the young man, and said, Thou hast no peace in thy lying down, nor in thy uprising; therefore, I charge and warn thee in the name of the Lord my God, that thou speedily return, and draw near unto the Lord, whilst thou hast a day afforded thee. For now is the day of thy visitation, and the Lord is still striving with thee; and if thou dost not return, thou wilt repent, when time will be too late with thee. I tell thee, thou wouldest be heir of two kingdoms, but wilt never obtain them both;—with many other

vered several strings and belts of wampum, in order to certify the full power and authority given to Teedyuscung for that purpose, who also desired that as things had heretofore been misunderstood, or forgotten, he might have the liberty to choose a clerk to take the minutes of the transactions at this treaty on behalf of the Indians; which was put off by the governor at that time.

Next morning Teedyuscung renewed the same request, but was again put by: then the Indians began to be very uneasy, from an apprehension that some people from the Jersey side of the river were likely to rise, with a design to destroy them; but on going to converse with them, and giving them some pipes and tobacco, which they were told was a present from Friends, they became more quiet, and seemingly pacified; this day and the next there was little business done.

On first-day, the 24th of the month, Friends held a public meeting in the treaty-booth, to pretty good satisfaction, to which a great number of people came, two Friends having acceptable service therein. In the afternoon Friends met again; but there seemed so great a cloud over the meeting, by reason of a raw careless spirit prevailing over the minds of the people, as though there was no God, notwithstanding his judgments are so conspicuous, especially in these parts of the country, that life did not arise in this meeting. About sunset this evening, we heard that the Mohawk Indians had requested to have a fire

made to dance round, which the governor allowed, as he had the evening before to the Delawares, with both which we were very uneasy, as the tendency thereof was to make the Indians drunk; but no endeavours of ours could prevent it.

On second-day morning the governor agreed to allow the Indian king to choose himself a clerk, which he did, and about one o'clock that day the treaty was first opened in public, when Teedyuscung was desired fully to inform, with an open heart, wherein he apprehended the Indians had been defrauded by the proprietaries, to which he answered that he would to-morrow; but they must first clean up the blood, as he expressed it, and bury the dead bodies. Next day being again met, the king said, that according to his word, he had met some of the several nations to do what they could for settling peace; but in the first place he had seen and considered the black cloud that hung over the land, the blood and bodies of the people who had suffered. I have gathered up the stained leaves, the blood and dead bodies, and looked round about; when all seemed terrible, so that I could find no place to hide them; but looking up, I saw the great and good Spirit above. Let us heartily join in prayer to Him, that he may give us power to bury all these things out of our sight, that neither the evil spirit, nor any wicked person may ever be able to raise them; that we may love like brethren, and the sun may shine clear upon us, that we, our wives, our young men and children may rejoice in a lasting peace, that we may eat the fruits of the earth, and they may do us good, so that we may enjoy peace in the day time, and at night lie down and sleep in it. Gave a belt of seventeen rows of wampum.

By another belt he told the governor, that he took him by one hand, and the Five Nations of Indians and their allies took him by the other, therefore, said he, let us all stand as one man, with one heart and one mind, and join in this good work of peace. When we intend to lift or remove a great weight, we must be strong, if all do not exert themselves we can never do it; but if all heartily join, it is easy to remove it. Our forefathers did not proceed right when they met together, they looked at the earth and things present, which will soon pass out of our sight; but did not look forward to the good of posterity. Let us set out right, and do better than they did, that a peace may be settled which may last to our children.

He next acquainted the governor, that one of the messengers who had gone on a late message to the Indians afar off, meaning Moses Tatamy's son, was shot on his return

weighty words to particular Friends, which would be too tedious here to mention.

"A copy of his last words to Friends in his own country and elsewhere, I here send thee, as follows:"

"Dear Friends,

"Inasmuch as it has been my lot to be concerned in the service of truth, and to have a portion amongst the people of God, I can bless his name, that he hath thought me worthy to have a name amongst them that are living; for I have sweet peace with Him, that is, the Redeemer of Israel, and am now waiting for my Pilot to conduct me to my long home."

"To his wife thus:

"My dear wife,

"In the fresh springs of life that flow forth from my Father's presence, do I dearly salute thee, and our dear children and Friends, with desires in my heart, that grace, mercy and peace, may dwell plentifully in and amongst you, unto your lives' end! Farewell!

"PETER GARDINER."

"This, at present, with my love to thyself and Friends; I rest thy friend,

"JOHN BOWSTEAD."



by one of our young men, and lay in a dangerous condition; and by a string of wampum insisted, that if he died, the other should be tried by our law, and suffer death also; and that some of their people should be present, to be able to inform the other nations of Indians of the justice done. He also revived the ancient agreement, that if any of them should commit the like offence, the criminal should be delivered up to be tried according to our laws, and suffer death in the same manner.

On fourth-day there was no public treaty, things seemed in much confusion and very dull; but Friends kept quiet. Next day I found myself much indisposed, and therefore thought it best to leave Easton; but before I left it Friends had a solemn opportunity together, at which time I thought I saw, that the working of the dark revengeful spirit, which opposed the measures of peace, was one reason why Friends were so baptized into distress and suffering, of which I made some mention to Friends, and that if they kept quiet, the clouds as to them would somewhat break away; Daniel Stanton had a solemn time in supplication. After this meeting taking leave of Friends, I rode to Richland, and though my distemper increased and I was very ill, I pursued my journey the next day, and the day following reached Philadelphia, where I was carefully attended through a time of tedious and close affliction. My dear wife coming to me in my illness, was also taken with the same disorder, that we were not able to move homewards until the 23d of the eighth month, but through the goodness of kind Providence in supporting us, got to our own habitation the next day in the evening. After about a weeks' stay I set out again to attend the meeting for sufferings in Philadelphia, though very weak, and after tarrying part of three days in town, went to attend the monthly meetings in Bucks county, of which I had a view while I lay sick; when it appeared to me the way to recover my strength was to be faithful to every discovery of duty. In company with several other Friends appointed by the yearly meeting, I visited the several monthly meetings in that county, in some of which a degree of the Divine presence being felt, was cause of thankfulness; though at one of them we had some remarkably close work, both in the time of worship and discipline.

Returning to Philadelphia much recovered, I spent five days there attending meetings as they came in course; and then went to Newtown meeting in Chester county, which was small, there being an evident slackness of attending week-day meetings. From thence I

went to Uwchland, to the marriage of William Trimble and Phebe Thomas, which was a good meeting, where I met my dear wife on her way to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia; and after attending a meeting at Merion, we went into the city the next evening. Our friends, Thomas Gawthrop, Samuel Spavold, William Reckitt and others from Great Britain, also Thomas Nicholson from North Carolina, were at this yearly meeting, which was large and satisfactory, holding from the 17th to the 24th of the ninth month, 1757.

Before I left home to attend the late Indian treaty at Easton, I thought in my sleep, that I was riding eastward in the twilight, and saw a light before me towards sun-rising, which did not appear to be a common light. I observed the appearance of something therein, whereat the beast I rode was much affrighted, and would have ran from it, which I knew would be in vain; for I took it to be an angel, whose motion was as swift as thought, so rather stopped and reined in my beast towards it. It was encompassed with a brightness like a rainbow, with a large loose garment of the same colour down to the feet. It rather seemed to move than to walk, and stood still in the midst of many curious stacks of corn; and smiling on me, asked where I was going. I said towards yonder building, which I thought was an elegant one directly before me; it seemed to approve my way and vanished upwards. Then I awakened and had particularly to remember the complexion of this angelic apparition, which was not much different from one of the Indians clean washed from his grease and filth; remembering my dream very fresh, when I had seen the Indians at the treaty, and had heard some matters remarkably spoken to by some particulars of them, I was made to believe it was not unreasonable to conclude, that the Lord was in them by his good Spirit, and that all colours were equal to him, who gave life and being to all mankind; we should therefore be careful to examine deeper than the outward appearance, with a tender regard to station and education, if we desire to be preserved from error in judgment.

The following sentences being delivered by John Churchman in two of his public testimonies, were soon after committed to writing by a Friend who was present, and appearing worthy to be further preserved, are now communicated. In a first-day meeting at East Nottingham, the 19th of the twelfth month, 1756, he expressed nearly as follows:

"I felt my mind in this meeting remarkably drawn from outward observation, and was

commanded to centre in deep and awful silence, wherein there was such a flowing of good will to mankind, as is scarcely to be uttered by tongue. Thus centering with diligent attention, I thought I felt a strong power of darkness and stupid ignorance, seemingly combined to make war against this solemn attention of mind; yet after patiently waiting some time, to my comfort I felt a secret victory, and the darkness vanished. Then a voice was uttered in me, attended, I thought, with Divine authority thus; 'I will bow the inhabitants of the earth, and particularly of this land, and I will make them fear and reverence me, either in mercy or in judgment.' Hereupon a prospect immediately opened to my view of a day of calamity and sore distress which was approaching, and in which the careless and stupid professors, who are easy, and not concerned properly to worship and adore the Almighty, and have not laboured to witness their foundation to be laid on Him the immovable Rock, will be greatly surprised with fearfulness. On the behalf of such, a cry and lamentation ran through me, thus; Alas for the day! Alas for the day! Woe is me! And a voice which seemed to be connected with the foregoing, said further; 'Yet once more, saith the Lord, I shake not the earth only, but also heaven. Not only the situation of those who know not any place of safety or refuge, but that which is outward and earthly; but also those who assume a higher place, and in their specious appearances and false pretences amongst men, do value themselves on their assumed goodness, and would fain be accounted of the highest rank, and even place themselves among the saints, and are by some accounted as stars in the firmament; yet in the day of my power wherein I will shake the heavens and the earth, those stars shall fall to the ground.'

"In the opening, something within me was ready to say, Amen so be it! O Lord Almighty, cut short thy work in the earth, in order that thou mayest put an end to sin and finish transgression, that thy fear, and the knowledge of thee, may cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. Wherefore, my friends, the fervent desire of my soul is, that all present may with diligence labour to have their minds truly centered and humbled before God, to know a being fixed on that foundation which only standeth sure, that in a time of outward distress, which perhaps may come in your day, ye may find a place of safety and refuge."

All which with more to the like effect, was delivered in great humility and brokenness.

At a week-day meeting at the same place, the 17th of the second month, 1757, several persons by unseasonably coming in, interrupted the quiet of the meeting, and he gave a suitable caution in that respect, in gentle winning terms, reminding those met of the awfulness and solemnity which should attend us when we approach the presence of Him who is most holy; and in what reverence, fear and care, we ought to come together, not forgetting the hour appointed; and then expressed nearly as follows:

"A certain sentence has been presented to the view of my mind, which seemed to contain a gentle engaging caution, and matter of instruction to me, attended with sweetness; which was, 'Work while it is day.' Friends, this is our day, wherein we ought to be diligent and industrious. In the light of the day we may see and understand how to work, and what to do, that at the conclusion we may obtain from the Master of the day, who dwelleth in light, the answer of well done; for the night will come, wherein no man can work. We are favoured with liberty in this day, to assemble together for worship unmolested; and my hearty desire is, that we may properly improve this mercy; for the time to some of us may come, before our day in this life is closed, wherein this privilege may in some measure be taken from us. Something in me would be ready to say, The Lord forbid that it should be the case; but by reason of the great declension which has overspread the church, I hardly dare to expect any other. Oh may we therefore be careful to prize the mercy of God, and endeavour to gain an inheritance in the light, that when night overtakes, and darkness as to the outward, may hang over us, we may be favoured to withdraw into the sure hiding place, and know a quiet habitation!"

## CHAPTER VI.

*Visits to meetings in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey—also in Maryland and Virginia.—His apprehensions of duty to proceed on a visit to Barbadoes and resignation thereto, but at length became most easy to decline it.—The settlement of Uxchland monthly meeting with his epistle to Friends there.—Some weighty expressions uttered in the time of his sickness in the year 1761.*

HAVING drawings in my mind to visit the meetings of Friends in the counties of Philadelphia and Bucks, and being under an ap-



pointment of the yearly meeting to join with others in a visit to the monthly meetings, I informed our monthly meeting at Nottingham, with whose concurrence I left home on the 3d of the twelfth month, 1757, accompanied by a near relation, and attended Darby meeting on first-day, wherein, though life and the power of truth seemed to be low, I thought the humble waiters were encouraged. We went to the evening meeting in Philadelphia; next morning attended the meeting of ministers and elders, and the day following a meeting at the Bank, also a meeting for sufferings; and on fourth-day returned to Darby, to their monthly meeting, where we found Friends under a strait about disowning one among them, who denied the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; on whom they had bestowed much labour to convince him of his error. The meeting ended well; the company of the Friends who attended it being acceptable and of service. We were next day at Haverford monthly meeting held at Radnor, where the lively exercise of the discipline appeared to be very low, yet I was glad I was there. During the time of the business, feeling a concern on my mind to appoint a meeting at Haverford, to be held the next day, I proposed it for concurrence, which being readily agreed to, we attended there accordingly, and had a large meeting much to satisfaction, having great peace in observing the motion of Truth respecting this appointment. On the following day accompanied by my friend, Hugh Evans, I visited some ancient Friends, who by reason of old age and indisposition, could not get out to meetings, wherein I was favoured with that peace which I have often experienced to attend the acceptable work of visiting the afflicted. On first-day, after a satisfactory meeting at Merion, I went to the evening meeting in Philadelphia, in which Truth favoured with a degree of openness, to the instruction and comfort of many. On third-day afternoon, accompanied by my brother, William Brown, went forward to Richland monthly meeting held on fifth-day, where we had some close hard work, which generally happens when a lifeless formal spirit has the prevalence in managing the affairs of the church, for want of feeling after and waiting for the true authority, even the power of God; yet we were glad that we were there. My brother returned home, but the rest of us went to an appointed meeting at Plumstead, which, though the weather was severely cold, was large and comfortable, in the sense whereof we were thankful to the Author of all good. The meeting next day at Buckingham, was small but satisfactory. The severity of the weather is not a sufficient excuse for the

Lord's panting children to neglect public worship, which is a duty incumbent on us and due to his glorious name. At Wrightstown meeting the next day, the Master of our assemblies was pleased to appear in an eminent manner, to the comfort of the poor, instruction of the inquirers, rebuke of the backsliders, and edification of many; for which the sacrifice of thanksgiving and praise was offered to Him, who alone is worthy for ever. After this meeting I felt the value of that peace, which by the humble is better felt than expressed. We had next a good meeting at Makefield, at which were many seeking tender young people; then attended the Falls preparative meeting, which was satisfactory, a comfortable degree of unity subsisting among Friends. Our next meeting was at Bristol, in which after a dark distressing time in silence, what I had to communicate, was introduced by a question thus; Are you sound in faith and practice? I was led to set forth, that to profess and acknowledge even sacred truths, without a life of self-denial, with an answerable honest conduct, was no way sufficient; that being a dead faith, which produceth not good works in him who saith he believeth; showing what stumbling-blocks nominal professors are, who by their example plainly manifest that they are not possessors of what they profess to have, and are the greatest enemies the truth hath, which I was doubtful was the case with some among them. I had peace in this plain dealing. Our next was a laborious meeting at Byberry, yet yielded a degree of the same peace; a Friend afterwards told me that the state of the meeting was clearly spoken to, which I relate not for any praise to man; but that it was an additional confirmation of the Lord's sufficiency to his own work; and when we are weak, foolish, or contemptible in our own esteem, his strength appears, and his wisdom inspires with true knowledge, whereby he magnifieth himself. We went home with our friend, James Thornton, and next day to Horsham, where was a large and good meeting; after which we had a comfortable time in the family of John Cadwalader. Next day we attended the monthly meeting at Abington, in company with Samuel Eastburn and Joseph White; we found things low here, because of a want of that strength in which stands the authority of the church; it is only the pure wisdom from above, that preserves Friends in peace, meekness, gentleness, and unanimity in the distribution of right judgment in the church of Christ.

We were next day at Gwynnedd monthly meeting, which was a precious time through the power of that sacred name, which is as

ointment poured forth, the savour whereof continued through both worship and discipline, in which the faithful were mutually comforted. We went to Ellen Evans's, and had an evening meeting, some of the neighbours coming in; several Friends were much enlarged in counsel, and the opportunity ended in solemn prayer and thanksgiving. We went from thence to Exeter monthly meeting, which ended to satisfaction in the main; then home with our friend, Ellis Hugh, where Joseph White and Samuel Eastburn left us to return homewards. My companion and I proceeded to Reading, and had a public meeting in the court-house, which I thought was pretty well considering the company, many loose people attending; but Truth seemed to come into dominion and quieted them, that the meeting ended in a degree of awful sweetness.

On first-day, being the first of the new year, 1758, we were at Maiden creek meeting, which although a low time, afforded peace and comfort, from a prospect that there were among the youth in particular, some true branches of the Vine of life, who could not be satisfied without the living sap from the holy Root, and in the Lord's time would be favoured therewith, if there was a patient waiting for that springing season. We returned to Reading that evening, to a meeting held by appointment at a Friend's house, for the members of our Society in that town, in the attendance of which I found peace; crossing the river Schuylkill, we were next day at Robinson, or the Forest meeting, after which I was much humbled in a sense of the great condescension and mercy of the Lord our God, who was pleased to renew the reaches of his power to several, who had many years made profession of the pure truth, and yet dwelt in that which is impure, as drinking to excess and other evils, some of whom I knew, but did not know that they were there till the meeting was over; the weak were strengthened and the humble seekers encouraged, and great love flowed towards the youth. Returning again over Schuylkill, we went to that called Evans's meeting, which was very open for doctrine, several not of our Society being present: the first sentence that appeared in my view, was, "Many are called, but few are chosen," attended with such weakness, and such a sense of my own foolishness and inability for handling that subject, that I was afraid, because I had a secret apprehension that some would incline to make an advantage of those words, "but few are chosen," in applying them to strengthen themselves in the corrupt manner in which they hold election; but it appeared to me that because

"All have not obeyed," was the reason why so few are chosen. My mouth was opened in fear, even to trembling, yet with a secret hope and confidence that the Lord would be mouth and wisdom, with desires that he would bind my attention to his own immediate instruction, that the language of his Spirit only might be uttered by me; and he was pleased to magnify his own truth in the opening of these passages. I give this hint, that they who are concerned in the ministry may humbly trust in God, and not lean to their fears, knowledge, experience, or wisdom, in opening the mysteries of the gospel, but confide in the key of David; for when it opens none can shut. Next day we were at Providence meeting, which was poor, and truth low, yet peace was afterwards measurably enjoyed, from an evidence of having been honest according to the ability given. On the day following, at Plymouth, faithful Friends were comforted in the gracious condescension of our holy Head, who was pleased to favour with the aboundings of the life and love of Truth; we then returned to Philadelphia with thankful hearts for the evidence of peace.

My companion returning home, I went in company with my brother on first-day morning to Frankford, having felt an engagement for a considerable time to visit that meeting. A sense of the declension of Friends in this place, both in respect to numbers and the life of religion, was cause of heaviness of heart; but having performed my visit in faithfulness, according to ability, I returned with a degree of peace to the evening meeting in the city, which was comfortable. I remained there until the fifth-day of the week, in which time I attended the usual meetings; one with the Negroes much to satisfaction, and also the meeting for sufferings; and got safely home on seventh-day, the 14th of the first month; having travelled in this journey about four hundred and ten miles.

On the 22nd of the second month, I again left home in order to attend the quarterly meeting at Burlington, and some particular meetings in New-Jersey, as well on account of the yearly meeting's appointment, as my own sense of duty, in which I had the approbation of our monthly meeting signified by a minute. I attended the monthly meeting in Philadelphia with some degree of satisfaction; then taking Chester or Adams's meeting in New-Jersey, reached Burlington on first-day evening; the next day being the quarterly meeting, at which I had some service. After staying the youths' meeting, I went to a meeting on fourth-day at a school-house, where several Friends met, also divers others who perhaps had not been at any place of worship



for sometime, and were easy about religion, to whom it became my concern to show how disagreeable and loathsome that state was; "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot; so then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth." It opened to me that a lukewarm condition, holding a profession of religion, so as to take it ill not to be thought a Christian, but at the same time remaining easy and not in earnest to experience the life, virtue, and power of Christianity; not so cold as to forget the name, nor so hot or zealous as to witness the life of true religion, was very displeasing to the Almighty. A good degree of power attended the opening, and in treating on that passage, with much love to such lukewarm professors, which reached and tendered several beyond expectation; but no praise to man, though he may will or run, but to God who showeth mercy.

At Chesterfield monthly meeting, my friend John Woolman met me the next day; a raw company attending on account of a proposal or two for marriage, which I suppose they expected to be there presented; it was a time somewhat low and distressing. The advice of the yearly meeting was not enough observed, which is against allowing such as are not members of our Society to sit in our meetings for discipline, unless they are nearly related to the parties concerned, of which that meeting was modestly reminded. I was also grieved that matters were introduced too much at the judgment or pleasure of individuals, by reason that they are not in the practice of holding preparative meetings, the service of which, was particularly recommended to their consideration. I had some reward of peace in having attended this meeting. We were next at a meeting in Trenton, with a few Friends whom the spirit of the world, I thought, had much laid waste; there seemed more openness towards a few of other societies present, some of whom were tendered by truth's testimony, which seemed to reach the witness in them. At Bordentown meeting next day, many were made thankful, the Divine presence being felt among us; from thence John Woolman returned home, and John Sykes accompanied me to Upper Springfield, where the meeting was large, and through the Lord's mercy, open and satisfactory; the testimony of truth flowing in his love towards the youth, many were tendered thereby, the faithful were encouraged and the negligent warned. I went to Burlington to attend that monthly meeting; then to the burial of Margaret Butcher, at Mansfield, which was a laborious painful meeting, composed of a mixed multitude, yet something of an evidence attended truth's tes-

timony, so that the meeting ended with solidity. From thence I went to Peter Harvey's, and was thankful for the enjoyment of a peaceful quiet mind, though poor; next day was at Old Springfield meeting, which was slow and late in gathering, dull and heavy in sitting, as will be the case, wherever the life and power of religion are wanting, or not carefully sought after and waited for, by those who profess it, which was observed to them in the love of truth, and in the simplicity and plainness thereof. I left this meeting with a heavy heart, not from a sense of any omission of duty on my part; but lest they should too soon forget what manner of persons they saw themselves to be in the light, that discovers and answers the witness, as face answers face in a glass. Taking meetings at Mountholly, Rancocus, and visiting the widow of Peter Andrews, I was at a large meeting at Evesham on first-day following; but the expectations of the people being much outward, occasioned a painful deep waiting a considerable time, or at least I thought so. At length I felt some pressure on my mind to stand up, which as I followed carefully, Truth opened the state of the meeting to my admiration, and I was enabled with an innocent boldness, to attend thereto in speaking, which yielded me great peace after the meeting, and I was thankful for that opportunity. Next day I attended Haddonfield monthly meeting, at which were Samuel Nottingham and William Horne, whose company was comfortable and of advantage to the meeting. I then visited the meetings at Pilesgrove, Alloway's creek, Greenwich, Lower Alloway's creek, Salem, and one at Raccoon creek, to which many sober people came, not professing with us; also a large, and I believe to some a satisfactory meeting at Woodbury, the state whereof opened pretty clearly, the humble being instructed; but I was sensible of an opposition to some part of what I had to deliver to a self-righteous state, yet through the mercy of our gracious Lord; I left this meeting with an evidence of peace, and an affectionate heart-yearning towards them. Went to Haddonfield to attend the quarterly meeting for Gloucester and Salem counties, and from thence to the general spring meeting at Philadelphia; after which I returned home, having been out five weeks and three days. After this journey I did not go much abroad for more than a year, except to attend our quarterly meeting, and the yearly and general spring meeting at Philadelphia.

In the year 1759, I had drawings in my mind to visit a few meetings in Maryland and Virginia, also the yearly meeting at West river; and having the concurrence of our

monthly meeting, I left home on the 28th of the fifth month, and next day was at Gunpowder meeting; then at Elkridge, with a few Friends and persons not professing with us, amongst whom there was an openness to hear the testimony of truth declared; but for want of a steady walking in the professors thereof, it seems in a great measure laid waste. That night I lodged at the house of a kind man; but natural affability in any one, unless it is sweetened by the baptism of the Spirit of Truth, is of little value. On fifth-day I was at a new meeting house at Indian Spring, with a few Friends, some of whom I fear, scarcely know what they profess. Next day had a meeting at Samuel Plummer's, at Patuxent, to satisfaction; and on seventh-day the yearly meeting at West river began, which held until fourth-day following, which was in the main the most open and satisfactory meeting I was ever at in that place. I thought a disposition prevailed among the younger sort, to attend to the discipline more closely than in times past. Taking a meeting at Sandy Spring, I proceeded to Fairfax, about forty miles, where I had a comfortable meeting on first-day, for which the hearts of many were made thankful to the Author of all good; the same day we had also a satisfactory opportunity in Mahlon Janney's family, and the next day attended Monaquasy meeting in Maryland, where truth is at a low ebb, through the conduct of some unfaithful professors. Our next was a precious meeting with a few sincere Friends at Bush creek; and I went to a meeting at Pipe creek next day, which was pretty open and satisfactory; and 'to one the day following at Patapsco Forest, amongst a withered people. Alas! to profess the truth and not possess it in sanctification of spirit, makes meetings feel desolate. From thence I returned home to our monthly meeting, being absent nineteen days, and rode near three hundred and fifty miles, Samuel England being my companion.

In this year I was engaged with my friend John Woolman, in visiting some active members of our Society, who held slaves, first in the city of Philadelphia, and other places; also in New-Jersey; in which service we were enabled to go through some heavy labours, and were favoured with peace; Divine love in a tender sympathy prevailing at times, with a hope that these endeavours would not be in vain.

In the second month, 1760, I informed our monthly meeting, that in order to proceed in performing the appointment of the yearly meeting, having also a draught in my own mind, I had an inclination to visit some meetings up the river Delaware, particularly the

monthly meeting of Kingwood, in New-Jersey; and having the approbation of Friends, I set out from home on the 26th of the fifth month following, and reached the Bank meeting in Philadelphia the next day. From thence proceeded to the quarterly meeting for Bucks county, held at Buckingham, where, though things were low, the affairs of the church were transacted in a good degree of amity and peace. It was a large meeting, there being a great appearance of young people, some very hopeful, who in the love of truth were exhorted to come up in their places, by learning discipline of the Author thereof, viz: the Spirit of Truth. They were cautioned against that very unbecoming and hurtful practice, which is too common, of going out after worship, and standing in companies talking, when they should keep their places in the meeting, which should quietly and solidly proceed on the business coming before it. Heavenly love was felt by the tender in spirit, which I hope will be remembered by many. The general or youths' meeting was large, open and satisfactory in the main; for which the name of the Lord was praised. Next day I spent in visiting a widow, and other aged and infirm Friends; in the performance of which duty I had some satisfaction, and on first-day was at Plumstead meeting, which was large and very comfortable; the Divine presence being felt, the power of truth prevailed to the tendering of many; but such favour being not of him that willeth or runneth, but of God that showeth mercy; to him belongeth the praise of all, who is worthy for ever. In the evening I attended a meeting at a school house, near Samuel Eastburn's, in which I had some service; the states of many present being very clearly opened before them in the love of the gospel, which made deep impression on some who were much broken, and I believe it would be as dew on their hearts, if they would remain enough in the valley of humility.

I was the next day at Buckingham monthly meeting, which in the time of business suffered much by the prevalence of a talkative noisy spirit, which darkens counsel in those who give way to it, and leads into doubtful and trifling disputations. I left that meeting with pain of heart, in a sense that the time had been so lost that several weighty matters could not be brought under consideration to advantage, which were therefore continued until the next month.

Wrightstown monthly meeting on third-day was more satisfactory, the spirit for discipline rather reviving, and I hope a desire among the youth at least for an improvement. It too frequently is the case, that some of the elderly sort are so bigotted to their old forms and cus-



toms, that they will scarcely trouble themselves to examine whether these customs are agreeable to the testimony of truth, or whether through inattention they have not swerved and fallen short in various matters that now occasion difficulty in the churches, which difficulty must be laboured under for a season by the baptized members, who nevertheless, as they keep their places will grow stronger.

Accompanied by my friend Thomas Ross I attended the Falls monthly meeting, wherein I was comforted from a sense that a tender people were among them, though they felt a time of dearth, whom the Lord would in his own time water as his peculiar heritage. But this comfort was heavily ballasted by a secret fear attending me, that there were among them some, who like the heath in the desert, know not when good cometh; who were easy in a dead form, and contented with a name, neglecting to wait for that transforming power, which would renew into the image and life of the Son of God; to whom in the love and plainness of the gospel, I was constrained to clear myself. The meeting for discipline was pretty open, and ended in a good degree of sweetness. We went home with the wife of Joseph White, who was then on a religious visit to Friends in Europe, and had a comfortable season in the family with the children, she appearing to be resigned in the absence of her husband, her spirit being sweetened with the truth, in innocent quietude.

At Middletown monthly meeting the next day truth seemed to be low, but we had some service in the discipline. I came away with peace, and the day following in company with Joshua Ely went to Jacob Birdshal's, in Amwell township, New-Jersey, and had a meeting in his barn, which was small; there are few here who profess with us, some of whom seem to have nothing more than the name. Next morning we called at the house of an old professor, he and his wife were both full of talk; I felt a desire to visit them, and had a full time to clear myself in a close and plain manner, though in love to them. After which I attended two meetings at Kingwood on first-day, when truth favoured in opening the states of the people in mercy to many, which may be of advantage if rightly remembered; then proceeding to the Drowned-lands, so called, had a meeting with a few professors who seemed much withered; then taking another at Paulin's Kiln to pretty good satisfaction, returned to Kingwood monthly meeting, held at Hardwick. Several hopeful young people belong thereto; the meeting was comfortable, Friends rejoicing in the company one of another, and in the Lord for his merciful regard. Next day I returned to Bethle-

hem, and from thence to Gwynnedd meeting on first-day; after which I rode to Uwchland, about twenty-eight miles, and from thence home, where I found all well, having been absent three weeks, and rode about four hundred and sixteen miles in this journey.

Having a draught of love to visit the monthly and particular meetings within our own quarter, on the west side of Susquehanna river, with the concurrence of our monthly meeting, I set out from home on the 17th of the tenth month, in company with my brother-in-law, James Brown, who likewise had the approbation of Goshen monthly meeting for this purpose. We visited the meetings at Pipe creek, Bush creek and Monaquasy, in Maryland; in the first of which the Lord was pleased to favour in opening the state of Friends, and tendering the hearts of many; the other was satisfactory, and the last seemed to be a renewed visitation to a declining people, several of whom were tendered through the gracious long suffering of Infinite Goodness. We were next at the preparative meeting at Fairfax, in Virginia; then at Goose creek, wherein truth owned our service to the comfort of the faithful; then attended the meeting of ministers and elders, the monthly meeting at Fairfax, and the first-day meeting there, and one that evening in Francis Hague's house. Several disorderly walkers being present, the Lord was pleased to open and give ability to speak to their states in a measure of his heart tendering love, reaching the witness in some. Returning to the widow Janney's, we had a precious opportunity with her and children, to our mutual satisfaction.

Our next meeting was at Potts's, near the South mountain, which was open for doctrine, several of other religious professions attending, who appeared loving and well satisfied; then at Crooked-run, near the north branch of Shanandoah river, in company with several other Friends from Pennsylvania, some of us being a committee appointed by our quarterly meeting, in consequence of the Friends living here having requested that a meeting might be settled among them. The opportunity was to satisfaction, there being some young people who I hope will grow in the truth, though some of those who are elderly appear too superficial. From thence we went to Hopewell preparative meeting, also to a small meeting over the mountain near Jesse Pugh's; then attended a select meeting at Hopewell, and one at the same place on first-day, which was large and solid, many therein being much tendered, to the praise of the Lord, whose mercy endureth forever: in the evening we had a satisfactory meeting at the widow Lupton's, near Winchester. Next day

we were at Hopewell monthly meeting, where we found considerable weakness, as to the practice of the discipline, on which account we had some labour to the comfort of the well-minded. On our return we had meetings at Monallen, Huntington, Warrington, and Newberry, in York county, Pennsylvania, and a seasonable opportunity with Friends in Yorktown; from whence I proceeded home with a thankful mind, having travelled about four hundred miles in this journey.

In the spring of the year 1761, having an engagement on my mind to visit Barbadoes and some of the adjacent islands, I proposed the same to my brethren at home for their weighty consideration, before I asked for their certificate, who after a time expressed their unity therewith, and gave me a certificate, to which the quarterly meeting signified their approbation. At our next yearly meeting I laid my concern before the ministers and elders, when for any thing that appeared, I had their unity and prayers. I came home intending to proceed before the winter set in, and attended our general meeting at Nottingham, in the tenth month; but in a few days after was taken ill with a fever, which with bodily pain and exercise of mind, reduced me to a very low and weak state. But the Lord was pleased to give me inward strength, influencing my mind with love to all men, and great love to the members of our religious Society, the state whereof I saw in a clear manner. I so far recovered as to attend our quarterly meeting at London-grove, in the eleventh month; at which I had an opportunity to clear myself to my humble admiration, and was inwardly comforted. My concern for going to Barbadoes continuing, I went to Philadelphia to inquire for a passage, when my friends informed me of five vessels, three of which were nearly ready to sail; but understanding that all of them were prepared with guns for defence, I felt a secret exercise on my mind, so that I could not go to see any of them. I kept quiet from sixth-day evening until second-day morning, when I went to the meeting of ministers and elders, where I had a freedom to let Friends know, "That I came to town in order to take my passage for Barbadoes, but found myself not at liberty to go in any of those vessels, because they carried arms for defence; for as my motive in going, was to publish 'the glad tidings of the gospel, which teacheth love to all men,' I could not go with those who were prepared to destroy men, whom Christ Jesus, our Lord and Master laid down his life to save, and to deliver from that spirit in which wars and fightings stand." I further added, "If I had a concern to visit in gospel love, those now

living at Pittsburgh, or Fort Duquesne, do you think it would become me to go in company with a band of soldiers, as if I wanted the arm of flesh to guard me; would it not be more becoming to go with a few simple unarmed men? I now tenderly desire your sympathy and advice." One honest Friend said, "Keep to the tender scruple in thy own mind, for it rejoices me to hear it;" and several said they believed it would be best for me to mind my own freedom. I then begged that Friends would consider weightily, whether it was right for any professing with us, to be owners, or part owners, charterers, freighters, or insurers of vessels that a Friend could not be free to go passenger in on a gospel message. As I returned to my lodgings, I felt so much peace of mind in thus bearing my testimony, that I thought if my concern ended therein, it was worth all my trouble, though at that time I did not think it would, yet was quite easy to return home and wait until my way appeared more open. As my concern went off in this manner, I have been since led to consider that I could not have borne that testimony so fully and feelingly, if I had not been thus restrained. "The wisdom and judgments of the Lord are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out, and happy are they who move at his command and stand steadfast in his counsel."

Our worthy friends, John Stephenson, Robert Proud, Hannah Harris and Elizabeth Wilkinson, of Great Britain, being in this country on a religious visit, attended our yearly meeting in Philadelphia this year, which was large and favoured with humbling goodness, and in a sense of the Divine presence, ended very solidly. The services of these Friends, I think, have been great among us in this land, both in their public ministry and in the discipline of the church; and the remembrance thereof is precious I believe to many whom the Lord is preparing for his work.

After this I spent a considerable time at and near home, except attending the quarterly and yearly meetings, and the general spring meetings as they came in course; in the mean time being careful to frequent the meeting I belonged to.

A new monthly meeting being established at Uwchland, in Chester county, it arose in my mind to salute Friends there with an epistle, a copy whereof I sent to their first meeting in the first month, 1763, being as follows:

Dear Friends,

In the gentle springing up of gospel love and fellowship, I salute you my dear brethren and sisters, and hereby let you know, that it



is my fervent desire and prayer that you may individually attend to the gift of God in your own hearts, and therein wait for the arising of his pure life and power, that therein and thereby only, the affairs of the church may be transacted to the honour of Truth and your own peace and safety. To speak in the church to the business and affairs of truth, by the will, wisdom and power of man, however knowing he thinks himself, will lead into its own nature, and in the end minister strife and contention, and break the unity of the one spirit, wherein the peace of the church stands. I beseech you to beware thereof, and as I know there are among you those whom the Lord by his Spirit and the gentle operation of his power, is preparing for his own work, mind your calling in deep humility and holy attention of soul; for in your obedience only, will you be elected and chosen to the work whereunto he hath called you. So shall you be made skilful watchmen and watchwomen, placed on the walls of Zion to discover the approach of an enemy, in whatsoever subtle appearance, and enabled to give warning thereof to others. May each of you stand upright in your own lots in the regeneration, waiting for the pouring forth of the anointing of the Holy Ghost; by the renewing whereof, a true qualification is given in the love of the Father, rightly to oversee the flock and family of our God, amongst whom there are some plants with you worthy of your care.

I should have been glad to have sat with you, in your monthly meeting, from the sense of that love which I now renewedly feel to spring and flow towards you, but cannot well leave home; I therefore, at this time, in the pure refreshing stream thereof, again salute you, and remain your friend and brother,

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

East Nottingham, First month 4th, 1763.

In the time of his illness in the year 1761, as before mentioned, he uttered many weighty expressions, some of which were committed to writing by a Friend who was present, and being worthy to be further preserved, are here inserted, viz:

In this sickness he was reduced very low, and sometimes said it looked unlikely that he should recover; in the fore part thereof he often mentioned his being in great poverty of spirit, saying, that before he was taken ill, he felt such deep distress of mind, that he thought he was a cumber to the ground, and scarcely worthy to partake of the meanest necessities of life, that even bread and water seemed too good for him.

On the 4th of the eleventh month, four Friends being present, he spoke in a very

awful frame of mind, nearly as follows: "Such build on a sandy foundation, who refuse paying that which is called the provincial, or king's tax, only because some others scruple paying it, whom they esteem; yet I have now clearly seen, as well as heretofore, that the testimony of truth, if deeply attended to, will not be found to unite with warlike measures. It will in the Lord's time be exalted above all opposition, and come to possess even the gates of its enemies; though it may appear mean and contemptible in the eyes of some now-a-days, as the conduct of our primitive Friends did, in divers respects in the world's view. Whosoever continue to trample upon, or despise the tender scruples of their brethren in relation to their clearness concerning war, will certainly find it a weight too heavy for them to bear.

"My testimony on this account, so far as I have borne it, yields me satisfaction at this time; and the painful steps I have taken, both in public and private, to discharge my conscience in the sight of God, in giving faithful warnings to my brethren and countrymen, both in a civil and religious capacity, afford me comfort in this distressing season. I have clearly seen, and the prospect at this time adds Divine strength to my soul, that the God of truth is determined in due time to exalt the mountain of his holiness above all the hills of an empty profession; and all those who shall be admitted as inhabitants thereon, he wills to be clean handed; and that they should become subject to the Lamb's nature in every respect, and not shake hands with that nature which would tear and devour, nor in any shape contribute to the price of blood."

At another time he said, "I have been led in the present dispensation to behold the situation of particular Friends, to whom I feel ardent affection, who seem to have given away, or sold for this world's friendship, the testimony they should have borne for the Prince of peace, who is the High Priest of our profession; and for fear of breaking an outside unity, which will surely come to be broken, that the true unity in the bond of peace may be exalted, have acted contrary to the former sight they had of their duty, and are thereby become halt and dim sighted in several respects. These, though they still seem to desire it, cannot attain to the spotless beauty of Truth, nor approach the top of the mountain. I am afraid that some of them will never recover their former strength, nor attain to that dignity the Truth would have placed upon them, if they had been faithful; the situation of whom I have bewailed with anxiety of mind. I have been from my youth up, accustomed to sorrow, and am a man acquainted

with grief, and now remarkably so; the lives of my brethren and of all men, appear exceedingly precious in my sight. It looks doubtful whether I shall ever see my friends in a quarterly meeting again, yet if it be the will of Divine Providence, I much desire it; having heretofore, through a timorous disposition, lest I should offend some, and for fear of the frowns of elder brethren, concealed some things which I should have declared. If I should never more have a public opportunity, I speak thus in your hearing, to let it be known that I am still a well-wisher to all men, and that my integrity to the testimony of truth, against all connection with wars and fighting, is now as strong, or stronger than ever."

On second-day morning, the 9th of the eleventh month, he said to this effect, viz: "I have been led to see the necessity there is for Friends to beware of the custom of drinking drams, or strong spirits mixed. It is my judgment, that the less any of us accustom ourselves to the use of those spirits, the better it would be for our constitutions in general. I believe it is not consistent with the will of Divine Providence, that the course of nature should be obstructed and changed, and our animal spirits corrupted through the unnatural warmth of spirituous liquors.

"From my present sense and feeling of that temperance which is truly pleasing in the eye of heaven, I have mourned that the use of strong drink should become so prevalent amongst us who make so high a profession; whose bodies should be temples of the Holy Ghost, and should not be defiled, or tainted with any degree of intemperance. In harvest there is generally plenty of refreshment, which would keep the bodies of men strong and capable to perform hard labour. Witness the health and strength of our forefathers in the first settlement of this country, when strong liquors were very little used amongst them.

"Alas! how dimness has overtaken us, when we compare ourselves and our practices, with the temperance and moderation of our forefathers and the early settlers of this province! How sumptuous now are the tables, how rich and costly the apparel, the diet and the furniture, of many Friends even in the country; but more especially in the city! How is the simplicity and plainness of truth departed from, and pomp and splendid appearances have taken their place! And how much cost and time might be spared from needless things, and applied to bettering our country and helping to turn away the judgment which hangs over us, in part occasioned by these things.

"I desire that my grand-children may be

brought up in a plain simple way, accustomed to industry and some useful business; not aiming at great estates, nor following others in that way. Give them useful learning, and rather choose husbandry, or some plain calling for them in the country, than endeavour to promote them to ways of merchandize; for according to my observation from my youth up, the former is less dangerous and less corrupting. I observed when I was in England, that some of the greatest and wisest men in a religious sense, were brought up at the plough, or in some laborious occupation; where the mind is less liable to be diverted from an awful sense of the Creator, than in an easy idle education. How many great men there are, whose way of living is mean and homely, in this world's account, so that they have little more than real necessity requires; and yet they are rich in the best sense."

The next day being asked how he was, he said nearly as follows; "I have slept sweetly and seem much refreshed, and though I feel myself very weak in body, I am full of Divine consolation, having never before had such prospects of heavenly things. It seems even as though my soul was united in chorus with glorified saints and angels, both sleeping and waking. I now believe I shall recover, and that this sickness did not happen to me altogether on my own account. My only way to recover is to be industrious and diligent in what I believe is required of me; I have many messages to deliver, both in public and privately to Friends, who I see have missed their way, and have in a great measure deprived themselves of the beauty wherewith an humble abiding in the truth would have dignified them; and to some of my elder brethren, for whom I feel an uncommon nearness of affection, their lives never appeared to be more near to me, and I dare not conceal counsel from them, whether they will hear or forbear. I thought last night, I had a clear prospect of the situations of many within the verge of our quarterly meeting; it seemed as though the inward states of particulars were opened to me in full view; the pure life in the brightness of religion, never appeared to be more precious. An uncommon earnestness attends my mind, for the recovery of the rebellious, hypocritical, and backsliding professors of all ranks amongst us. If I get to our quarterly meeting, which I believe I shall, and can have time allowed me when there, I have tidings, important tidings, as from a dying man, to many. I have seen the mystery of the prophet laying three days and three nights in the belly of the fish. A wicked and adulterous generation are now, as formerly, seeking for a sign to things spoken closely, but no



sign shall be given them, save the sign of the prophet Jonah. Our Saviour's sufferings for mankind, and afterwards descending into the bowels of the earth, prefigured that his followers must, after his pattern, descend into spiritual baptism; that they may rise again, freed from the dregs of nature and from the corruptions of the creaturely passions, before they can be qualified to see and suitably to administer to the states of others. I have likewise seen the mystery of Ezekiel's sufferings, and bearing the sins of the house of Israel for the space of three hundred and ninety days, which being accomplished, he was commanded to turn on the other side, and to bear the sins of Judah forty days, for the corruptions of that princely tribe, who should have been as way-marks to others. My state has been for several years past, my deep baptisms and painful sitting in our meetings, like bearing the rod of the wicked; in which dispensation I have been sometimes ready to conclude with Elijah, that the altars were thrown down and the Lord's prophets slain, and I, a mean worthless servant, left alone, and that my life was sought also. I have now seen the use of those dispensations to me, with the use of my late sickness, whereby I am reduced to great weakness of body; that I might be as a sign to this generation, and as with the mouth of a dying man, utter tidings without fear of giving offence; tidings which I have heretofore concealed, through a timorous disposition.

"I have seen at this season that the Lord hath preserved a living number in Israel, who have not bowed the knee to Baal, or the god of this world. I have also seen the condition of many who have worshipped strange gods; and the corruption even of some who have assumed the station of ministers in our Society, how they are deceived so far as to believe a lie; have seen lying visions, and have caused the weak to stumble. They have been speaking peace to the people in the Lord's name, when it was only a flash, or divination of their own brain, which has tended to corruption and putrefaction in the churches. I have seen that many little ones have laid groaning as under the burden and oppression of these things, whose day of redemption draweth near, when they shall be made by the Almighty, as bright stars in the firmament of his power; and those who are corrupt and settled on their lees, shall be punished. In this dispensation I have abundantly witnessed the incomes of that peace and love which pass all understanding; neither my tongue nor capacity is able to set forth the bowels of compassion which I livingly feel to flow towards the whole bulk of mankind;

and especially to my brethren in profession. It seems as though no affliction would be too great to endure for their sakes, if it might be a means to have some of them, whose situation I have now been led to behold as particulars, restored to their former greenness and spiritual health, from whence they have fallen, and dimness has overtaken them. And though my outward man seems almost wasted, my spirit is strong in the Lord, and in the inexpressible strength of affection, I have found my spirit led from place to place over the country, to visit the souls in prison: Yea, I have beheld the dawning of that precious morning, wherein corruption shall be swept away from the church, and righteousness and truth begin to flourish greatly. The day seems to me to be at hand; and what if I say, I have a degree of faith that some of the children now born may live to see it. Through innocent boldness, my face seems to be as brass, and in the openings of the vision of life, I think I could utter gospel truths, and discover the mystery of iniquity, which I have seen, without fearing any mortal. I may be raised to live a while longer, though to die now, would be a welcome release to me. Yea, I could not desire to live, but for the longings of soul, and pantings which I feel towards the precious seed in many, whom I have now been led in spirit to visit. I have beheld their situation to be as lumps, taken out from the bowels of their mother, the earth, though much hidden from the view of mortals; and are tempering and fashioning by the Divine Potter, in different shapes, for divers uses; and I have seen that the Potter's power is sufficient to pick out, and take away every little pebble of nature. Many I have beheld in this situation, set by, as it were, out of sight to dry, until all the dampness and natural moisture is removed from them, not being yet fitted to undergo the operation of burning; but when properly prepared and thoroughly dried, many will be brought to the fire, burned and glazed, so that they may retain the liquor or wine of the kingdom, with a sweet taste, without any degree of taint or nauseous smell."

On the 12th of the eleventh month, early in the morning, he spoke to this purpose; "I believe I must endeavour to go to our quarterly meeting," which began on the 14th, "although as to bodily strength I am very weak: there my mind is remarkably, sleeping and waking; there I hope to be relieved of some things which seem to remain like a fire in my bones. I dare not forbear, I know it is the way to recover my strength outwardly, and to be eased of that which is a heavy burden inwardly. I see I must go, and believe I shall recruit, and gain strength every day;"

which was the case accordingly. He further said, "My mind has for several days been attended with an uncommon sweetness, the like I never knew for so long together, with a succession of soul-melting prospects. I have freedom to relate what I had a sight of this morning before day, as I lay in a sweet slumber;" which was nearly in these words, viz: "I thought I saw Noah's ark floating on the deluge, or flood, with Noah and his family in it; and looking earnestly at it, I beheld the window of the ark, and saw Noah put out the dove; and I beheld her flying to and fro, for some time; but finding no rest for the sole of her foot; I thought she returned, and I saw Noah's hand put forth to take her in again. After some time I thought I beheld her put forth a second time, and a raven with her; the dove fled as before for some time, and then I saw her return with a green olive leaf in her mouth, as a welcome token of the flood's being abated. I thought I saw also the raven fly to and fro, but he did not return; and it came into my mind, this is a ravenous bird, and seeks only for prey to satisfy his own stomach, otherwise he might have returned to the ark with good tidings, or some pleasant token, as well as the dove. After a short space, I thought I beheld the mountain tops, and some of the tree tops, beginning to appear above the waters, and I could perceive the flood abate very fast. As the waters fell away, I saw the trees began to bud and the greenness of new leaves came upon them, and I heard the voice of the turtle and saw many symptoms of a pleasant and happy season approaching, more than I can now relate; and the prospect thereof ravished my soul. I beheld the trees blossoming, the fragrant valleys adorned with grass, herbs and pretty flowers, and the pleasant streams gushing down towards the ocean; indeed, all nature appeared to have a new dress; the birds were hopping on the boughs of the trees, and chirping; each in their own notes, warbled forth the praise of their Creator. And whilst I beheld these things, a saying of the prophet was brought fresh in my memory, and applicable as I thought to the view before me, viz: 'The mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands; instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree; and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.'

"When I awoke, the prospect remained clear in my mind, and had a sweet relish, which now continues with me; and the application of the vision seems to me in this man-

ner: The flood which appeared to cover the face of the earth, is the corruption and darkness which is so prevalent over the hearts of mankind; the ark represents a place of safe, though solitary, refuge, wherein the Almighty preserves his humble attentive people, who, like Noah, are aiming at perfection in their generation. The dove sets forth the innocent, harmless, and loving disposition, which attends the followers of the Lamb who are always willing to bring good tidings, when such are to be had: the raven represents a contrary disposition, which reigns in the hearts of the children of disobedience, who chiefly aim at gratifying their own sensual appetites; the waters gradually abating, the trees appearing, and afterwards budding, the voice of the turtle, and the pleasant notes of the birds, all seem clear to me, to presage the approach of that glorious morning, wherein corruption and iniquity shall begin to abate, and be swept away; and then every thing shall appear to have a new dress. I am fully confirmed in the belief, that that season will approach, which was foretold by the prophet, wherein the glory of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea; and in a sense of these things my soul is overcome. I feel the loving kindness of the Lord Almighty, yet waiting for the return of backsliders with unspeakable mercy; and my soul in a sense of it, seems bound more strongly than ever, in the bonds of gospel travail; which travail I hope will increase and spread amongst the faithful, for the enlargement of the church; that the nations may flock unto Sion; which shall become an eternal excellency, even the joy of the whole earth."

He again expressed his having a prospect of the dawn of this blessed morning; and said, "The day-star is risen, which presages the approach of the morning; I have seen it in its lustre, and have a lively sense of that saying being again fulfilled in the new creation, 'The morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy.' I have heard their sound intelligibly, and my heart is comforted therein. The potsherds of the earth may clash together for a season, but the Lord in due time will bring about the reformation. The predictions of Archbishop Usher, mentioned in the preface to Sewel's History, have come fresh into my memory, and nearly correspond with the sense I have, that a sharp and trying dispensation is to come upon the professors of Christianity; wherein the honest and upright hearted shall be hid as under the hollow of the Lord's hand; when rents, divisions and commotions shall increase amongst the earthly-minded, and one branch of a family be at strife with another, like the daugh-



ter-in-law against the mother-in-law; and happy will it be for those who endeavour to stand ready for the approach of such a dispensation."

## CHAPTER VII.

*His visit to the quarterly meeting at Salem and the general meetings at Uwchland and Goshen, in 1764.—His attendance of the yearly meeting in Philadelphia, 1767, and the general meeting at Cecil in Maryland.—The death of his wife. His visit in Chester and Bucks counties—To the yearly meeting in Maryland.—Also to several meetings in New-Jersey, and some others in York county, Pennsylvania.—Also to Fairfax, &c., in Virginia.*

In the spring of the year 1764, I informed my friends that I had a desire to attend the quarterly meeting at Salem, in New-Jersey, and having their concurrence, on the 17th of the fifth month I left home and went to Wilmington, and next day in company with several Friends, from thence by water to our friend Joshua Thompson's, at the mouth of Salem creek. At the meeting of ministers and elders we were comforted together through the goodness of the Lord. On first-day there was a large gathering of a mixed multitude, and quiet, the Divine power being felt and gospel truths preached, by the influence whereof, many hearts were tendered; though I thought the beauty and solemnity of the meeting were a little marred by one Friend speaking too long; to begin in the life and conclude in the power and life, is becoming a minister of the gospel.

On second-day morning the meeting of ministers and elders was again held, it was a precious instructive season in the love of Christ our holy Head, by which the humble were united; afterwards we had a large meeting for public worship, wherein the testimony of truth flowed freely; the call to the ministry and qualification necessary to preach the gospel being clearly set forth. In humble admiration I could renewedly acknowledge, Thou art, Oh Lord! strength in our weakness, mouth and wisdom, yea all things to thy humble depending servants whose trust is on thee, waiting for thy putting forth in the way, and gently going before them; blessed be thy holy name for ever. In transacting the affairs of the discipline, a spirit of brotherly love prevailed. The youths' meeting at Pilesgrove was also large and edifying, the great Shepherd of Israel being pleased to stretch forth the crook of his love, for gathering the straying youth from pursuing after lying vani-

ties and worldly pleasures; ministering reproof to hypocrites and formal professors, yet comforting his children and humble dependent followers, to the praise of his own eternal name. The meeting of ministers and elders sat again by adjournment, when we had an uniting parting season; I returned to my friend Joshua Thompson's, next day to a meeting at Wilmington, and in the evening home, being thankful that I had been enabled to perform this small journey.

Having a strong desire to attend the general meetings at Goshen and Uwchland, on the 8th of the sixth month, my dear wife and I left home, though I was very unwell with a cold taken in my return from Salem, and a fever attending me every day. We attended Uwchland meeting on first-day, also one in the evening at the house of our brother Daniel Brown, which was dull and exercising, from a sense of the prevalence of a spirit which leads many into forgetfulness of God, pursuing the vanities and pleasures of this perishing world. Next day the general meeting at Goshen was very large, and much disturbed by the going out and coming in of many; but through Divine goodness it came to a better settlement before it concluded, when solid Friends in the renewing of the Lord's comforting love, were refreshed in him and one another; a visitation being continued to the youth, the praise whereof belongs to the great Author of all good!

The general meeting at Uwchland on the day following was large, and measurably attended with the ownings of truth, under the influence of which, admonition and counsel flowed freely to the youth, the Divine witness in several of whom was reached, and the name of the Lord praised, who is for ever worthy!

In these large meetings, as on all other such occasions, it is necessary in order for a proper qualification to minister to the people, humbly to wait to know the inward life and baptizing virtue of the Spirit and power of Jesus Christ, our all in all, without whose help we can never do his work to his praise, but instead of gathering the flock, we shall minister to their scattering from the true place of feeding. After being at the preparative meeting at East Caln and a meeting at Uwchland, we returned home thankful to the Lord, who had mercifully supported us in this small journey; both of us being weakly and indisposed in health.

In the ninth month, 1767, I attended our yearly meeting in Philadelphia, which held a week; all the sittings whereof both for worship and discipline, were through the overshadowing of Divine favour, instructive to the

humble waiters; and the testimony of truth, particularly against the unjust and unrighteous practice of slave-keeping, greatly prevailed. Friends were fully cautioned against bequeathing by will, as slaves to their posterity, the poor Negroes, their fellow-creatures; it being an unlawful act in the sight of the great and righteous Parent of all mankind. This meeting concluded with a degree of awe and reverence, under the sweetening influence of the Father's love. I returned home to our general meeting at Nottingham, which was held on the 4th and 5th days of the tenth month.

Having a strong desire to attend the general meeting at Cecil, in Maryland, I sat out in company with several other Friends, and reached the first sitting of the meeting, which was small and dull; the public meeting next day was very large and attended with some satisfaction; those of other societies who were there were mostly pretty quiet. At the meeting of ministers and elders, the want of solid elders being evident, the consideration thereof was proposed to the quarterly meeting, which was held in the afternoon of the same day, when it was recommended to the monthly meetings to observe the directions of the yearly meeting, to choose well qualified solid Friends, for that weighty station.

The meeting for public worship was again large, being attended by many of other societies, and my brother, William Brown, was largely opened in doctrine to the edification of the auditory; after which I had a short testimony tending to close the foregoing. In the meeting for discipline I had occasion to lament that there were too few who feelingly understood the weight of such meetings, or were clean handed to move therein, either to their own profit or the help of their brethren; yet there are a few who seem to be under a preparation for the work, and I hope will grow in their gifts. On third-day morning business began again, and ended as well as I expected. I thought the Lord was mercifully pleased to open considerable instruction to such among them, who had ears to hear and hearts disposed to receive it. The meeting for worship held that afternoon, was not so large as on the other two days; the service thereof lay weightily on me, and I had a full opportunity to relieve my mind towards the people, in opening to them the nature and ground of spiritual worship and true prayer, also the true call and qualification for gospel ministry, declaring what it was to live of the gospel, in opposition to a forced maintenance. Truth favoured and the people were solid, several being much reached; the meeting ending to satisfaction, with humble thanksgiving in many

hearts to the Lord, whose mercies through Christ Jesus, are to his people yea and amen for ever.

His wife being under many years' affliction with a cancer on her head, which was now so greatly increased as to require his daily affectionate attendance, confined him mostly at home until after her decease, which was in the seventh month, 1770. She was a steady exemplary Friend; concerning whom the monthly meeting of Nottingham, gives the following testimony:

"Our friend, Margaret Churchman, was born of believing parents, William and Esther Brown, who lived at Chichester, in the county of Chester, in Pennsylvania; on the 13th of the first month, 1706-7, her father removing with his family into Maryland, near Susquehanna, died before she was ten years old. In the twenty-third year of her age, she entered into the marriage state with John Churchman, of Nottingham, and being religiously inclined from her childhood, became a diligent seeker after that bread which nourishes the inward man, and thereby grew in religion. About the thirty-fourth year of her age, it pleased the Lord to put her forth in the ministry, in which she was frequently exercised to the comfort and edification of the churches where she visited, in this and the Southern provinces, being delivered in a degree of life and gospel sweetness in pertinent expressions. She was an example in plainness, a diligent attender of meetings, and a humble waiter therein; serviceable in meetings of business, having a good sense of discipline, with a becoming zeal to support the testimony of truth in its various branches, and useful in the weighty service of visiting families.

"In the latter part of her life she was for many years afflicted with a cancer on her head, which she bore with remarkable patience, resignation and innocent cheerfulness, attending meetings to the admiration of many who knew her disease. Notwithstanding various applications, her malady so increased that she became too weak to attend meetings sometime before her decease, yet she retained her love to truth and Friends to the last, and in the sixty-fourth year of her age, being a minister about thirty years, departed this life, on the 28th of the seventh month, 1770, and was buried on the 30th in Friends' burying-ground, at East Nottingham, attended by many Friends and neighbours, at which time we had a solid satisfactory meeting.



"Given forth by our monthly meeting held at East Nottingham, the 27th of the seventh month, 1771, and signed on behalf thereof, by

"SAMUEL ENGLAND, } Clerks."  
"REBECCA TRIMBLE, }

Having an inclination to attend Chester quarterly meeting, also some meetings within the verge thereof, with the concurrence of Friends I sat out on the 1st of the second month, 1771. Attended New Garden monthly meeting next day, in which the love of our merciful Father was measurably felt, to the comfort of the humble in heart, and on first-day was at Birmingham; next day had a meeting in the house of Richard Downing, at Milltown, with people of various sorts, and the Lord was pleased to assist with wisdom and ability, in measure, to divide his word in reproof, counsel, admonition and caution, to the praise of his own name. On third-day at Pikeland was a pretty full meeting, though a very cold day, Truth was felt to be near us; a profitable opportunity was had also in the family of the widow Meredith, who being weakly, did not get out to their meeting. Next day had a cold ride to Nantmell, where was a large full meeting, and I believe beneficial to many present, by the tendering goodness of the blessed Shepherd of spiritual Israel, the crook of whose heavenly love is still stretched forth to his sheep, who are not yet acquainted with the true fold of rest and safe feeding place; his own works praise him. Uwehland monthly meeting on the day following was a laborious season, yet through Divine favour made comfortable to the weary travellers, who had to rejoice together in a participation of the consolation of Israel, and therein to worship His name who is worthy for ever. Goshen monthly meeting was also laborious; when former experience is fed upon, or the love or honour of the world and fleshly ease takes place, a spirit grows up in the church, which cannot judge for God and his truth; for the judgment is his, in whose fear his children are made to rejoice, when his presence is known, and his humbling goodness manifested to his people. On first-day I was at Middletown meeting, in which there seemed to be a tender visitation and call to the youth, to acquaint themselves with the God of their fathers, his love being measurably witnessed among us. The quarterly meeting for Chester, held at Concord, was solid and edifying, through the extending of the heavenly Father's love to the children of his family. From thence I went to Wilmington, visited some of my acquaintance, and had a comfortable sitting in the family of David Ferris, his son Benjamin being ill in a con-

sumption. I also attended the monthly meeting, which though a searching time, was I believe to the comfort and edification of many, the uniting love of Truth being experienced to rest on Friends in the time of the business; after which I went to the monthly meetings at Center and Bradford, and from thence to our quarterly meeting at London-grove. Then returned home, having great peace in performing this journey, and in being favoured with ability, felt a degree of reverent thankfulness to the Lord, who is all things to his servants, who truly abide in nothingness of self; he is worthy of all obedience and honour for ever.

On the 21st of the third month, I left my habitation in order to attend our general spring meeting at Philadelphia; in my way called at Wilmington, and was at the burial of Benjamin Ferris, before mentioned. Our spring meeting was to me very comfortable in a sense of the living presence of the holy Head of the church, in which his true children were edified, strengthened and mutually comforted one in another; blessed be his name for ever!

At this meeting, the brethren, both ministers and elders, apprehend it their duty in the love of Christ, to appoint such who are willing to give up their names to attend the several large or general meetings, which come in course in the ensuing summer before our yearly meeting, to which they are expected to give some account of the meetings so attended by them, and feeling a draught in my mind to be at that at Duck creek, I gave in my name to attend it.

On my return from Philadelphia I sat with Friends at their week-day meeting in Wilmington; which through the continued goodness of the Lord, was in some measure a profitable season, I hope to many. Here I felt a strong desire to see the Friends together, who are owners of the grist-mills lately built at and near Brandywine; and upon notice thereof, they met the same afternoon at the house of Daniel Byrnes, when I had an opportunity to discharge my mind in an affectionate manner, of what had impressed it towards them, which they appeared to receive in a degree of the same love; and as I believe it came from the Author of all good, who is alone worthy of praise, a blessing may attend that opportunity if rightly remembered.

On the 26th of the fourth month, being accompanied by a Friend and neighbour, I went to Duck creek, and was at the monthly meeting there the next day, which was heavy, occasioned by the prevalence of a formal, lukewarm, worldly spirit, over many of the professors belonging thereto, but through the long suffering and continued mercy of God,

there seemed to be a renewed awakening visitation to some. The meeting on first-day was very large, the Lord being mercifully pleased to open the states of many in a particular manner; and in a measure of his holy heart tendering power, which reached the witness, divers were humbled, and the meeting ended with thanksgiving, prayer and praises to the Lord who is worthy for ever.

On second-day the meeting was not so large, occasioned by a fair being near; nevertheless it was a season in which the doctrine and mysteries of the kingdom of Christ were largely set forth to the people, by the influence of the spirit, and in the love and wisdom of the holy High Priest, who is all in all to his people.

We had also three select opportunities with the ministers and elders, among whom there was great apparent weakness; the reasons whereof were plainly made known to them, from the sense given in the love and fear of Him, who will not own and unite with such as are defiled; which plainness we had a hope would be profitable.

Next day several of us were at George's creek, which meeting is much declined. Where the love of the world and its alluring vanities prevail on the professors of truth, their affections are drawn from God, they grow slack in attending meetings, and are a bad example one to another. It was a hard meeting, but through the love of Christ, a measure of gospel anointing enabled to open to them their states in great love and plainness, which seemed to affect some; may it be remembered with reverence before Him who is the Author of all good, and worthy of all praise for ever!

Soon after my return home, feeling my mind engaged to attend the quarterly meeting in Bucks county, with a few meetings in Philadelphia quarter, I set out on the 26th of the fifth month, accompanied by Samuel England, and on the third-day of the week following, was at the Bank meeting in Philadelphia, which was comfortable. On fifth-day at the quarterly meeting at Buckingham, and next day the general youths' meeting, which was large and divinely favoured. Then visiting several indisposed Friends, on first-day I attended Plumstead meeting; and in that week the several monthly meetings of Buckingham, Wrightstown, the Falls and Middletown, also a public meeting at Makefield; was on first-day at Bristol, from whence I went with my friend James Thornton, to their afternoon meeting at Byberry, had an appointed one at the same place next day; and in that week visited the several neighbouring meetings, one of which was a general youths' meeting at Horsham, large and instructive, wherein the

love of our heavenly Father was felt by his truly depending children. Then taking meetings at Gwynedd, Providence, Richland, Oley, Exeter, Maiden creek, Reading, and on first-day at the Forest; I rode from thence to Uwehland, and on second-day had a meeting at Milltown, in the house of Robert Valentine. Then proceeded home, having rode about three hundred and seventy miles in this journey, in which I was favoured with health, and held travelling beyond my expectation. At the gentle drawings of Truth I left my habitation, having little prospect of much before me, but was preserved in a quiet resignation to the Divine will to do whatsoever should appear my duty, beseeching the Lord to enable me to watch against every appearance of self in the great and pure work of declaring the gospel to the people, and have great cause to be humbly thankful, that the Lord was pleased to own my service beyond expectation, to the exaltation of his own truth; blessed be his name for ever!

In the tenth month following, I went to the yearly meeting at Third-haven, in Maryland; the meetings for worship held three days, and each of them were very large, and many gospel truths were delivered in the love and power thereof, by which the witness of God was reached in the hearts of many of the people, and Friends comforted and made thankful to the Lord, that he was pleased to own us with the overshadowing of his heavenly love. On fourth-day morning the affairs of the discipline were finished, when we had a parting meeting, which through Divine favour was a precious time to many. I had never been at the yearly meeting when held at this place before, and now witnessed my heart enlarged in the love of the gospel, to declare the truth among the multitude of people who professed the Christian name, and to remind them of their conduct and dress, how different it was from that of those who formerly suffered martyrdom for their religion, as professed by the members of the church of England, so called, who own the reformers as their predecessors.

Feeling a draught of love in my mind towards some meetings in New-Jersey, particularly at Egg Harbour, and having the concurrence of my friends at home, I set out on second-day the 1st of the sixth month, 1772, and taking in my way a meeting at Haddonfield, and another at the house of my friend, Thomas Evans, which through the presence and power of the Searcher of hearts, was made profitable to some present; reached Little Egg Harbour on seventh-day. Next day attended the yearly meeting, in which the love of the gospel was felt to flow towards a loose,



raw, uncivilized people, who appeared to attend there more out of curiosity, than from a reverent thoughtfulness of worshipping Almighty God. In the afternoon of the same day the continuance of Divine favour was remarkably evident towards the inhabitants, for which the Lord made the hearts of his sensible children thankful to himself, who is the Author of all good. The meeting on second-day was also very large, in which the true children of the family were comforted in Christ Jesus the Lord and holy Head of the church, by the anointing virtue of whose precious name and power, they were made to rejoice in the company one of another. Parting with many valuable beloved Friends, I went over the bay, to the upper meeting on Great Egg Harbour shore, which was large, considering the notice. I was comforted in knowing for whose name sake I was made willing to leave my company, and turn that way, the Lord being pleased to own my service by the inspiration of a degree of his heavenly wisdom and love, to speak to the states of those present; blessed be His name who is worthy for ever. I went home with my friend Joseph Mapes; next day attended the lower meeting, which through Divine favour was a precious season; then passed over to the cape, and next morning was at a meeting at the upper house, where many not of our Society attended, to whom the doctrine of the gospel flowed, in describing the nature of pure and undefiled religion, and wherein it consisted; the people were still and quiet. In the afternoon of the same day I had a meeting at the lower house, which is eight miles down the cape; this was an heart tendering time, for which Friends were made truly thankful; I thought it seemed like to be my last visit to these parts. From thence I went to Cohansey, forty-five miles, to Mark Reeve's, where I rested the next day, being very weary and almost overcome with hard travelling. On first-day I was at Greenwich meeting, and in the afternoon at Alloway's creek, which was very large, many of other societies attending; the doctrine of truth flowed to them in a measure of the love thereof. Next day the meeting at Salem was held in the court house, the meeting house being taken down, and a new one building. On third-day I was at the upper meeting near Alloway's creek; which through Divine Goodness was an instructive time to some seekers. The passage treated upon was our Lord's description of the pharisee and publican, who went up to the temple to pray; the great difference in the form of their addresses was opened in a clear manner, by the spirit of Him who gave forth that parable, to my humble admiration, which was

cause of reverent thankfulness; they who were sensible being encouraged, and the conceited formalists rebuked.

From thence I went to John Davis's, had a comfortable opportunity with some indisposed Friends in his family; then taking meetings at Pilesgrove, Upper Greenwich and Woodbury, was on first-day morning at Haddonfield, and in the afternoon at Newtown, which last was laborious, though I believe being blessed to several present, was thereby made profitable. That evening I went over to Philadelphia weary in body, but cheerful in mind, being sensible of a degree of thankfulness for the continued favour of my Lord and Master, who had been to me a quiet habitation and secret support in this journey. After staying two days, and on each attending meetings in the city, I took Wilmington meeting in my way home, having travelled about three hundred and fifty miles, attended about twenty meetings, besides having several comfortable opportunities in families.

Being under an appointment with other Friends of our quarterly meeting, to visit Friends of the monthly meetings of Warrington and Fairfax, I set out on the 7th of the tenth month, and taking a meeting with Friends in Yorktown, we were at Warrington on first-day; then visited the several meetings of Newberry, Huntington and Monnallen, in which Truth owned our service in a good degree; our labour of love appearing to be kindly received, I hope may be useful. On first-day following five of us were at Pipe creek meeting; then at Bush creek, Monaquey, Fairfax, Goose creek and Southfork, wherein the Lord was pleased, in his wonted goodness and mercy, to magnify his own name, who is worthy of all praise for ever.

After a seasonable opportunity with Friends held in the house of Abel Janny at parting with them, we returned to Fairfax meeting on first-day, where under the influence of the Divine presence, the testimony and doctrine of truth flowed freely to the people; in a humble sense whereof, praises ascended to His holy name who is over all worthy for ever.

Several of our company now returning homewards, three of us not being easy yet to return, two of us went to visit a Friend who lay in a languishing condition, which I believe was serviceable, the love of our heavenly Father being in some degree felt among us. On third-day we had a meeting at the Gap, so called, among a raw people, where Divine Goodness measurably favoured the opportunity; on the day following we attended Fairfax preparative meeting; the two next days we visited some sick Friends, and on seventh-

day were at the monthly meeting, which was in the main satisfactory. On first-day the meeting was thought to be the largest ever held at this place, and the gospel being preached in the love of it, tendering the hearts of many, the meeting ended in humble thanksgiving to the holy Author of all good. Next day in company with several Friends of Fairfax, I attended a meeting at Monaquesy, where some came who did not make religious profession with us, which was an instructive tendering season, through the Lord's goodness. After a meeting at Bush creek, and another at Pipe creek, I travelled to Gunpowder, and attended the quarterly meeting for the Western shore of Maryland, likewise the general meeting for worship on first-day, at which were several not of our Society, whose hearts were reached by the love of Truth. Next day I had a meeting at the Little Falls, and from thence returned home, and after staying three days, I went to our quarterly meeting at London-grove, the two last days of which afforded some comfort and satisfaction. On the 14th of the twelfth month I went to Wilmington, on which day Margaret, the wife of John Perry, was buried, after a short illness. I spent part of the evening in his afflicted family to satisfaction; staying in the town two days, I attended their monthly meeting, and thought there was a want of more members deeply baptized for the work, which appears necessary in the church at that place. Deborah, the daughter of David Ferris, being in a declining consumptive state, and wasting fast, I visited her to my satisfaction, she appearing to be in a resigned humble frame of spirit, was an exemplary young woman whom I esteemed. Then going to Center and Hockesson meetings, I was at New-Garden on first-day, which I thought through Divine favour, an instructive profitable meeting to myself, and perhaps to some others; the subject which opened was the necessity of not leaning to, nor following any man, but of attending to the pure motion and secret influence of the Spirit of Truth manifested in the heart, in the meekness and purity of the wisdom from above. It was by this the churches were gathered, and the members preserved in the unity of the one blessed Spirit, and perfect bond of peace and good order.

I next attended our preparative and monthly meetings, after which was confined mostly at home for about a month by a fever, during which time my mind was often much humbled under a sense of the prevalence of a dull, lukewarm spirit, as to the life and power of truth; earthly mindedness and the cares and cumbers concerning the things of this

present life having drawn the minds of many into death. I never more clearly saw the necessity there was for us who profess the truth, singly to attend to the gentle instructions of the holy Spirit, who only doth, and ever will, lead and guide into all truth, and preserveth from those errors and failings which are so abundantly evident among us, whereby our hands are weakened in respect to a careful exercise of the discipline of the church.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*His attendance of the western quarterly meeting in the second month, 1773—The spring meeting in Philadelphia, and the general meeting at Duck Creek—The quarterly meeting at Shrewsbury—With several other meetings in New-Jersey—The spring meeting in Philadelphia, in 1774.—His last visit to New-York and Long island.—His last attendance of the yearly meeting in Philadelphia.—His being at the spring meeting there in 1775, and his last journey to meetings on the Eastern shore of Maryland.—His last illness with some weighty expressions in that time.—His death and burial.*

BEING somewhat recovered of my indisposition, I sat in our select meeting of ministers and elders on the 1st of the second month, 1773, in which I was comforted under a sense of our being owned in some degree by the visitation of Divine love; and afterwards attended our quarterly meeting at London-grove, each sitting whereof was favoured with the continuance of heavenly help, to the encouragement of the humble waiters. I returned home with thankfulness to the Lord, who had furnished me with strength in my weak state to sit with my friends, in which we ought to be good examples. I attended our own meeting on the fifth and first-days following, and in the same week went to Wilmington, to the burial of Deborah Ferris, before mentioned; after which a solid and profitable meeting was held.

On the 26th of the third month I set out from home in order to attend our general spring meeting at Philadelphia, but did not get there in time for the first sitting; such of them as I did attend, I thought were in the main, times of Divine favour. On my return, homeward I was at a small meeting at Chester, also the general meeting at Wilmington, and soon after the general meeting at Duck creek, and their monthly meeting preceding it. The meeting there on first-day was large, and though a mixed multitude attended, it was solid, through the overshadowing of heavenly



power; the Lord was pleased to open the mysteries of the kingdom, influencing my heart to preach the gospel in the love thereof to my humble admiration, and many were tendered; for which renewed visitation and favour, a sacrifice of thanksgiving ascended from the hearts of his children, to the all powerful and merciful God who is worthy for ever. The meeting on second-day was a time of consolation to the heavy hearted, instruction to the humble seekers, and a season of strengthening to the weak; blessed be the name of the Lord, for his mercies endure for ever. I was next at George's creek meeting, in which Friends were encouraged and in some degree refreshed, divers not of our Society attending; the doctrine of personal election and reprobation as held by some, was refuted, and it was clearly pointed out wherein the election stood, viz: in Christ, the seed, which being cleaved unto, and chosen by man for his true instructor and leader, by his light and witness in the heart as a reprover for sin, and so followed and obeyed, man comes to know himself elected in him. I went home with George Ford, at Back creek, and had an opportunity in his family I hope to some profit.

Towards the fall of the year I had a draught in my mind to attend some meetings in the Jerseys, particularly the quarterly meeting at Shrewsbury; of which having acquainted my brethren at home and had there concurrence, after attending our yearly meeting in Philadelphia and returning from thence, I set out in company with my friend Samuel England, on the 12th of the tenth month, but was detained at Philadelphia by a fever, which held me several days. I so far recovered as to proceed on our journey, taking on our way meetings at Mountholly, at a school house near Shreve's mount, in Upper Springfield, in which I had a concern to warn the youth to beware of deism, and to show the ground and cause of falling into that error; also at Upper Freehold, and in a Friend's house near that called Robbins's meeting. There seems to be a visitation to the youth in that place, to which if they are faithful, that meeting may again increase. We reached the meeting of ministers and elders at Shrewsbury, in which Truth owned the lovers thereof; the public meetings on the three following days were large, and thought to be the most quiet and satisfactory which had been known of late years there; the affairs of the discipline were, as I thought, pretty well conducted. Finding myself not clear of the members of our Society at this place, I proposed to several Friends that they would favour me so much as to meet on their week-day meeting day, which I understood they usually had omitted in this week, request-

ing that they would acquaint their members with my desire of seeing them, their children and families together. I therefore waited until fifth-day, when they generally met, which gave me an opportunity comfortably to clear myself towards Friends here, to the encouragement of the sincere; being led to show the active members the cause of dwarfishness, the love of the world and its friendships, choking the good seed, which should grow and bear rule. I was thankful for this opportunity, and left them with the enjoyment of a quiet mind. From thence we passed to Rahway, had a meeting at Woodbridge, and another at Plainfield, in both which Truth owned my service. I thought there was a tender visitation renewed to Friends in those parts, in the sense whereof I was thankful, and that I had been favoured with strength to pay them a visit in the love of my great and good Master; may I ever walk answerably to his manifold favours, who is worthy of all praise for ever! We were next at Stonybrook meeting, which was made precious in the renewing of Divine favour; and then at Trenton with a people who have much lost the life and savour of truth. From thence going to Byberry and Philadelphia, I reached the quarterly meeting at Concord, which began on the 6th of the eleventh month. Next day I went to Chichester, where I was enabled to speak to the states of the people in the love of Truth, which may be useful if remembered in a right manner; and returned to the quarterly meeting on second-day, which was comfortable, the Divine presence being felt. Our friend Elizabeth Robinson was there, and had good service. On third-day I attended the general meeting at Chester, which was poor and dull; the expectations of the people being too much outward, they were disappointed; then attending the monthly meeting at Wilmington, tarried their meeting the next day, and proceeded to our quarterly meeting at London-grove, at which we had the company of our friends Robert Walker, Elizabeth Robinson and Mary Leaver, from Great Britain; it was a season of refreshment and comfort to many Friends; then went home, having travelled in this journey about three hundred and sixty miles.

In the third month, 1774, I attended our general spring meeting in Philadelphia, the divers sittings whereof were divinely favoured; and after it, the general meeting at Wilmington, which was held chiefly in silence, and on that account remarkable.

Having an engagement on my mind for some time to visit Friends on Long island, with some adjacent meetings, I laid it before my brethren, who gave me their certificate for that purpose; and on the 3d of the fifth

month I set out on the journey, having the company of a Friend from Wilmington. Taking a meeting at Philadelphia, we reached New-York, attended their morning and afternoon meetings on first-day, and had an opportunity with divers Friends in the evening, which was to me instructive, and I believe through Divine goodness profitable to some others. We then had meetings at Westchester, Mamaroneck and the Purchase; the last being a monthly meeting. These opportunities were close and searching; the testimony of truth was encouraging to the well-minded, but very sharp to the formalists, and my mind was made thankful for the blessing of peace in the discharge of my duty. We next attended meetings at Flushing, on Long island, Cowneck, Westbury, Matinicoek, Sequitogue and Bethpage, then at Newtown, the monthly meeting at Westbury, and the quarterly meeting at Flushing, where the yearly meeting began the next day, which held four days; and on the whole I believe it may be said, that the authority of Truth was in some good degree felt to keep down forward spirits, both in the ministry and discipline, which was cause of thankfulness to the Lord who rules among his children, and is worthy of all praise for ever. Here I had the company of our dear friends, Robert Walker, Elizabeth Robinson and Susanna Lightfoot, who intending for Rhode Island, I parted with them, and went to the monthly meeting at New-York, which through merciful regard was comfortable. From thence going to Rahway, had a meeting at Plainfield, which was satisfactory, through the extendings of Divine favour; then at Kingwood on first-day, from whence crossing Delaware, we were at Buckingham monthly meeting, where I thought the true spirit of discipline appeared to be much wanting in many; here my companion returned homewards. The next day I was at Wright's-town monthly meeting, which through the Lord's blessing, was edifying to many; and we parted in peace and sweetness of spirit. The day following I attended the meeting at Pine street, in Philadelphia; also that at High street, on fifth-day, which was a precious opportunity to such who loved to live near the Spirit of Truth. From thence I went to visit my brother-in-law, Daniel Brown, near Chester; was at Newtown meeting on first-day, and at an afternoon meeting near Amos Yarnall's; then went to the general meetings at Goshen and Uwchland; after which taking London-grove meeting, I came home, having rode in this journey about six hundred miles, and felt a degree of thankfulness that the Lord was pleased to give me ability to perform it.

I tarried much at home the remaining part

of this summer, and on the 21st of the ninth month, I set out in order to attend the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, which was very large in the several sittings, continued a full week, and I thought it the most solid and weighty in transacting the affairs of truth that I ever knew. The testimony thereof against slave-keeping was wonderfully exalted, through the power and love of God, who is worthy of all praise for ever. In my way home I was at Providence meeting, in which the testimony of truth went forth by way of warning to the lukewarm and declining professors, and of encouragement to the youth.

Our general meeting at Nottingham next day was large, and I hope profitable to some; after which having a desire to be at the general meeting at Cecil, in Maryland, I left home on the 7th of the tenth month, was at the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders there on first-day morning, which was profitably instructive through Divine goodness. Two public meetings for worship were held on first and second-days, both large and solid, several other Friends from Pennsylvania were there; the business of the quarterly meeting ended on third-day morning; on the same day we had a comfortable public meeting, from which we parted with Friends in much love and nearness. On the following day was their monthly meeting, to attend which several of us staid; then having a desire to see Friends at Chester river, I went to their week-day meeting, Nicholas Waln bearing me company; the meeting was large, and through the Lord's goodness, it was, I believe, made profitable to many. Taking meetings at Sassafra, Duck creek, Motherkill and Little creek, the two last being their preparative meeting at each place; the next day was their select meeting of ministers and elders, and their monthly meeting the day following, which, with divers other Friends from Pennsylvania, we attended, and on the first and second-days of the next week, the general meeting at Little creek. I believe there is a renewed visitation to Friends and some others hereaway; but formal professors appear to be as stumbling blocks, by joining with the spirit of the world. I returned home with an easy mind.

Weakness and infirmity of body gradually increasing upon our beloved friend, he frequently mentioned, that many years past, it was unexpected to him to live to his seventieth year, and to be favoured with health and strength sufficient to travel so much as he lately had, saying, that now he scarcely thought much more would be required of him. He however attended the western quar-



terly meeting in the eleventh month, this year, and in the second month, 1775, in both which he was favoured with strength and clearness to speak to the state of the church, as well in some of the select, as the more public meetings, tending to the edification and comfort of many.

In the third month, 1775, he also attended the general spring meeting at Philadelphia, and in some of the sittings thereof was much favoured; and on his return home from thence he was at Wilmington general meeting, in company with our friends Robert Walker and Elizabeth Robinson, from Great Britain.

His last journey was on a visit to most of the meetings on the Eastern shore of Maryland, and to attend the yearly meeting at Third-haven, in Talbot county; for which purpose he set out from his own habitation on the 22nd of the fifth month, having, according to his usual care, obtained the concurrence of his brethren, and was accompanied by a young man, William Jackson, a member of New-garden monthly meeting, who has given the following account of this journey:

"Our first day's ride was to George Ford's, near Back creek; the next morning being damp and foggy, was very trying to his weak constitution, yet we rode forty-five miles that day to Hannah Turner's, in Queen Ann's county, which was thought to be a means of bringing on him a disorder which proved painful and afflicting, and increased till near his end. Being advanced in age, his bodily infirmities appeared great, but the fervency of his mind for the promotion of truth and righteousness, and his care as a father in Israel, were truly as prevalent as ever. On the 24th of the month he went to the preparative meeting at Tuckahoe, wherein he was concerned to exhort some to faithfulness in times of temptation and trial, that they might experience an overcoming, and be enabled to strengthen their brethren. Next day we attended Third-haven monthly meeting, in which he was qualified to speak instructively to the members thereof, particularly to such who were encumbered with much care about the things of this life; things, which although lawful in themselves, yet when suffered to engross the minds and affections of people, obstruct a progress in religion. On the 26th, a meeting at Chop-tank was a time of heavy exercise on account of a lifeless, lukewarm, indifferent situation of mind, which seemed to attend divers there assembled. The next day we attended a burial at Third-haven, on which occasion a meeting was held, and he laboured honestly to arouse those who lived in the neglect of

making timely preparation for their awful and solemn change. On the 28th we were at Tuckahoe meeting, and on second-day at the bay-side, where were but few of our Society, but several others attended who behaved soberly, and some of the younger sort were reached and tendered by truth's testimony, to whom he was led instructively to show, that they need not give their money for that which is not bread, nor their labour for that which satisfieth not, and opened to them the way of life and salvation which is attained through the Spirit, or free gift of grace that is come upon all men for justification, so that if they attended to the dictates thereof in their own hearts, it was sufficient to instruct them in the way of godliness; but when people go from, and neglect this inward teacher, seeking to, or depending on learned men, they err.

"Next day we had a religious opportunity in the family of John Bartlett, and on fourth-day went to Tuckahoe meeting again, where he had to speak of the sufficiency of the grace of God, and the inconsistency of people's living in a profession thereof without being found in the faith, or fully believing in this principle as sufficient for salvation. We next attended the meetings at Third-haven and Marshy creek. The yearly meeting began on seventh-day, and continued until the fourth of the following week, and although he was feeble and unwell, he attended the several sittings thereof, being nine in the five days, and the last held seven hours. He was enabled to appear for the cause and testimony of truth, both in the meetings for worship and discipline; and like the good scribe well instructed in the things of the kingdom, had to bring forth out of the treasury, things new and old, profitable and instructive, being seasoned with the love and virtue of truth. After the meeting on fourth-day, we went to the house of Joseph Berry, where next morning we had a religious opportunity in the family, and the day following a meeting in Queen Ann's forest, from whence we went to Joshua Vansant's. Here he was very poorly, having taken some cold; the next day being very warm, he was much spent with riding, and said, as he had at several times before on this journey, 'that he believed it would be his last, if he lived to reach home, which at times he thought seemed unlikely.' On first-day, the 11th of the sixth month, he had a meeting in a school house at Back creek, among a people who behaved with much sobriety, which was a satisfactory time, very instructive and open for doctrine; and that evening reached home, having travelled in this journey about two hundred and ninety miles."

On the 14th of the sixth month he went to the week-day meeting at London-grove, to meet a committee of our quarterly meeting, and returned to our meeting at Nottingham the next day. On the first-day of the week following, was there also; and in the same week he attended our preparative and monthly meetings; but a fever daily increasing upon him, he was afterwards chiefly confined at home.

On the 4th of the seventh month he expressed himself thus; "I am glad that I am at home, I have ever found it best when my service abroad was over, to get home as quick as might be; and though I have felt great inward poverty and weakness since my last journey, so that I can neither see my beginning, nor ending, but seem as if all were hidden, yet I hope if Providence shall see meet to remove me at this time, some light will appear again, and that it will be otherwise before I go."

At another time he spoke to this purpose; "I have found myself much stripped as to a sense of good, and tried with poverty many days. I suppose I have been accounted by some, as one of the better sort of people, but have seen great occasion to beware of a disposition that would feed upon the praise or commendations of others; a carnal selfish spirit is very apt to present and creep in here if possible, and I have seen it hurt many who have had right beginnings; it always introduceth dimness and oppression, to the pure, precious, innocent life of truth, which only groweth up into dominion, through deep abasement of soul and the entire death of self."

At several other times he signified to this effect; "My present baptism of affliction hath tended to the further refinement of my nature, and to bring me more perfectly into the image of my Master."

He frequently expressed his full submission to the Divine will, either respecting life or death; several times saying, "I now experience my life and my will to be slain, and I have no will left."

In the two last weeks of his time it appeared that his desire and hope, mentioned in the fore part of his illness, for light again to appear, was fully answered by the fresh influence thereof, so that although his pain was often great, he would, many times in a day, break forth into a kind of melody with his voice, without uttering words, which as he sometimes intimated, was an involuntary aspiration of his soul in praise to the Lord, who had again been pleased to shine forth in brightness, after many days of poverty and deep baptism, which though painful, had proved beneficial to him, being a means of further

purifying from the dregs of nature; saying, he was at times afraid to discover that melody in the hearing of some who visited him, lest they could not comprehend its meaning, and might therefore misconstrue it.

On second-day morning the 17th of the seventh month, being asked by a Friend how he was, he replied, "I am in the body yet, and when I go out of it I hope there is nothing but peace;" and soon after said, "I have seen that all the bustles and noises that are now in the world, will end in confusion, and our young men who know not an establishment in the truth and the Lord's fear for a ballast, will be caught in a trying moment." At another time he said, "I feel nothing but peace, having endeavoured honestly to discharge myself in public, and privately to individuals, as I apprehended was required; and if it be the Lord's will that I should go now, I shall be released from a great deal of trouble and exercise, which I believe Friends who are left behind will have to pass through."

On the 20th of the same month he thus expressed himself; "I love Friends who abide in the truth, as much as ever I did, and I feel earnest breathings to the Lord, that there may be those raised up in the church who may go forth in humility, sweetness and life, clear of all superfluity in expressions and otherwise, standing for the testimony, that they may be useful to the church in these difficult times."

About three days before his death, several Friends being in his room, he spoke as follows; "Friends in the beginning, if they had health and liberty, were not easily diverted from paying their tribute of worship to the Almighty on week-days as well as first-days, but after a while when outward sufferings ceased, life and zeal decaying, ease and the spirit of the world took place with many, and thus it became customary for one or two out of a family to attend meetings, and to leave their children much at home. Parents also, if worldly concerns were in the way, could neglect their week-day meetings sometimes; yet be willing to hold the name, and plead excuse because of a busy time, or the like; but I believe that such a departure from primitive integrity ever did, and ever will, occasion a withering from the life of true religion."

To a Friend who came to visit him on the 21st of the seventh month, he said, "I feel that which lives beyond death and the grave, which is now an inexpressible comfort to me after a time of deep baptism that I have passed through; I believe my being continued here is in the will of Providence, and I am fully resigned."

His illness increasing, he said but little on seventh-day, the 22nd; in the afternoon he



was very low and speechless about twelve hours; early on first-day morning he recruited a little, and gave directions about his coffin to a Friend who sat up with him, he being a joiner. Continuing rather easier the fore part of that day and appearing cheerful, he expressed divers weighty sentences, like farewell exhortations to some who came to see him. On second-day morning he sat up a considerable time, and in the afternoon he appeared lively and sensible, though very weak, thus expressing himself; "I am much refreshed with my Master's sweet air, I feel more life, more light, more love and sweetness than ever before;" and often mentioned the Divine refreshment and comfort he felt flowing like a pure stream to his inward man, saying to those who were with him, "I may tell you of it, but you cannot feel it as I do."

In the evening a young person coming into the room, looking at her earnestly and affectionately, he said, "Deborah arose a mother in Israel;" and shortly after, "The sweetness that I feel;" then his difficulty of breathing increased, and being turned once or twice, he requested to be helped up, and was placed in his chair; in which he expired about the ninth hour on second-day night, the 24th of the seventh month, 1775, being aged near seventy, and a minister about forty-two years, and was buried on the 26th in Friends' graveyard at East Nottingham, a large concourse of people attending; after which a solemn meeting was held.

The following memorial of our beloved Friend Joseph White, who was endued with an eminent gift in the ministry, and deeply concerned for the welfare of the churches, is here subjoined at the desire of many Friends; which as no account of his labours and visits in the service of the gospel appears to be preserved by himself, may in some measure supply that deficiency, and we apprehend will be an instructive and acceptable appendage to the foregoing Journal, tending to revive and keep in remembrance his pious life and the near fellowship of his brethren with him, and animate survivors to faithfulness in the discharge of their several religious duties, in order that they also may be favoured with a well grounded hope of attaining the like happy end.

*A Testimony from the Falls' monthly meeting in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, concerning our Friend, JOSEPH WHITE.*

As the memory of the just is pronounced blessed, we think it expedient to give forth a testimony concerning this our esteemed Friend.

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He was born at the Falls, the 28th of the eleventh month, 1712-13; and being young when his father died, was brought up under the care of his relations and friends. Through the early extendings of Heavenly regard and attending to the teachings of Divine grace, he was led and preserved from many of the follies and extravagances incident to unthinking youth. About the twentieth year of his age he appeared in public testimony in our religious meetings, and continuing in a good degree faithful to the measure of light and grace communicated, he grew in his gift and became a lively and able minister.

He was naturally of an open cheerful disposition, and honestly concerned for the promotion of piety and virtue, and for the support and maintenance of good order in the church; for which service he was eminently gifted and truly serviceable amongst us, being concerned that the authority of truth might be kept up in all our meetings of discipline, and that true judgment might be placed upon the disorderly and irreclaimable. He was exemplary in his life and conversation, a diligent and timely attender of our religious meetings, when health of body permitted; and was often favoured therein in public testimony and supplication, much to the comfort and edification of the humble waiters. Although he had a large gift in the ministry, he many times sat meetings in silence, waiting upon the Lord, not being hasty or forward in the exercise of his gift; but careful not to minister without the heavenly life and power that first raised him up in the ministry, whereby his public service was greatly to the consolation and refreshment of many.

He several times had a concern to visit the churches abroad, and with the concurrence of this meeting, visited many of the meetings of Friends in this and several of the adjacent provinces, and once through some parts of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina; and having for a considerable time been under a weighty concern to pay a religious visit to Friends in several parts of Europe, with the concurrence and unity of his friends, he took shipping for that purpose in the year 1758, and after a short passage landed in England; and having pretty generally visited Friends' meetings in England and Ireland, and some parts of Wales, he returned to his family and friends, having been from home in Truth's service nearly three years. On his return from these visits, he produced certificates of Friends' unity and good satisfaction with him, and with his public service amongst them.

He was several times appointed and engaged in visiting families, being well qualified for that weighty service.

He much loved the company and conversation of his friends; was a loving and affectionate husband, a tender parent and a good neighbour, generally beloved by his friends and others that knew him, being useful and serviceable in the neighbourhood where he lived.

He was attended from his youth at times, with a pain at his breast, with intermissions of health, sometimes for years, and at other times but short. As he advanced in age, his health became more feeble and pain increased, which brought on other bodily infirmities. These he bore with patience and resignation, often praying he might not be off his watch when his pains were exquisite, nor his faith fail in the time of trial, believing it to be the goodness of God thus dealing with him, in order more and more to wean him from outward connections and the nearest ties of nature; that being as the pure gold, refined through the furnace, he might with triumph join the redeemed who were gone before, of which he at times had a foretaste and evidence; but the time when, as he himself sometimes expressed, he did not then see, believing it to be consistent with Divine Wisdom to keep it hid from him.

During the latter part of his time, for several months, he slept but little in the night season, being at times engaged in reverent intercessions and Divine contemplation, and appeared to be waiting for the solemn moment.

He lived within the compass of the Falls particular meeting until a few years before his death, and then removed to Makefield, a branch of the same monthly meeting, and having for some months felt strong desires, if favoured with health, to go to the Falls meeting, he set out to go there; but the weather being cold and he in a weak state of health, soon found himself unable to perform the journey, and returned home. Some time after feeling his bodily strength somewhat restored, and love renewed, he set out in company with his wife on first-day morning, and got to the meeting, where he was favoured with an open time in public testimony, much to the satisfaction of those present. After the meeting was over and Friends gone out, a Friend being desirous of speaking to him, not seeing him out of doors, returned into the house, and found him sitting on a seat, unable to move without help; the Friend took him to his house. The attack was of the paralytic kind, and continued ebbing and flowing for several hours; in which time he expressed several things, some of which being then taken down, are nearly as follows:

Being asked by his son Samuel, how it was

with him; he answered, "I do not know but that I am near my end. My desire for thee is, that thou seek unto the Lord for assistance, to govern thee in thy conduct in this fluctuating life, for I have found him to be a sure help and counsellor to me. If thou followest after him in truth and sincerity, as I have endeavoured to do, he will be unto thee a sufficient director, a teacher that cannot be removed into a corner. I have not been anxious to gather a portion of this world, nor make to myself mammon of unrighteousness, for I think I have seen that a snare has attended many young people on these accounts. I have from my youth had a desire to be more in substance than in show: let me appear as I might in the sight of men, their praise I sought not for; but I have sought the honour of God, therefore there is a place where no trouble shall annoy, prepared for me as a reward for obedience: you that stay, be more humble, and when trouble awaits you, look not upon, nor trust to, the arm of flesh for assistance, but stay yourselves upon Him who suffered for you, for me, and for all mankind. I have for some time believed, and lived in the hopes thereof, and am now in measure confirmed, of more glorious things yet to be revealed to the church of Christ, and that further and greater discoveries will yet be made, with respect to the Christian religion, than has been since the apostacy."

And after a short pause he broke forth in these expressions, "The door is open; I see an innumerable company of saints, of angels, and of the spirits of just men, and I long to be unbodied, to be with them, but not my will, but thy will be done, O Lord! I cannot utter nor my tongue express, what I feel of that light, life and love that attends me, which the world cannot give, neither can it take away from me. My sins are washed away by the blood of the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world. All rags and filthiness are taken away, and in room thereof love and good will for all mankind. O that we may become more united in the church militant, and nearer resemble the church triumphant! O that we all might make such an end as I have in prospect, for it is all light, all life, all love and all peace. The light that I see is more glorious than the sun in the firmament; come Lord Jesus Christ, come when thou pleasest, thy servant is ready and willing. Into thy hands I commit my spirit. Not my will, but thy will be done, O Lord! Let this mortal body be committed to the dust; be with me, with my children and my grandchildren; be with all them that love thee, that love thy appearance. O the pains that I feel, that attend this mortal body, they are more



comely to me than jewels! I rejoice in my sighs and groans, for to me they are most melodious. I am near to enter that harmony with Moses and the Lamb, where they cry, Holy, holy, holy. I cannot express the joy I feel. My heart, if it were possible, would break for joy. If any inquire after me, after my end, let them know all is well with me."

Many more weighty expressions he spoke, which not being taken down, cannot be recollected.

The next day his pain abating, and finding himself somewhat relieved from his disorder, he was taken to his own house, where he remained in a weak state of health for some time, being unable to go much abroad. One night, a short time before his death, his pain was sharp, but abating, his wife lay down by him and fell asleep. He as usual slept not, but after some time called to his wife in these words; "My dear, I believe I must take my leave of thee. I have never seen my end till now, and now I see it is near, and the holy angels enclose me around, waiting to receive me." His wife asked him if she should call up the children; he said he did not see any thing further he had to say to them, except to his son Joseph; who being called, and he having expressed what he had on his mind, was much spent, and appeared as though he was

near his desired port; but after some time he revived, with these words: "Life is yet strong in me and will not yield." He continued during his few concluding days, waiting in resignation and retiredness of mind, until repeated returns of the paralytic complaint reduced him very low; and he departed in much stillness, as in a sleep, on the 10th day of the third month, 1777, and was decently interred in Friends' burying-ground, at the Falls' meeting house, the 12th of the same; his body being attended to the grave by a number of Friends and neighbours.

May we under the consideration of our great loss in his removal, and that of many other faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard, be excited to follow their footsteps, that with them we may be partakers of that incorruptible inheritance, which is reserved for the righteous, when time shall be no more.

He was aged sixty-four, and a minister about forty-four years.

Signed on behalf of said monthly meeting, held by adjournment the 12th of the eighth month, 1778.

JOSEPH GILLINGHAM, Clerk.

"Blessed are those servants whom the Lord when he cometh, shall find watching."

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THE  
LIFE AND TRAVELS  
OF  
JOHN PEMBERTON,  
A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST.

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COMPILED FOR THE FRIENDS' LIBRARY,  
BY W. H., Jr.

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TO THE READER.

THE following account of one who was beloved in his day for his work's sake, and for the savour of his meek and gentle spirit, has been compiled chiefly from his manuscript diaries, and from letters to his intimate friends;

though some matter taken from other sources, and tending to elucidate particular parts of the narrative, has been occasionally interspersed. In condensing his manuscripts, a care has been exercised to avoid any change of language involving a difference of sentiment; and the variations found necessary, have been chiefly

omissions for the sake of brevity, or for avoiding those errors of the pen which often occur in hurried writing, without revision.

John Pemberton left no continued account of his life or religious engagements, his memorandums relating principally to particular journeys; and from the length of time which has elapsed since the period of his youth and active life, those from whom minute information on these subjects might have been obtained, have been removed from among us. This may account for an appearance of abruptness in some parts of the memoir, particularly with reference to the early part of his life.

The striking features of his character were Christian simplicity, meekness and diffidence, united with an ardent love for his fellow creatures, and desire for their present and everlasting welfare. An abiding sense of the Divine presence seemed to cover his spirit; and though his Journal may not be so replete as some others, with incidents calculated to strike the mind by their novelty; yet the reader may find himself amply repaid for the perusal, in tracing the footsteps of one much weaned from the spirit and maxims of the world, anxiously endeavouring to perform his day's work in the day time, and looking for acceptance, not to any merits of his own, but in living faith, to the mercy of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, with the heartfelt acknowledgment that he was but an unprofitable servant, having done no more than was his duty to do.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Early life and first journey in Europe, in company with John Churchman.*

IN the summer of the year 1682, about a week after the arrival of William Penn in the province of Pennsylvania, the ancestors of John Pemberton landed at Choptank, in Maryland. The party consisted of Ralph Pemberton, of Radcliffe-bridge, Lancashire, England, an aged man; of his son Phineas, and Phebe, his wife, from Bolton in the moors, both in the prime of life, with their two small children, and a considerable number of other Friends. Pennsylvania was the place of their intended residence, but the scite of Philadelphia was yet a wilderness. Phineas Pemberton purchased three hundred acres of land some miles up the river Delaware, not far from the present town of Bristol, and settled there early in the next year. On this tract he resided about sixteen years, and then removed a few miles further from the river, to what was afterwards

known by the name of the Pemberton farm. He died on the first day of the year 1702, aged fifty-two years. He appears to have been a faithful and useful member of the religious Society of Friends, both he and his father having been among its early members in the north of England; and both having gone through repeated sufferings for the sake of its righteous testimonies, previous to leaving their native land.

His son Israel, the father of the subject of this memoir, was born on the 20th of the twelfth month, 1684, and about the twenty-fifth year of his age married Rachel Read. He was a useful member of civil and religious society, and was highly esteemed for his hospitality and upright conduct through life. Of ten children, only three sons, Israel, James and John, survived him, who inherited a considerable temporal estate, and enjoyed what is of far greater moment, the advantage of his pious example, and of a deep parental solicitude for their education "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

John, the youngest of the three, was born in Philadelphia, on the 27th day of the eleventh month, 1727, and was brought up to the pursuit of commercial business. Of his younger life very little account has come down to the present day. He appears to have been a young man of amiable and tender disposition, and a mind measurably brought under the sanctifying operations of the Spirit of Truth. His constitution was naturally delicate, which induced him, on coming to man's estate, to undertake a voyage to Europe. He had also on this occasion some views of mercantile business, which however, do not appear to have much engrossed his attention.

In undertaking this journey, it is evident that his mind was seriously impressed with the dangers and temptations to which he would be exposed in a foreign land, far from the salutary restraining influence of parental solicitude. But at the same time that he was mindful of his own frailty, he remembered on whom strength is laid, and left home with sincere desires, that he might be favoured to keep constantly on the watch, and to look to that never-failing source of wisdom and safety, which is the only sure dependence, either in youth or old age. These desires did not forsake him after the dangers of the deep were passed. In a letter to his brother Israel, written whilst in London, he says, "I have hitherto avoided such company that I thought could be of no advantage to me, and hope my conduct may be such whilst from home, that I may not merit less the esteem of my friends than when I left you. Wickedness doth greatly abound, and temptations of various kinds pre-



sent; yet there is a Hand, that if rightly applied to, will give strength to overcome them."

It was his privilege to have for companions on the voyage, that experienced minister of the gospel, John Churchman, and his brother-in-law, William Brown, who were crossing the ocean on a religious visit to Friends of Great Britain, Ireland, and part of the European continent. They sailed from Chester on the 4th of fourth month, 1750, and landed at Dover, in England, on the 6th of the fifth month, after a good passage; during which, John Churchman says, they were careful to keep meetings in the cabin twice a week; in which they "felt the presence of the great Lord and Master, and therein were comforted."

John Pemberton, on their arrival in England, found an engagement of mind to accompany his friend John Churchman, during a part of his journey. The latter says, "John Pemberton concluded to go with me a few days, and his company was kindly accepted by me, he being a sober, well inclined young man."

"With reference to this undertaking," he says in a letter written about that time to his parents; "I could not be easy to leave our friend John Churchman, as he was very low in his mind, and had no companion to travel with him; and being desirous of my company, I have concluded to stay a while longer with him."

From other letters written to his parents soon after his arrival in London, it appears that his mind was even then undergoing that process of gradual change and purification, which was preparatory to his being made use of as an instrument of good to others and to the church. He says that he felt the Divine hand nearer to him since he left them, than at any previous period of his life; "for which," he adds, "I am bound to render thanksgiving to the Author of all good, who is worthy."

As he continued with John Churchman, he became more and more bound to the service. Writing to his brother Israel, from Bristol, on the 30th of seventh month, 1750, after some expressions of sympathy with John Churchman, under the exercises which attended him, he remarks; "How much longer I shall stay with our said Friend, I do not at present know; but have no satisfaction when I think of leaving him, though I cannot account for the reason."

In another letter, dated London, eleventh month 12th, addressed to his parents, he says, "Your affectionate advice and counsel was edifying, as well as very necessary; and I

hope ever to have a just regard to that principle of light and grace, which alone is able to direct us aright. Though poverty and weakness have chiefly been my portion, yet I have been at times favoured with the income and influences of Divine love, which has filled my heart and raised my hope and faith, when almost ready to fail; that I have secretly been made to praise the worthy name of the Lord. You will find that I had been some weeks with our dear friend John Churchman, whom I accompanied into Cornwall, not being at liberty with ease of mind, to leave him, being held, though I could not tell for what or why. We visited pretty thoroughly, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire and Cornwall; and though it was a poor low time with us, yet I have no cause to repent, but hope that I have reaped some benefit, both in my health and otherwise; and might, I believe, have received more, had I been as faithful as I know I ought to have been. The meetings in these counties are in general small, and lukewarmness is prevalent; yet in many places there is a hopeful seed springing among the younger sort. My companion's service was altogether with those who make profession with us, choosing meetings as free from mixture as possible, and in general he has had them so. His service has been close, having had chiefly to speak to the states of the people; and he has been favoured with a clear understanding in every meeting."

It will be observed, that in this letter he speaks of their having been into Cornwall. It was at a meeting held at Penzance, in that county, that he was first strengthened to open his mouth in public testimony, as a minister of the gospel. His natural diffidence, and the humility of a mind imbued with a sense of its own weakness and unworthiness, prevented him from mentioning this circumstance in his confidential letters to his parents at that time; but his companion, John Churchman, notices it in the following terms: "At this meeting, my companion, John Pemberton, spoke a few words in way of testimony, tender and broken, being the first time; and I thought it had a good degree of the savour of truth attending."

Having thus put his hand to the plough, in childlike obedience to the requisitions of his Divine Master, it does not appear that he was frequent in his early public testimonies; and his mind was often bowed under a deep feeling of unworthiness, and not unfrequently of short coming and unfaithfulness to the manifestations of duty. It is interesting to trace a little the feelings which accompanied him about this period, as we may gather them from scattered portions of his letters. It will serve

also, in some degree, to show the course of their travels, and the exercises for the body's sake, which they had to pass through.

In a letter to his parents, dated Yarmouth, first month 2nd, 1751, he says; "I still continue with our dear Friend, John Churchman, not having liberty to leave him; though I am such a poor creature that I often think I add to the weight of his sufferings, of which he has had a large share, having waded through deep baptisms and sore conflicts, on account of the great declension and lukewarmness of the professors of truth, who have a name to live, and yet are dead. This sad disorder is prevalent among many in most places; yet there is preserved a little remnant in nearly all the meetings, with whom he has to sympathize."

In a subsequent letter, dated London, third month 27th, he remarks; "Though I love the truth, and the enjoyment of my Master's presence, yet I have not given up to be so fully resigned to his will, as I am sensible I ought to be; for which he has, in his mercy, been pleased to chastise me many ways; and for several weeks has withdrawn the light of his countenance, so that I have had to pass through a barren wilderness; yet I am sensible that He who is all-powerful, is able to make even the barren wilderness a fruitful field. My transgressions have been so many, and the strivings and visitations of the Lord's spirit so frequent, and he has so long waited to be gracious to my soul, that I at times fear my day is almost, if not quite, over; and that I am unworthy any more to be favoured. Indeed, such gross darkness and stupidity seem to surround me, that I scarcely dare to look up, or cry out for mercy. But, my dear parents, I have, in much reverence and humility just to say, that for a few days past, I have had a faint hope and belief that the Lord will visit again; and if it should please him, in his infinite love and mercy, thus to do; I hope, through his power, to be more faithful. And I hope that you, my dear parents, in your near accesses to him in prayer, will not be unmindful of me."

They now travelled into the north of England and some parts of Scotland. At Bridlington, in Yorkshire, he wrote a letter to his parents, dated fifth month 23d, 1751, from which the following extract is taken, containing the first information, from himself, of his being engaged in the ministry.

"I have ever been sensible, since I knew anything almost, that we were not created barely to serve ourselves; and have many times been desirous that I might not be an unthankful receiver of the many favours and blessings which Providence hath been pleased

to bestow on us. Yet, since I came into England, I have not flinched like a cowardly soldier, and not stood my ground; but by hearkening to the insinuations and discouragements of the enemy, I have been hindered in my progress, been led into confusion, and into such a vast wilderness, that I am at times fearful I shall fall therein. The dragon and wild beasts seem to surround, and such darkness to overspread me, that it appears almost impossible I should ever see and enjoy the promised land. Yet I have in humility to acknowledge, that the Lord, in the riches of his love, has been pleased sometimes, in the deepest distress, to afford manna to my poor soul, by which I have been somewhat refreshed. And I much desire to be preserved in patience, until it shall please the Lord to redeem me therefrom; for I believe it has been, and still is, necessary I should undergo suffering, that my will may be brought into true resignation and holy subjection to the Divine will. For we must undergo much, to become truly fools.

"I find you have heard, that it has pleased the Lord to cause my mouth to be opened a few times in the ministry; being obliged to do so after having undergone some days' severe discipline, in order to get a little ease. But I transgressed so often, that He suffered the enemy to lead me into the state I am now in; and I have not said anything for several months.

"My dear companion has been very affectionate and kind to me, and has not been wanting in wholesome advice and counsel, and has frequently given me encouragement; otherwise I believe I should have sunk long since."

A letter to his brother Israel, dated from Kendal, tenth month 7th, develops the state of his mind under these exercises still more distinctly. The following is an extract:

"It is with much gratitude, not only to thee, my dear brother, but to our great and kind Master, that I have to acknowledge the receipt of thy several affectionate and sympathizing epistles, which all came to hand in due course, and afford me much consolation; being sensible the counsel given me, sprang not out of the earth, but that thou wast directed therein by our gracious Benefactor; to whom I desire to be kept faithful, in humble thankfulness, not only for the encouragement he is pleased to favour me with from my near and dear friends, but also for his immediate support, and tender dealings with me. For I can in truth say, He has not been wanting to give me peace and joy, when I have been faithful in discharging what he has required; although to the natural man it might appear trifling and mean. But alas! I have fre-



quently forfeited this repose and near union with my Master, by suffering reasoning to take place; while the grand adversary of our happiness is always on his watch, to insinuate some plausible excuse to deter us from our duty. This has been my weakness, for which I have had to suffer deeply; being often put into the furnace to be further refined and hardened. Yet I fear I shall never turn out an edge that will stand, fit for use and service. For whenever I neglect my duty by suffering reasonings to overpower, the enemy well knows my weak side, and fails not to affright me with terrible apprehensions, and so to sink me as into the pit, where nothing but darkness and horror appear. And for my disobedience the Lord is pleased to withdraw his presence, and I am left to be tossed as a ship on the ocean. Yet when I have been most deeply beset, he has been pleased to interpose, and shut the jaws of the devourer, and revive a little hope that I am not quite given over. Then the twilight has again appeared, and the sun in some measure also; at which my soul has had to rejoice, and in thankfulness to praise the name of my Redeemer, who deals tenderly with us poor creatures. I wish I could say that these sufferings had taught me wisdom; for alas! it has not been only once or twice, that I have thus failed, but very often; and I remain frequently in this low spot, sometimes for weeks, yea months. My very dear companion has carried himself exceeding affectionately towards me, and is very capable of giving advice and counsel; which he fails not to do."

After travelling for several months in Scotland and the north of England, they took passage at Whitehaven and crossed the channel to Dublin. The next day they attended the meeting in Sycamore-alley; respecting which John Pemberton makes the following remark: "There appeared too much curiosity in some, to know who and what we were; of which my dear companion was sensible, and directed them how they might best know such who are sent amongst them; which was, by getting to the root of Divine life, the true touch-stone, which can savour spirits; and in that state, the children of one Father are known to each other."

Whilst they remained in Dublin, his mind was afresh brought into discouragement on his own account; and he had also to partake of renewed baptism as for the dead, under a sense of the state of the church. He says he was brought into "a very low spot;" but in due time he was favoured with a consoling evidence of the continued favour of the Almighty, as appears from the following extract from his journal, dated 17th of sixth month:

"I had some consolation by the presence of Him, whom I often grieve, and through weakness deprive myself of the favour of his blessed presence, and the smiles of his countenance. For this holy visitation my spirit was much tendered in thankfulness, and I renewed covenant with my blessed Redeemer."

In a letter to his brother James, of the same date, he remarks; "Let such whose eyes the Lord in mercy has been pleased to open, to see in some measure his beauty, and the great comeliness of his blessed truth, dwell in humility and in a sense of his favours, that so they may be a furtherance and not a hindrance, to the reformation and great work which he is determined to bring to pass. I continue a weakling, yet at times am in degree enabled to breathe for the preservation of myself and friends. There is much want of qualified members to act in the discipline of the church, which God in his power and wisdom; concerned our worthy forefathers to set up; and which we know has been as a hedge to enclose and preserve our Society, where it has been strictly kept up, while a manifest declension appears where it is neglected. It is with sorrow of soul I sometimes view our Society in some places, where they have not kept a strict watch in this respect; and in others where they make a show of something of the kind, yet act in the affairs of the church with the carnal will and reasonings of man, not being willing to bow in mind, so that they might receive a qualification from Him, who only can influence rightly to act for his glory. Many of this kind usurp authority and rule in the church, to the burden and grief of the true hearted.

"As we have been here but a short time, I have seen little about me, having kept house mostly since we landed; for it sinks my spirit to walk along the streets, to hear and behold the profanity of the inhabitants."

In his journal, under date of first-day, sixth month 21st, is the following: "Many of the professors of truth in this day, attend meetings for form, and because it is looked upon as disreputable to forsake going to places of worship; many content themselves with going once a week, and by reason of these our meetings are covered with heaviness, dryness and gloom, and the faithful few are bowed under a weight of exercise and sorrow."

From Dublin they passed northward, having meetings at Dundalk, Newry, Moyallen, Lurgan, Lisburn, Belfast, &c. At Ballinderry, on the 5th of seventh month, John Pemberton remarks, that a spirit of drowsiness had come over many of those present at the meeting, who were closely spoken to, but to very little purpose. He adds, "My com-

panion had a very searching time, in which he opened the state of the church, showing the cause why such degeneracy appeared; and had to speak very closely to some who pretended to be of the foremost rank and at the head of affairs, but were corrupt in practice and unsound members; and even ministers, who had begun in the spirit, being called and qualified of God for this honourable station; yet, not keeping to the root of life in themselves, their ministry was become dead, though they retained a form of words, and could reason and speak of things they had learned in the beginning. By joining with the world and the spirit thereof, they had eclipsed the light, and their spirits were not so seasoned with good as in times past. Such, whether elders or ministers, were desired to look back and consider from what they had fallen, and humble themselves before the Lord, that they might be again quickened. It is hard to persuade some to believe the truth of themselves, and to see where they are. But we had to rejoice, in that there was a number there, both young and old, whose spirits were seasoned with the truth, and whose dwelling was low. Consolation was administered to such, and prayers were put up, that their faith might not fail; as Christ said to Peter, when satan desired to have him and the rest of the disciples, that he might sift them as wheat; which is the case with the faithful now. They are tried and proved, and often meet with buffetings and slights from such who call themselves brethren, and are at the helm of affairs, and act therein by the wisdom and carnal apprehension of man; under whose government the church will never thrive, nor the affairs thereof be conducted aright. It was declared that the days would come, when such should be laid aside, or taken away, and those raised up who would depend on the Lord for wisdom and counsel, and live uprightly: then would the church flourish and the truth shine."

Passing thence, they travelled to Antrim, Ballinacree, Grange and Coleraine, and afterwards towards Toberhead; near which place they held a meeting, as they had done at the other places of their tarriance. "Here," says John Pemberton, "My companion was greatly opened and enlarged, and towards the conclusion, had to prophecy of a day which was approaching, that would try the foundations of all; and woe would be unto such who were not on the right foundation. It was told them that religion would not flourish, it was to be feared, until a trying time came upon this nation, which would purge the earth from the gross professors of Christianity, as well priests and ministers, as hearers, who live in

gluttony, pride and other evils, and thereby have corrupted their ways."

After this they visited Dungannon, Charlemont, and other places in the county Tyrone; where they found the meetings of Friends in a very declining condition, from the predominance of a worldly spirit, by which the faithful were sorely burdened and discouraged. Close labour was administered to those; and a little strength and encouragement extended to the oppressed suffering remnant.

From Dungannon, John Pemberton wrote to his parents to the following effect: "We have travelled hard all last week, meetings lying at a pretty great distance from each other, and had one every day except yesterday. The travail of the faithful in our Society at this day, is with pain and sorrow. How long the Lord in mercy may lengthen out the day of visitation, and forbear to shake his rod over the land, is not for mortals to determine; but wickedness, pride, folly and vanity greatly abound; for which the land mourns. Oh, that such whom the Lord has in some measure favoured with his love, and who have tasted of the good word of life and the powers of the world to come, may stand faithful and upright, under the direction of their holy Captain; that they may be found clear in the day of trial. I much desire to be of the number of these; but infirmities so surround, and faith is so weak, that I am fearful at times, I shall fall a victim to the enemy, who is powerful in his attacks. Yet I am sensible the Lord's power is above his power, and that he will enable such who stand faithful to his command, to resist the adversary."

In a letter written at Lurgan, a week afterwards, he speaks thus of the desolations of the church in those parts: "It is lamentable to behold how many there are who appeared as bright lights, and might have continued ornaments in our Zion, who, by letting their minds out by degrees after the perishing treasure of this world, have eclipsed the light in themselves; and from this, other evils ensuing, some have of late become a reproach to the profession. Yet I believe there are a few preserved, who I pray may still be kept from the unrighteous leaven."

At Ballyhagan he makes the following memorandum: "First-day being esteemed by some an idle day, the house was much crowded with Friends and others. Much time was spent in silence; after which my companion appeared in the demonstration and power of the gospel, beginning with the words spoken by the Lord through the mouth of a servant: 'Oh! that my people were wise, that they understood this; that they would consider their latter end!' Many were ten-



dered through the power that accompanied his service, and God was glorified, who over and above all, is worthy of dominion and praise now and forever. The meeting concluded well, and Friends proceeded to the business; in which my companion had a short but very close testimony, inviting them to bestir themselves, to revive and put in practice the discipline, that had been much neglected; first, by applying to the great Physician, to have themselves thoroughly cleansed from the dregs of self and the world; that so a holy zeal may again be raised, and they prepared to receive counsel and qualification to act to the honour of God, not in their own wills, nor to be seen of men, but in humility and reverence, for the welfare of Zion and the glory of God. It was told them, that the Lord seemed still to hover over them, and was willing again to revisit and quicken into a holy sense and life, if they would embrace and seek him in sincerity of heart. But if not, they would be set aside, and a purer and more noble people would be raised in that province, who would seek His honour, more than the grandeur and praise of the world."

Taking, after this, a southerly course, they travelled through the county of Westmeath, having many meetings, until they reached Moat, where John Churchman was detained nearly three weeks by illness. John Pemberton thus mentions it in a letter to his parents: "We have been detained here above two weeks by my dear companion's indisposition. He has been brought very low, to appearance almost to the grave. Yet, through the mercy and providence of God, he is again raised, and has, for a few days past, recovered to admiration; for which mercy and favour let God be glorified and praised; unto whom, and unto his dear Son, honour and glory are due, both now and forever."

They now resumed their journey; but John Pemberton appears to have been again tried with a sense of poverty and desertion. He was, as it were, in his infancy as a minister of the gospel, and had many baptisms to pass through on his own account, under a sense of his inability, in his own strength, to advance the kingdom of the Redeemer. Many close provings were his portion, and discouraging fears, lest any misstep of so inexperienced a servant might mar the work to which he had put his hand.

It is also apparent that the state of the churches, and various circumstances of the people among whom their lot was cast, rested constantly upon his mind with oppressive weight, and increased the burden of trial and exercise. In his memorandums and letters,

he speaks of the low state to which about this time he was reduced, notwithstanding the fatherly care exercised and comfort attempted to be administered, by his experienced companion. These baptisms, which more or less must attend all true ministers of the glorious gospel of Christ, may be considered as an evidence that he was not going about this weighty work in his own will, but under the constraining power of divine love and the holy anointing of the Spirit of Truth.

In a letter to his parents dated at Moat, eighth month 15th, 1752, he says: "I desire to be thankful for the many mercies and favours the Lord is pleased to grant us; and this, I am satisfied cannot be done but through obedience to his manifestations and a careful observance of his law. Oh! that this then may be the practice of all who profess his blessed name. Then would greenness appear on our branches, and lively and acceptable fruits would be produced, to the glory of God and the edification and comfort of ourselves and one another. My mind, though in weakness and much poverty, is at times engaged that this may be my concern and care. But through fears, and sometimes self, that great enemy to our advancement in godliness, getting possession, I reason away, what I fear, yea, by what I feel afterwards, I am sure is my duty. And were it not that we have a most merciful God, who is indeed long suffering and full of compassion, my soul had been as the plains of Sodom, and as desolate as the streets of Gomorrah. But blessed, and in reverence, ever praised be his holy name, I yet witness at times his mercy extended, that would restore. Oh, that I may be favoured with faith to believe and trust in his power! For he alone can create true faith, and give ability and holy resolution to occupy faithfully the gifts entrusted to us."

They had now got as far south as the county Tipperary, where they attended meetings at Cashell, Clonmel, and some other places; and then proceeded into the county of Cork, having close labour at several meetings in the city of Cork, and visiting Youg-hall, Bandon, Mallow and Charleville. Thence they went to Limerick and attended the quarterly, or province meeting for Munster.

Under date of first-day, ninth month 24th, John Pemberton says: "I was concerned in the fore part of the meeting to supplicate the Almighty, in a few words, that he would be pleased to grant us ability to worship him acceptably, and that he would so overshadow with his power, that the disorderly, light and airy spirits might be kept under. My companion had afterwards a searching testimony. The young men who were accounted witty,

were exhorted to learn that heavenly wisdom, which would stand them in stead in a pinching time. It was plainly told them, that several of them were favoured with good natural qualifications, and had acquired the world's wisdom, so that they could argue and pretend to find out the causes of things; yet that this would profit them little; wherefore they were exhorted to get understanding. The elders too were aroused, some warned and some encouraged, and the meeting ended pretty well. In the afternoon meeting I sunk again into the old spot, out of which I had been somewhat recovered, by not having faith to obey a small motion to duty; and I suffered deeply therefor, as I have many times done. O! faith, that precious gift, how weak is it with me, and how does cowardice prevail! My companion had a searching opportunity to stir up Friends to their duty; but how dull of hearing are the professors; how blind do they make themselves, and what an itching is there after words! Yet there are a few preserved tender, and a visitation to many of the young. But self-denial is a narrow path to flesh, and few care to walk therein. Oh, that I might be favoured with faithfulness to persevere in it! In the evening was the meeting for ministers and elders, in which my companion advised some to search deeply, and see if something had not dimmed the beauty with which the truth arrays her children; and if it was found that life and zeal were in measure lost, to apply unto Him who can, and is willing to restore. He showed Friends, in the wisdom of Truth, the door by which undue liberty and corruption have crept into the church, and laid waste the beauty of the truth in many in this nation; to wit, by elders and heads of families conniving at weaknesses in their children, so that by degrees, one evil after another prevailed.

"Second-day; this morning a meeting for worship was held, in which my companion had a clear, good time, though very close to the dead and carnal professors, the libertines and the careless; yet he had consolation for the sensible, and encouragement to such who were young in years, that were tender and desirous of good. I had a few sentences to express in a weak manner and in fear; but by letting in reasoning afterwards, I suffered much, being sorely buffeted both by self and the devil, for want of abiding in calmness and retiring to the right centre."

At Limerick they remained some days and attended several meetings; in which John Churchman was led into very close labour with a spirit of worldly wisdom and self-security, and had to show the deplorable condition

of those who entertained deistical and free-thinking notions.

John Pemberton says in a letter from this place, that they found more substantial Friends in that province than in the north; but adds, that they had to sympathise with them, under a sense of the prevailing degeneracy; "for," says he, "the beauty of Zion seems to be laid waste, and Jerusalem become almost a desolation." And he gives this as a great cause of the degeneracy, viz: "The elders having too much winked at what are by many called small things; and thereby greater evils have got head in their families and in the church; and they have lost their authority by not dwelling in the virtue and power of truth."

After having meetings at several other places, they attended the quarterly meeting for the province of Leinster, at Mount Mellick. Referring to the meeting for worship held there on first-day, John Pemberton says:

"There was a greater appearance of Friends than I had seen before at one place. Some yet retain their zeal and tenderness, both among the aged and the youth, though many are lukewarm and carnal professors, whose delight is centred in this world; some have made unto themselves gods of silver and gold; and some of the youth worship themselves, decking and adorning and doting on themselves, yet are careless of seeking after the adornment of a meek and quiet spirit, which only can give true beauty and comeliness."

At Ballynakill they had an opportunity with Friends, in which he remarks; "Little was said to them, their expectations being outward. They were plainly told thereof, and advised not to neglect their own duty and set their eyes on man, but to retire unto Him who alone can afford true satisfaction; and then they would be better prepared to receive help through instruments."

They proceeded to Carlow, Athy and Bal-litore, and had a religious opportunity with the scholars at Abraham Shackleton's school; thence to Newton, Kilconner and Waterford. At this place they attended three meetings, which were times of close labour and searching as with lighted candles. A warning was sounded to those who were dangerously building without the true line and plummet, even the anointing of the holy Spirit. Friends were cautioned also against a conformity to the customs, fashions and manners of the world, and a delight in its riches and friendships. The instance of the siege of Ai, was set before them, when the children of Israel could not prosper against their enemies, until



they had first cleared their own camp of "the accursed thing." There was comfort, nevertheless, administered to the true mourners, and encouragement for some of the youth.

After having meetings at Ross, Wexford, and some other places, they came to Cooladine, and attended the monthly meeting on the 29th of the tenth month. "The fore part," says John Pemberton, "was heavy and dull, the minds of many not being rightly exercised; but truth came over us towards the conclusion, and it ended in a pretty good frame. The hearts of the sincere were comforted, and the lukewarm and negligent stirred up and warned. My companion had an open, good time, and spoke of the end of man's being created, how Adam fell, and of Christ Jesus, by whom the restoration and atonement came."

After this and some other meetings, they proceeded to Wicklow, and thence to Dublin, and were at the six weeks' meeting for the province of Leinster, and the half-year's meeting for the nation of Ireland. John Pemberton mentions, that in the select meeting his companion had very close labour, "recommending humility and self-denial, submission to the cross, and following the example of our holy Head and High Priest, who, though he was himself God, yet deigned to take on him flesh, and became like unto us in all things, sin only excepted. Friends were warned of a lying spirit that was gone forth, soothing some in their sins, and persuading them that their condition was better than it really is. The state of the ministry was tenderly, though very closely touched, and also the place of elders; and the great want of anointed elders in this nation was lamented, with a warning to Friends in that responsible station, to beware of the world, which had corrupted many and rendered them insensible to good, and incapable of discerning the savour of what was delivered in the ministry. In the general half-yearly meeting also, John Churchman was largely engaged in solemn exhortation to forsake the spirit of the world and worldly wisdom, and seek an establishment in the blessed truth, without looking back for the flesh-pots of Egypt, or the delights of the city of Sodom; declaring that a day was coming, wherein the Lord would scourge the inhabitants of this land for their sins, and well would it then be for those who had a place of defence, a sure hiding place, a hole in the Rock to cover them; and that the wicked would have no such refuge, having no right to expect defence in a calamitous day." At this meeting, John Pemberton says, "Friends signed certificates for my companion and self, signifying their unity with me; which in a

degree bowed my spirit, esteeming myself unworthy thereof."

On the 28th of eleventh month, they attended the monthly meeting at Meath street, in Dublin; "in which," says John Pemberton, "my companion had an instructive and close time, and chiefly spoke of this text: 'If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin;' pointing out that without witnessing this, there was no true communion or fellowship. There was a nomination of some Friends to visit the families of such who departed most widely from the limits of truth in their dress and the furniture of their houses, &c.; and we joined Friends in this service.

"First-day, twelfth month 3d; my companion had a close opportunity and spoke to such as were uneasy with silence, and were too apt to blame the ministers, concluding it mere humour in them to sit the chief part of the time in silence, and then towards the conclusion, to get up and speak a few words. They were shown the nature of silence, and how necessary it is to prepare people's minds to receive what may be delivered; which, in an unprepared, unsettled state, might only divert the ear, and not reach the spiritual senses. Such as would reason and say in their minds, 'We are told of judgments and a trying day; but behold, no such day appears;' and so are ready to vaunt above it, were told that the Lord in his mercy and long suffering is pleased to lengthen tranquillity, to try if people will receive warning and repent; if not, his judgments will overtake, and he will shake his rod, and sweep the wicked as with a besom of destruction. And if it should not happen in their day, yet such who continued in their sins and rebellion, and would neither be entreated nor warned, it was in the Lord's power to cut the thread of their lives, and appoint them their portion agreeably to their doings."

A week after this John Pemberton makes the following memorandum; "In the afternoon my companion had a good opportunity in opening in a clear manner, and proving by many sacred texts, that Christ, by his spirit, appeared in the hearts of people before he came in the flesh; adducing the apostle's declaration, that the spiritual Rock, of which the children of Israel drank in their journey through the wilderness, was Christ; as well as other Scripture passages; thereby confuting the notion of such that say there was no salvation to those who lived before the coming of Christ in the flesh."

The following interesting remarks being part of a letter written at Dublin, to his bro-

ther Israel, will serve to show his feelings and exercises about this time.

"I have often to desire, that thou mayest, with myself, be preserved in the path of regeneration and sanctification; which can only be by dwelling under the true yoke and abiding steadfast in the holy cross; so that we may witness the world and the affections and lusts thereof crucified, and our desires thereafter more and more slain; that we may be clothed with the pure and holy adorning, and our desires, as we advance in age, may be to lay up treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt; and that we may not esteem this world our home, but seek a city, whose builder and maker the Lord is. Oh! that this was the engagement of every mind. But it is matter of sorrow and lamentation, to behold how great a part of mankind, and even of those who profess themselves children of the light, are pursuing vanity and many hurtful things, sacrificing the love and favour of the Lord to their lusts, as though they were supported by their own power, and were to continue for ever in these poor frail tabernacles of clay.

"I am so sensible of my own imperfections and weaknesses, that I think myself unfit to communicate advice or strength to others; though I have experienced the sentiment of the wise Solomon fulfilled many times, to wit; 'There is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to poverty.' Yet I believe it is possible, and think I have seen it, to give that to others which is designed as food for ourselves; which has made me sometimes more backward than has been profitable. But I desire to attain to a state of stability, wherein I may see my duty clearly, and be willing to practice obedience.

"My soul is at times engaged with breathing desires for the preservation of the youth of this age in general; and I have often to remember the beautiful plants which the Lord has given thee in particular, with fervent desires, that as he was pleased to visit our souls when very young, so he may effectually reach unto them by the visitations of the Holy Spirit, and influence their minds with a sense of his love and regard, that they may heartily join with the early offers thereof."

A few days after the date of this letter we find the following memorandum in his journal:

"Sixth-day; at meeting Friends were exhorted to be more inward, and to seek to get into the valley; for the faith of some would be tried, and the church also would suffer a trial; and it seemed as though the Lord would dry up the currents on the mountains, and would restrain the clouds, and would scorch

these high places, and they should be barren; therefore there was need for all to sink low and get into the valley of true humility, that they might have something to refresh them, when the Lord is pleased to cause a famine of the word to come. It was also testified, that he would likewise prove in an outward manner, though it was not to be declared in the will of man, nor the time to be limited; for 'a thousand years with the Lord are as one day, and one day as a thousand years.' Yet if it did not happen in their time, it might in that of their offspring; for the earth would be purged from the present load of unrighteousness beneath which it groaneth, and he would have a pure people, that should exalt his name, by preferring his honour to every thing else; whether he brought it about by sword, famine, or pestilence."

The deeds of insurrectionary violence and rapine under which Ireland mourned, during the latter part of that century, the misery which has of late years involved a large portion of its inhabitants in absolute famine, and the history of what has occurred in our own branch of the Christian church in that land, within the same space of time, naturally and irresistibly lead to the conclusion, on reading the above paragraph, that the Lord still continues to favour his faithful servants with a true sense of the state of the church, and even at times, with a prophetic glimpse into the counsels of his holy will. It is a well known fact, that some years subsequent to this date, the Society of Friends in Ireland was torn by the dividing spirit of a dark socinian heresy; and since then, with regard to "the ministry of the word," it may almost be said, that the Lord has "restrained the clouds," that they send forth no water.

They were detained many weeks in Dublin, and were brought into much exercise and labour, in visiting the families of those who were deficient in their testimony against the fashions and indulgences of the world, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life." In speaking of his companion's service in one of the meetings for worship, John Pemberton says: "He was led to expose the ignorance of those who concluded there was no worship performed, or profit experienced in meeting together, unless some minister preached, and who were ready to admire at and censure us for sitting in silence. This was not confined, he said, to those of other societies, but included some that profess with us, who never were baptized by the one Eternal Spirit, which creates anew and translates from darkness to light; but are contented to remain in the outward court. Such were declared not to be of the true church, of



which there is but one, the foundation and corner stone of which is Jesus Christ, whom the wise builders despise and reject. Though there are many different sects in the world, and all believe they are of the true church; yet none are true members, but such as are redeemed from the world and the corruptions thereof, and their minds purged and purified by the washing of regeneration. It was believed there were some such in all societies; but those who were delighted in the pursuit of worldly treasure, and lived in the pleasures and the pollutions of the world, whatever their profession might be, were of the church of antichrist. It was not flesh and blood that revealed the Son of God unto Peter. We find that the people, some of whom it is probable were learned and accounted wise, were divided in opinion respecting the Lord Jesus, and ignorant of his true character. But when he queried of the disciples, who they thought that he, the Son of man was, Peter as mouth for the rest answered, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' To which Christ replied, 'Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and on this Rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' So all at this day must be founded and built on the same eternal foundation, Christ Jesus, revealed in the heart."

Having now been at all the meetings of Friends in Ireland, and spent much time in visiting families and attending the meetings in Dublin, they re-crossed the channel and landed near Whitehaven, on the 25th of the first month, 1753; after which they attended many meetings in the north of England. At Cockermouth, John Pemberton observes: "The vanity of such was exposed, who valued themselves for being in society with a people that is respected, who could commend their principles and esteem them the most consistent with Christianity; yet were shallow, and lived not in the life and power of what they professed. It was declared that confession, or assent in judgment to articles or precepts ever so good, without being practisers and careful observers to live up to the profession, will not stand us in stead, or be acceptable to God; and elders, ministers, yea, all were exhorted to wait low in their minds, and not presume to act in their own wills, but to let the will of the Lord be their rule; and if he communicate advice to be delivered either in public or private, to a brother, a sister, or a child in religion, then to do it, as it came from Him who is the resurrection and the life."

First-day, second month 4th; at Pardshaw

Hall, "The meeting was very large. The nature and advantage of true silence and retirement of mind were pointed out, to which our forefathers and elders in the beginning were called, and whereby they increased in divine knowledge, and became acquainted with Him, whom they had in vain sought after among many professions, hearing much, and looking for him where he was not to be found. It is lamentable, that so many of the successors of these worthies have fallen into the same way that they were gathered from; being outward in their views and expectations, and therefore remain destitute of life and salvation."

Sixth-day, 16th; at Salterforth, "Several not professing with us came to the meeting. They were exhorted to a preparation for their latter end; and as none but the pure and holy can enter the kingdom of God, they were entreated in love to seek that power which would cleanse; none being true Christians, but such as are alive unto God, and eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood; such who die to sin, as he for our sakes laid down his life and suffered the ignominious death of the cross for our sins; that by laying down the life of self, we might witness restoration and salvation from the evil and wrathful nature, and know the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel, thoroughly to purge the heart; it being the heart the Lord beholds, and it is that which must be purified and justified in his sight."

They travelled for about a month in various parts of Yorkshire, and held many meetings. At Sheffield, on the 11th of third month, John Pemberton makes the following remarks: "Friends were exhorted to seek and know the Lord for themselves, and to depend and wait on Him; which, it is to be lamented, is much wanting in many places, both among preachers and other members; an itching ear being in the latter to hear something to divert and please, and in the former a desire to speak, that the people might not be scattered; which is for want of self being thoroughly mortified and slain, and from indulging a foolish pity. Oh, may I, if it should please the Lord to qualify me to preach the gospel of peace and glad tidings, be preserved from going forth without the true motion and speaking from former experience, without a renewed qualification, and witnessing Him who is the true guide, to put forth; that God may be glorified, his people edified, and he that ministers be refreshed and have the answer of peace. The afternoon meeting was pretty large, and the state of it spoken to; there being several who have turned to the world, in a pursuit after its treasures, fashions and customs. An

easeful lukewarm disposition of mind covers others; so that the few who remain in good degree sincere, are bowed low and sit in their meetings in a sense of great poverty and death."

Passing through parts of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, they returned into Yorkshire, and attended two meetings at Rawcliffe, which, John Pemberton says, "were distressing. The few who seemed to have some life, were exhorted to keep close to the Lord, that thereby they might be preserved in a divine sense and sight, to judge and distinguish between right and wrong; and to be cautious how they joined with every sound, or danced after every pipe, lest they should be drawn into error; but to try the spirits of such as speak among them. This seemed very close speaking, but it was done in wisdom and meekness."

At York quarterly meeting they met with their valued countryman William Brown, after a separation of many months. John Pemberton describes this quarterly meeting, as "not a time of great rejoicing; yet it was an instructive good meeting, and a remarkable calm attended the sittings thereof. There was a great appearance of Friends, among whom were a large number of hopeful young people, whose hearts at times mourn for Zion, and long to see her appear in her ancient beauty. Our friend William Brown, proposed the establishment of a women's yearly meeting, as in Pennsylvania; and after consideration and consulting the women Friends, it was agreed to suggest it to the yearly meeting of London."

After attending meetings at several other places in Yorkshire, they crossed the river Humber, and travelled pretty generally over Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. At Oatby, John Pemberton remarks, that from the appearance of the members, they were "in hopes to be favoured with some divine refreshment; but there was much sloth and looking outward to the instruments. We are so prone to love ease, that a necessary striving is much wanting in many places, which makes it hard for poor travellers, who are sent to and fro to sympathize with their brethren and sisters. There is too much dependance on them, and Friends were exhorted to seek substance for themselves."

Passing afterwards through Coventry and Warwick, and holding meetings in these and several other places, they came to Birmingham, and attended the monthly meeting there; at which the necessity for a firm and faithful maintenance of our Christian discipline, in the fear of the Lord and for the honour of his name, was closely pressed upon the mem-

bers, both male and female. Thence they travelled through Worcestershire; and at Evesham, a town in that county, John Pemberton remarks; "the people were exhorted to fear the Lord, and many disorders among them were pointed out, particularly running out in marriage with those not professing truth, and the evil consequences attending it. We afterwards understood, that there were few in that meeting who had been married, but had acted in that manner; and we had not then so much room to marvel at the barrenness that was felt among them, which is a manifest proof that the Lord's displeasure is against such doings. He at this day, as well as formerly, requires that such as more particularly call themselves his children, by professing to be led and guided by his Spirit, should not give their daughters to the children of the world, nor take its daughters for wives to their sons." Here also a faithful maintenance of the discipline was closely recommended.

Afterwards having many meetings in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire, they "went to Adderbury, and attended the monthly meeting; in which the testimony of truth ran very close in love, to arouse them that are at ease in Zion and trust in the mountain of profession, yet have lost the life and dew of their youth. After parting with several valuable Friends, who were made near to us by the truth, we passed on to Bicester.

"Third-day; had a meeting here, to which also came some few of the neighbours; and the cross of Christ was recommended as necessary to make them disciples of Christ Jesus and children of God. The advantages of true silence were pointed out, which is a wonder to the world, and too little known by some who profess themselves spiritual worshippers. After some refreshment, we proceeded to Aylesbury, in Buckinghamshire.

"Fourth-day; there were but eight women and our own company of four men, at this meeting. We had to sympathize in spirit with the few, and encouragement was handed forth to the sincere in heart, to keep steady in their love to God, and to show it by a zealous concern to assemble themselves in the middle of the week, as well as on first-days, to worship Him who is not limited to numbers in his favours, but dispenseth his blessings now, as in former times, to two or three that meet in his name, and are humbled in spirit before him."

Proceeding through Uxbridge, Kingston, &c., they arrived in London on the 7th of sixth month, and the next day were at a large meeting at Grace-church street. John Pemberton says: "the expectation of many was



outward, who were desirous of being fed with words. But the Lord saw meet to disappoint them in great measure, and they were exhorted to look to the Lord and to depend on him."

They attended the yearly meeting in London; at which the establishment of a yearly meeting of ministers and elders, to precede the yearly meeting at large, was considered, as well as the proposition of York quarterly meeting for the establishment of a yearly meeting of women Friends. Both these subjects were, after solid deliberation, referred to the decision of a subsequent yearly meeting. "The business of this meeting," John Pemberton remarks, "was conducted in the spirit of love, meekness, and condescension, in a good degree, though some opposite spirits were for running counter to the current of truth. The good Hand seemed to be near, and to countenance the foregoing propositions in a remarkable manner. The meeting was very large, and a zeal for the cause of truth was felt to flow in the bosoms of many of the youth, as well as the aged, who retain the sap and living virtue of truth."

Speaking of his own exercises and baptisms at this time, John Pemberton says in a letter addressed to his parents, dated sixth month 13th, from London; "I hope I am in some degree sensible of the continued mercy of the Lord, though strippings seem to be my lot; and a secret mourning, in humility and reverence, for myself and my fellow-mortals, attends at times, with desires for my more steady abiding under, and true submission to the cross and walking in the narrow way; which to the unmortified nature is hard. For want, I fear, of being more inward and attentive, I am not so skilful in distinguishing the voice of the true, from the false prophet; and so, through diffidence and fear, often miss of discharging my duty punctually, and thus leanness and feebleness still attend me; and of late my situation has been such, that I have been ready to cry out, how long will it be ere my feet are firmly established on the immovable foundation?"

Soon after the yearly meeting they left London and travelled through parts of Essex, Suffolk, &c. At Colchester they attended the quarterly meeting of Essex; "in which," John Pemberton remarks, "Friends were exhorted to be cautious how they meddled with the affairs of the church in their own spirits; and were shown where they ought to look for a qualification to act for the Lord, in the way that would be pleasing to him, and for the edification of his church and people; the transacting of these affairs not being, as some vainly imagine, political and formal, but first

introduced in the wisdom and power of Truth, and if rightly conducted, must be continued and upheld by the same Divine and heavenly power."

The affectionate feelings which clothed his mind in the remembrance of his relations at home, and the motives which induced him to continue for a while longer in the field of labour, to which he had felt himself bound now for about three years, may be judged of by the following expressions, in a letter written to his parents from Woodbridge, sixth month 30th, 1753: "It gives me great uneasiness to find that my dear father is so weakly and declining in health; yet I am in some degree comforted, with an evidence, that through the mercy and favour of the Lord, thou hast been preserved through the course of thy pilgrimage, in his fear, and by dwelling in it, hast witnessed life and favour; not living in a hypocritical, pharisaical show, a cleansing of the outside barely, but hast lived in and possessed the vital part of religion. And oh! saith my soul, may the Lord in the riches of his love and condescending goodness, be pleased to favour with the renewings of life, strengthen thy faith, and fix thy hope and confidence in him, that thou mayest be enabled to keep sight of the Pilot, till thou be conducted and anchored in safety in the harbour of rest, where the righteous live for ever. I fully intended to leave my dear companion at London; but when I looked towards home, the cords seemed not to be loosened. So with the advice of my friends, and in pursuance of the way that seemed most easy, I set out from London, and am come thus far with my dear companion; who, I expect, after the conclusion of this and the Norwich yearly meeting, will shortly embark for Holland. He is not certain of any person to accompany him, unless I go. Notwithstanding I long greatly to see home and my dear parents, and cannot perceive what advantage my stay is to any one here, yet I am resigned to the will of the Lord, and to be directed in his counsel, and desire to be preserved from saying, 'What doest thou?'"

They attended accordingly, the annual religious gatherings called yearly meetings, at Woodbridge and Norwich; at which latter place, John Pemberton makes the following memorandum in his journal:

"First-day, seventh month 8th; this morning went to the meeting at Norwich, which was large and a solid meeting, though too much outward dependance.

"Second-day; this morning was the meeting for ministers and elders. It was an exercising time; a cloud of darkness seemed to hang over, which caused the hearts of the

sincere to examine and query after the cause. It seemed as though the Lord was displeased with some, because their hearts were turned from him to idolatry, and yet they pretended to rule and govern in his church.

"First-day, 22nd; were at the meetings at Norwich, much in silence, which to many is unpleasant; but there is a hopeful seed and young plantation here that labour for their own food, and do grow, and will be preserved in greenness, if they abide steadfast; though the foundations of others may be shaken, who depend on receiving food outwardly, and have neglected the gift in themselves. For the Lord is jealous of his honour, and will be sought unto by the whole house of Israel.

"Third-day, attended the week-day meeting; in which preachers and hearers were recommended to silence, and such who were at times commissioned to preach the gospel, exhorted not to speak before they witnessed what the apostle alludes to, when he says, 'Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel;' lest they should communicate to others what was designed for themselves."

Soon after this they proceeded to Yarmouth and embarked on the 25th of seventh month, for Rotterdam, in Holland, where they arrived on the 29th, after a rough passage; and went to Amsterdam and had a meeting with Friends in that city. John Pemberton says, "here are a few tender spirited Friends, who live near the truth; but the spirit of the world prevails, which ever was, and ever will be at enmity with the Father, and causeth the upright in heart to bear heavier burdens.

"First-day, eighth month 5th; the meetings were attended by many others beside Friends; to whom the kingdom of Christ within was preached, and the people directed to him as the only sure leader and conductor. There were some tender people at these meetings, especially among the youth, who were exhorted to seek the Lord in their youthful days, and he would be found of them.

"6th; The hearts of many in this land, as well as in other places, when they hear the doctrine of truth declared, assent thereto; but the stumbling blocks in our Society cause them to halt, being led to conclude, when they see the conduct of some who profess themselves children of the light, but are stained with the spots of the world, and continue in the unregenerate nature, which is not subject to the cross of Christ; that there is nothing in religion, or that these are not the people with whom they should join. There are many who have broken off from their bondage to the priests, and are in a seeking condition, often sorely distressed to know how to act, or

with whom to join; some crying, Lo here, and others, Lo there. It is pleasant to behold the sober countenances of some, as we pass through the towns and streets, who seem to be of tender spirits. The fields are ripening unto harvest; but my dear companion, as in his previous travels, is led to our own Society, if possible, to regulate things there. The love of our heavenly Father is still extended to us as a people; and he is desirous that those whom he has particularly distinguished from all the families of the earth, should be inheritors of the holy and promised land.

"7th; Poverty and weakness surround me; yet the Lord in his mercy is at times pleased to favour with a degree of light, and with an humble spirit, and to raise fresh desires for an established heart and a mind more disposed to believe and obey."

After a few days spent at Amsterdam, they proceeded to Twisk, about twenty-four miles distant, and visited the families of those professing with Friends at that place, and a village in the neighbourhood, called Abbey-kirk. They also had some close labour with them in their meetings, and then took wagon and went to Hoorn. Here they held a meeting with the sober inhabitants to a good degree of satisfaction; and returned to Amsterdam. On the 22nd of the eighth month was held a meeting, called a yearly meeting; "which," says John Pemberton, "consisted chiefly of the Friends belonging to Amsterdam, and a few of the town's people. The sincere were encouraged to faithfulness, and to discharge themselves honestly one toward another, not letting in the reasonings of the creature, which bring weakness and death. My companion had to tell them, that though things looked dull among them at present, he was well satisfied the arm of the Lord was stretched forth, and he would gather a people in that city that should be zealous for his name and cause. Therefore they were encouraged to trust in the Lord and often to seek his face, and be upright in their day, that they may be as lights to the world; and by their humble walking, be instrumental to gather people to the name of the Lord.

"First-day, 26th; the meeting was more full than at any time since we have been here, and my dear companion had a large and acceptable opportunity, tending to stir up the people to labour to be prepared for death."

Being now clear of Holland, they embarked at Rotterdam in the same vessel which had brought them over, and landed at Yarmouth, in England, on the 2nd of ninth month. The next day they went to Norwich and attended the monthly meeting in that city. Speaking of this visit to Holland, in a letter written to



his parents from Norwich, John Pemberton says; "We visited the few Friends there very particularly, and were three first-days at Amsterdam, and had some pretty good meetings among them, Truth favouring with a degree of authority. Respecting our Society, things are very low, owing in great measure to the neglect of discipline, which when rightly maintained, is of great benefit. May those who are favoured to see the advantage and necessity of such order, keep near the Truth, that their sight may be preserved clear, and their judgment sound; for true discerning is with the upright only. Such having the cause of Truth at heart, are not drawn aside through favour or affection, but with Christian boldness are concerned to do justice and judgment. Where this is the case, the Lord is pleased to favour them in their sitting before him; but where the hedge is suffered to be trampled down, a blast attends, and the true seed is in sorrow and mourning. There are in Holland a few professors who witness the life and savour of Truth, and are concerned daily to seek after it; but it was painful to us to find ourselves deprived of the satisfaction of freely conversing with them, without having recourse to an interpreter."

John Pemberton feeling himself now released from further service with John Churchman, after solid deliberation they concluded it right to separate. He thus mentions the separation, which was at Edmondsbury, on the 21st of ninth month, 1753. "This morning I accompanied my very dear companion a few miles out of Bury, when we parted in much love and tenderness, having travelled together about three years in tender affection towards each other. But this seemed the time to separate, he having been ever since we landed from Holland, much straitened, being shut up, till yesterday, when his way opened for Wales, and myself inclined towards London."

John Churchman in his journal, expresses on this occasion the same feelings of affection for his faithful companion. "My mind," says he, "being drawn towards Wales, my companion, John Pemberton, who had been with me three years, having travelled together in much love and unity, inclining to go towards London, we parted in the same love."

The remainder of this journey may be briefly narrated in the following extracts from John Pemberton's journal.

"Fourth-day, ninth month 26th; attended the meeting at Colchester, which was small and low, words not being so much wanting as life and power, and a living up to the truth professed.

"Fifth-day, I went to Chelmsford, accompanied by John Kendal.

"First-day, I attended both the meetings. That in the morning, small and dull for the most part; but the Lord favoured in some degree towards the latter part. The afternoon meeting was pretty large, yet attended with pain; there being many whose minds are indifferent and cool about religion, and are as a door upon its hinges, going and coming, and yet remaining in the same spot; on account of whom there is a mournful seed.

"First-day, tenth month 21st; attended both the meetings at Walden, where are several valuable Friends: these have heavy burdens; which I much desire that the Lord may remove in his time, by arousing and stirring up the careless and lukewarm to seek him for themselves, and to witness the Word to purge and purify the heart; that thereby the Lord might delight to come down and visit his people with his enlivening presence, in their approaches before him. In the evening had a pretty satisfactory opportunity in the family; where there are several hopeful plants, who I desire may be preserved from the snares of the tempter.

"Third-day, took leave of my kind friends, and accompanied by William Impey, went to Bardfield, where in the evening we had an opportunity with some of the few Friends of that place.

"First-day, tenth month 28th; attended the quarterly meeting for worship at Stebbing, which was large, but truth low.

"Fourth-day, had a meeting with the few professors at Coptford, where much blindness and darkness reigns, and a great declension in not keeping to the testimony against paying tithes, &c. Had discourse with Friends on the subject, and afterwards proceeded to Colne, and on fifth-day had a meeting with the few Friends there.

"Sixth-day, was at the meeting at Coggeshall, and Friends having notice, pretty many attended. The lukewarm and careless professors were closely spoken to; these have spread through the Society and in the world; and Oh, that there may be an awakening, and a true thirst raised in the people after the pure Fountain of life; that truth may prevail in their hearts, and the Lord delight to overshadow the assemblies of his people with his life-giving presence. Next morning set forward to Chelmsford, and then to London, where I arrived in the evening."

He remained in London and its vicinity, attending meetings and preparing for his departure homeward, until the 15th of the ensuing second month.

A vessel at length offering for Philadelphia, he left London on the day above mentioned, in company with Daniel Weston, and at Gravesend went on board the ship *Carolina*, Stephen Mesnard, master. They had a favourable, though not a very rapid passage, and entered the Delaware bay on the 10th of fourth month. On approaching his native shores, John Pemberton received the afflicting intelligence of the decease of his father, which he mentions in the following terms: "By the pilot I had the sorrowful and greatly afflicting tidings of the decease of my dearly beloved and much honoured father, who departed on the 19th day of the first month, being seized as he was attending a funeral, with a dizziness, to which he had been for some years much subject. He was taken into Samuel Mickle's, near the grave-yard, and there departed. He was an exemplary man in life and conversation, devoted to the fear and service of God. He lived beloved, and died much lamented. May his descendants be religiously concerned to follow his pious steps, and their latter end be crowned with peace, as I believe his was. I retired into my state room, and had some sorrowful moments; yet I had before been apprehensive that he was departed, being, about the time he went off, much impressed with such a belief, when at my friend Daniel Weston's, in London; and I told Mary Weston that I believed my father was gone.

"I reached Philadelphia on seventh-day, the 13th of fourth month, 1754, and met my honoured worthy mother. It was a meeting of joy and of deep sorrow. She was supported with Christian fortitude and resignation under her heavy exercise. I felt a sorrowful spirit, but a solid mind. My beloved friends appeared rejoiced at my safe return after so long an absence; and I hope I am thankful for the preservation experienced over the great ocean, and the evident sense of the continued mercy of Almighty God towards me, a poor unworthy person, who have often neglected the performance of known duty. I had experienced the Lord to be long suffering and abundant in compassion, seeing my weakness and dastardly disposition; giving way so much to which, has caused many days and nights of anguish and distress."

He was now restored in peace to his family, and a new scene opened before him. He had been careful, on undertaking so important a journey, to take with him a certificate from his friends at home; and having, since his departure, notwithstanding his sense of many frailties and short comings, experienced his feet to be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, and his tongue enabled to

declare of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, he presented to his brethren, at their monthly meeting held in the fifth month following, testimonials of the unity of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, with his services.

For some years after his return home from Europe, John Pemberton resided with his mother, and was diligently occupied in mercantile business. It appears, however, that he was careful to avoid entanglement in the affairs of trade, or drinking in the spirit of the world, which would have disabled him from faithfully pursuing that path of religious service to which he believed himself called. He was also mindful to cherish a deep interest in the welfare of his fellow men of all classes, and a peculiar sympathy for those two oppressed races, the natives, or descendants of Africa, and the aboriginal inhabitants of his own country.

About this time he was instrumental, with his two brothers and several other Friends, in the formation of an association for the benefit of the Indians, and the preservation of amicable relations between them and the white inhabitants of Pennsylvania. This "Friendly Association," as it was termed, took great pains to induce the governors of the province to adopt such measures as would be likely to soothe the irritated feelings of these oppressed sons of the forest; and was useful also in persuading the Indians themselves to accede to the reasonable propositions made to them. John Pemberton, on several occasions, had some of the chiefs as guests in his hospitable abode; and the three brothers appear to have possessed great influence with this people.

About the year 1757, he was united with Daniel Stanton and Benjamin Hooton, in promoting a treaty of peace and amity amongst the frontier Indians, at Easton, in Pennsylvania. Some of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Fort Allen, having discovered a backwardness about attending this treaty, it was deemed necessary for the above mentioned Friends to visit them, in order to endeavour to persuade them to join the rest in council at Easton. They accordingly conveyed to them an invitation from those Indians who had already assembled, and also from the government of Pennsylvania. Daniel Stanton thus speaks of it in his journal:

"It was thought some of them had been very mischievous in the murders and bloodshed, and taking of captives on the frontiers of our province. And a great concern having fallen on the minds of a number of worthy Friends, principally in Philadelphia, who freely contributed their money and time, for promoting the restoration of peace with the na-



tives; I have apprehended, and believe, they were instrumental in the Lord's hand, to appease the revengeful nature of so barbarous and cruel an enemy; the hearts of the Indians retaining a great love for the memory of our first worthy proprietary, William Penn. Remarkable it was, that through the protection of the Almighty, which was as a mighty rock in a weary land, few called by our name were ill used during all this calamity.

"Three Indian men accompanied us as far as Fort Allen, Moses Tatamy and two others. We travelled much in the night and through a great rain, stormy and cold weather, to reach that place; to which we came the next morning. The captain received us very civilly, and I thought did what he could to be of service to us, and behaved very kindly and friendly to the Indians, which they seemed to take well. At first sight the Indians appeared dreadful to behold, as to anger and revenge in their countenances, with their painted warlike looks and weapons, and were very shy. Yet after some friendly conversation, and their receiving a few small presents, which we carried with us for some of their chiefs, they appeared in quite a different disposition before we parted. But they could not be prevailed with to come to the treaty, because of the word and engagement they had made among themselves, to depute Tedyuscung, their chief man, to transact the business with the government on their behalf. In confirmation of their continuing in this mind, they sent a string of wampum by Moses Tatamy. After a further time of free conversation, they appeared still more pleased, and as I thought, out of love to us, sent two of their young men to accompany us back; we parted with them in love. Our endeavours appeared to be well taken by them, and I hope were of service; although none of them but the two young men, came with us to Easton. We ventured our lives and went through hardships to perform this errand; but through the mercy and kindness of the Lord we were preserved; for which my soul had cause to be thankful to his great and good name."

About this time also, John Pemberton united with his friend Daniel Stanton, in a religious visit to the families of Friends and those making profession with us in Philadelphia, the Northern Liberties, and the vicinity of the city across the Schuylkill. This service, in the course of which they visited more than five hundred families, engaged them at various times, as they found freedom to proceed, for upwards of two years. It was kindly received, and believed to be, through the goodness of the Almighty accompanying them, a time "of tender visitation to many

souls." During a part of this period, in the spring of the year 1759, he accompanied William Reckitt, a minister from England, to some meetings in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey; and about three years after this, on the 17th of fifth month, 1762, he left home on a journey to Rhode Island and some other parts of New-England, visiting the island of Nantucket, in company with Robert Proud, H. Harris and E. Wilkinson. He was out on this occasion upwards of two months, and on his return made the following memorandum:

"I have occasion to be thankful for the fresh extendings of Divine notice in this journey, and particularly so in the latter part of it; though many deep baptisms attended."

For several years he remained principally at home, being diligently occupied, not only in his temporal business, but also in aiding the cause of the oppressed, and promoting, by works of benevolence and Christian love, the welfare of his fellow-creatures, without distinction of tongue or colour. He also occasionally visited neighbouring meetings in the country, as impressions of duty, or gospel freedom and love to the brethren prompted.

On the 24th of the second month, 1765, he was deprived of his mother by death, about the seventy-fourth year of her age. She was the daughter of Charles Read, one of the early settlers of Pennsylvania under the grant to William Penn; and is described by the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, in their memorial respecting her, as a "mother in Israel, having a pious concern for the prosperity of the cause of Truth. She usefully filled the station of an overseer and elder, being carefully concerned to rule her own family well, and that her offspring might have a portion of that treasure which faileth not. She was a true sympathiser with those under affliction of body or mind, demonstrating her sensibility herein by her frequent visits to such, which were weighty and comforting, her conversation being solid and instructive. Few," they add, "have been more zealously concerned and diligent in the attendance of religious meetings, seldom allowing the inclemency of weather to prevent her; and continuing the like concern when very feeble."

On the 8th day of the fifth month, 1766, he was married to Hannah, the daughter of Isaac and Sarah Zane.

About this time a company of stage players came to Philadelphia, with a view to erect a theatre for the exhibition of their pernicious and sinful diversions. Friends were affected with much concern on this account, and feeling it incumbent upon them to bear their testimony against it, and do what lay in their power, to prevent the establishment in the city

of a thing fraught with so much evil, they sent a remonstrance to the governor, John Penn, who was then at Shrewsbury, in New-Jersey; requesting him to interpose his authority to prevent the same. John Pemberton, Mordecai Yarnall, Joshua Emlen and Daniel Stanton, were appointed to present the petition. They found, however, to their disappointment, that the governor had already given a promise to the players, of permission to proceed. Friends continued sorrowfully affected with this dangerous innovation upon the morals of their city, and deeply concerned for the preservation of the youth from the snare thus laid for them; and this concern resulted in the spreading of a printed paper among their members, of which the following is a copy:

*"Advice and caution from the monthly meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, the 23d day of the ninth month, 1768.*

"To our friends and brethren, in religious profession with us :

"Dear Friends,

"A deep exercise and fervent concern being impressed on our minds for the preservation and welfare of the members of our religious Society, and especially of the youth under our care, we affectionately exhort and advise all who make profession of being led and guided by the dictates of the divine principle of light and truth, to commemorate with reverence and thankfulness, the manifold mercies and blessings which, by the bounty of the Lord our God, are continued to us; and by integrity, sobriety and circumspection of life and conversation, to manifest that we are sincerely desirous of walking answerable to so great favours.

"We are engaged the more immediately to excite these considerations at this time, from an apprehension that the minds of the unwatchful will be in danger of being captivated by the ensnaring diversions of the horse races and stage plays, which are intended to be again exhibited in and near this city. We earnestly entreat and beseech, you would seriously consider the danger and destructive tendency of countenancing or encouraging these profane amusements, by attending, or being spectators of them, as they evidently tend to introduce idleness, licentiousness and intemperance, and are directly opposite to the precepts and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the testimony and practice of his disciples and followers in every age.

"We therefore fervently desire that all Friends, to whom the important care of youth

is entrusted, would, by admonition and persuasion, endeavour to convince them of the hurtful consequences of being deluded by these ensnaring temptations; and where this labour fails of success, that they would discharge their duty faithfully, by proper restraints.

"And dearly beloved youth,—

"Considering how many are drawn aside into vanity and folly, from the holy visitation of Divine love, which you have at times been sensibly affected with, we entreat and beseech you to avoid these temptations; suffer the sincere and ardent desires of your elder brethren for your present and eternal welfare, to have place in your minds.

"Let a due consideration of the uncertainty of the time allotted you, excite you to devote it to the honour of God. Attend to the restraints of Divine grace, and thus you will be preserved from the evils of the world, become serviceable in your several stations, and obtain true peace here, and a well grounded hope of everlasting happiness hereafter.

"Signed in and on behalf of our said meeting, by

"JOHN PEMBERTON, Clerk at this time."

On the 30th of fifth month, 1769, he left home with the unity of his friends, on a religious visit to Rhode Island and Nantucket; during the course of which he attended a great number of meetings at various places, and had religious opportunities in many families. The following memoranda are taken from a diary which he kept of this journey, and may serve to elucidate in some degree, the exercise which attended him on that occasion.

"Sixth month 2nd; Proceeded to Bethpage, and met with our friend Rachel Wilson and her companion. After taking some refreshment we went to the meeting, which was large, there being a marriage; then proceeded to Sequetague in company with many Friends, where we had a large and good meeting, and many departed with thankfulness.

"4th; Had a favoured meeting in the court house at Setawket, divers being reached by the testimony of truth; and then proceeded with intent to have a meeting about three miles further, where was a meeting place of a people who had separated from the Presbyterians, and who, we expected, might be more free from bigotry. But we found the elders were very shy, and not free to permit a meeting there, though their minister was absent. Many however gathered, and finding our minds engaged, we held a meeting at some distance from the house, under the trees. A



number of young people staid, and some of their elders; and the testimony of truth was in a solid and free manner declared, which had place with many. About two miles further, we came to a meeting house of the Presbyterians, and after halting a short space on horseback, went a little forward; but not finding entire liberty, we alighted, and went back to the meeting house and continued without until their service was over; when we stepped in, and our friend Rachel Wilson, craved liberty to speak a few words. The minister consented, and continued in his pulpit; but after she had gone on for some time, and was declaring her call to the ministry in a clear manner, he interrupted her, and said to this effect; 'that if she asserted her being called to the ministry, as it was not agreeable to the word of God, he should oppose her.' She paused awhile, and I requested he would have patience. She asked him whether he would oppose the truth, and repeated the same words. He said, if he heard anything contrary to 'the word,' it was his duty to oppose it. She said, if she declared anything contrary to the Scriptures, she was willing to hear rebuke; adding, that she did not desire to offend; it was love to God and to their souls, that she had at heart, and so went on; and the minister came out of his pulpit and went off. A sober young man spoke softly to him, as he afterwards told us, and desired that she might go on, for he had a mind to hear her. The people staid and heard with serious attention, many of them being affected, and she had a good opportunity, the truth being declared with power and authority.

"6th; At New London application was made to the sheriff, who readily granted the court house, and assisted in placing seats. Many people gathered, and it was early perceived that it would not accommodate them all. One Colonel Saltonstall, stood up and proposed our going to the meeting house just by, for the better accommodation of the people. They moved to it in an orderly manner, and the testimony of truth was freely declared by our friend Rachel Wilson. Some ranting people, called by some, No day Baptists, by others, Quakers, were at the meeting; and one woman, near the close, said that if we were the children of God, there were some of the children of God in prison, and one very sick, and she would have us go and visit them. As these poor deluded people were called by many, Quakers, I was concerned to declare our disunity with them and their practices, expressing that we were known to be an orderly people, and did not countenance, nor had we unity with such conduct as these people manifested. After the meet-

ing we had conversation with the young man who officiated as parson, a sober courteous man, who had appeared sensibly affected with the truth; and we condemned their manner of treating these deluded people, who are severely persecuted. After dinner we went to the prison. Parson Graves, of Providence, the young Presbyterian, and divers others attended; so that the prison was crowded. Our friend Rachel Wilson, was enabled to speak suitably to these poor creatures, some of whom were calm, but others looked very wild. They all appeared, with respect to their persons, cleanly, well looking people, but very positive in their sentiments. The women seemed the most fiery; they used the plain language, and were full of Scripture, but argument has little weight with them. The evil of persecution was exposed, and endeavours used to calm them; which I desire may be blessed with success. We afterwards spent a little time with Parson Graves, who appeared a thoughtful, sensible man, and condemned the conduct of the Presbyterians to these ranters.

"Sixth month 13th; This morning we visited the prisoners at Newport; a stinking jail, where it is a shame that human beings should be kept. The sheriff, the governor's son and others, besides some Friends, were present; the meeting was favoured and the prisoners thankful for the visit.

"19th; Went to Apopygansett, where the meeting was exceedingly crowded, and though not so lively as some others, yet Truth in some measure favoured, and the gospel was preached.

"20th; Embarked on board the Dartmouth packet with a number of Friends for Nantucket. We stopped at Elizabeth island, and some of us went ashore and waited for a proper time of tide to pass through Wood's hole, a dangerous passage. We set sail again about four o'clock, got safely through, and arrived about sunset at Holme's hole, a good harbour in Martha's vineyard. We went ashore, and collecting some of the inhabitants, had a meeting at our friend Daniel Coffin's, being the only family of Friends on that island. In the morning we went on board again and landed at Nantucket about eleven o'clock.

"22nd; I met twice with a committee of Friends, appointed by the yearly meeting at Rhode Island, respecting a division that has long unhappily subsisted among Friends on this island.

"23d; This morning began the yearly meeting on Nantucket, and in the afternoon I again met the above committee and some of the parties in the difference here; and the Lord favoured us, so that there was a willingness wrought in all present, except one who desired to think more upon it, to leave the matter to

arbitration; and a paper was drawn up accordingly. This step affected my mind with thankfulness. Next day, in the afternoon, I again met some of the parties, and a few more signed the paper; but some principally concerned not being there, it was resulted to visit them privately.

"27th; After the conclusion of the meeting for business yesterday, I acquainted our friend Rachel Wilson, with the contention which had subsisted, of which she was unacquainted, except that there was some uneasiness. I told her I apprehended we should need some of her assistance; which she was free to give; and early this morning we set out, and being joined by the committee, we first visited ———; a divine covering and sweetness almost immediately attended, and after some time spent, he signed the paper, and we went to ———'s, the former Friend accompanying us. We spent some time in solemn silence, and suitable advice being communicated, we proceeded to the business; and though at first there was an unwillingness, yet truth prevailed, and this family came into the agreement. After which we collected again into silence, and the opportunity was seasoned with divine virtue, our friend Rachel Wilson, being concerned in fervent prayer. We then concluded to give notice to the parties, to meet this evening to conclude on referees; when they met, and after a pause proceeded to a nomination. We then gathered into silence, and our friend, Rachel Wilson, was concerned in prayer, and the meeting concluded in peace and thankfulness.

"29th; This morning we took a farewell of many tender Friends, who seemed afresh visited. Some that are young, and divers advanced in life are alive in the Truth, and many of the middle aged steady and hopeful; and my mind was thankful that amidst such distraction, a remnant should be preserved. We embarked about seven o'clock, and landed at Wood's hole about five o'clock in the evening.

"Seventh month 2nd; Although very poorly, I set out for Yarmouth. The people who attended this meeting seemed generally very poor, and many came who were bare-legged and bare-footed; truth prevailed, and it was an instructive edifying meeting.

"8th; Crossed Merrimack river to Amesbury, had a meeting there, and then proceeded to Hampton. On second-day was the quarterly meeting for worship, and after that a meeting for worship, which was large and laborious, by reason of a greater dependance on words than labour to feel for the life; too many under the profession of the truth being faulty herein.

"14th; Embarked on board a boat in company with divers Friends, and had a passage of about four hours to Mariconeague, or Harts-hill, having passed many small islands. The meeting that evening was but a dull time; afterwards those that profess with Friends were selected, and some advice communicated. They are in a poor situation, and the meeting I apprehend not properly supported, though some appeared hopeful.

"15th; Took boat again for Perumscot, which we reached in about six hours and a half, and next day were at two large meetings in their new meeting house. My mind has been much stripped, and great poverty of spirit experienced; yet my mouth was opened in each meeting.

"On fifth-day morning we mounted our horses and went to Lynn; and here my mind continuing very heavy respecting Mariconeague, I halted and remained at Zaccheus Collins's, and the women Friends proceeded for Boston. After resting awhile, I wrote an epistle to Friends at Mariconeague; in the afternoon I took horse towards Cambridge, intending to overtake the women Friends; but not finding true quiet, I returned; and on seventh-day morning I set out again eastward, determining that if it was the requiring of Truth that I should go back, I would strive to perform it.

"On third-day Samuel Collins brought his chaise, intending to accompany me. Very dull was I for want of divine enjoyment, yet fearful of turning back. We proceeded to Berwick, and on fourth-day arrived at Perumscot. On fifth-day I had conversation with some Friends respecting the situation of Friends at Mariconeague, and I found them of the same sentiment with myself respecting the danger of their declining. The next day I set out with Friends in a boat, and after a passage of about five hours, landed on the neck and visited four families that evening.

"Seventh-day, I rose early, visited three families and attended their monthly meeting. Things here are indeed very low, and unless the Lord interpose, the beloved youth are likely to be scattered and lost to Society. I endeavoured with all the ability afforded to discharge myself, and if possible to stir up to faithfulness. After this we again embarked, and returned to the harbour we had left.

"On first-day I attended two meetings at Perumscot, which were dull, hard meetings, yet I was faithful to perform what I apprehended my duty, and had afterwards an opportunity of making some serious remarks to divers Friends. On the 6th of eighth month, I got to Newport, and after a few days' stay, embarked for New-York, and so home."



On the 6th of the tenth month, 1774, he again left home on a visit to some parts of New-England, in company with our friend Mary Leaver.

They visited the meetings generally of Rhode Island, Nantucket, and some parts of Massachusetts, and were accompanied on a portion of the journey by Moses Brown, of Providence, then a young man. Respecting this Friend, afterwards so highly esteemed as a qualified and faithful elder in the church, John Pemberton makes the following remark in his diary of this journey:

“Moses Brown, with his wife’s mother, her daughter and Audrey Green, a nurse in his family, are lately convinced of the truth, and happily brought into conformity to it; so that they are weighty, solid, plain and circumspect. And though he is great in the world, and has been much engaged in the concerns thereof in various respects, yet is he humble, meek and lowly, and by diligent attention, has, for so short a space that he has professed the truth, made great advancement on the right foundation; where I wish he and the rest may be mercifully preserved. I could not but remark the gravity and plainness of his family and servants; their words being few and savoury; so that I had much satisfaction in this religious family.”

He made a third visit to New-England in the sixth month, 1776, attending the yearly meeting on Rhode Island, in company with his friend Samuel Emlen, jr. It was a time of great commotion, the revolutionary agitation making it difficult travelling from one place to another; yet they were preserved from much annoyance by the contending parties, and had to encourage their friends to a firm adherence to their peaceable principles. “Through the various sittings of the yearly meeting,” he says, “the love and mercy of the Lord was manifested, to the tendering of many hearts; and I could not but admire at his gracious condescension. It seemed as though the Lord was preparing his people for some great trial, and that the shaking of his rod had an humbling, profitable effect upon many minds.” During a part of his homeward journey, John Pemberton had the company of William Rickman, then of New-York, and afterwards a devoted minister of the gospel, zealously exercised in support of the ancient principles of truth in his native country, Great Britain, where he died in the year 1839, in the ninety-fourth year of his age, full of days and full of peace.

Late in the autumn of this year, 1776, and at a time of much commotion and some danger to travellers, from the contending armies which were spread over great part of the

country, John Pemberton visited the Eastern shore of Maryland, attending the quarterly meeting at Cecil, and the particular meetings belonging thereto. Towards the close of this visit, he found himself not at liberty without proceeding to Accomac county, in Virginia, to visit a family residing in a remote situation, sixty miles from any other Friends. He accordingly paid this little debt of gospel love; had two seasonable religious opportunities with the family, in one of which a number of coloured people were present, and left them with hearts tendered by the power of Truth. He remarks in his memorandum of this visit, that “they were glad to see the face of a Friend, and to receive the crumbs which the full-fed would have despised.” Before reaching home he received intelligence of Friends in Philadelphia being subjected to much trial and loss by the violence of a mob, on account of their refusal to illuminate their houses, as a mark of joy for a victory gained in Virginia. About this time he recommenced the keeping of memorandums, as follows:

*Diary during part of the Revolutionary war.*

“The ways of the Lord are unsearchable to frail mortals. His judgments are in the earth, and remarkably so in this once peaceful land; his wisdom, power and majesty, are greatly manifested in confounding the wisdom of the wise, and showing the weakness and insufficiency of human contrivance, policy and prudence. And yet, in abundant condescension and mercy, he is showing himself gracious to a despised remnant, amidst the agitation, confusion and distraction that prevail; with which multitudes are tossed, and in terror and amazement, so that they are like men at their wits’ end, having no stay, but fleeing one way and removing another; whose situation is much to be lamented. Yet though disappointed, they are not humbled, but persist in their gainsaying, as men given up to a reprobate mind.

“Amidst all these commotions, the Lord in mercy has vouchsafed to say to a remnant, as to the boisterous waves formerly, ‘Peace, be still!’ He has permitted our religious meetings to be held in much quietude, and favoured the minds of such who have endeavoured to keep out of the flaming fiery spirit, with an admirable calm. Although destruction has been threatened to Friends, yet the Lord has hitherto preserved, and few have unsettled themselves, or removed from the city; to Him be the praise. The covering of Divine love attends, to unite well concerned Friends, in considering many weighty matters, which almost daily call for their attention and consideration; and the gracious

dealing of the Lord, is abundantly worthy of being commemorated and preserved for future time.

"It is indeed deeply affecting to see the destruction of mankind by the unnatural war now raging, wherein multitudes have been slain, and more have died through sickness and want. The flower of the country, young lads, and those just arrived at a state of manhood; many of them sons of reputable farmers in Maryland and Virginia, and other provinces; being brought to the city in large numbers, pine away with sickness, and many are buried in a day. Besides this, the last fall was very dry, and the green wheat in many places suffered so much, that some husbandmen sowed their fields over again. The late harvest was greatly blasted, so that in some places in this province, there was not more than a fourth part of a crop. In Maryland, Virginia, and the southern colonies, the grain was injured by a worm, and much was given to the swine. In some parts of North Carolina, besides this destroying worm, a murrain prevailed among the cattle, so that many died; and yet the people are not humbled.

"Another occurrence I have thought memorable, as it shows the necessity and advantage of humbly seeking wisdom superior to our own, to direct in times of difficulty and trial, and also of acting in conformity thereto. It was the case of Friends in New-York, most of whom, under a prospect of trial and danger in that city, sought a retreat on Long island and at Westchester, Hackensack, Newark, Elizabeth-town, Rahway, &c.; places which afterwards were invested, and put under greater trials than even the city itself. A few who kept steady to their principles and to the guidance of Truth, not being free to leave the city, remained during all the troubles, and were upheld and preserved. In the time of a great fire there, after the city was occupied by the king's troops, wherein nearly a fourth part was burnt, the dwellings of Friends were preserved. One family who could not be free to leave the city, lived near where the fire raged; it was on each side of their dwelling, yet their house was preserved unhurt, which was justly esteemed a providence of the Lord. The Friend of that house, a descendant of the worthy Isaac Penington, told me during last summer, that she could find no peace in thinking of removing; and I believe she and some others profited under the dispensation. In this province divers have removed to Bucks county, apprehending they should be more safe than in the city; but the American army being ranged along the river from Bristol, as high as Tobiccon, ravage and destroy almost

all before them; wasting in many instances, as much as they otherwise consume; so that little remains of fodder, or food to some families.

"The last summer, on the second-day of the week, our meeting house in High street was forced open, and a large number of soldiers put in. It appeared to be from a disposition in some to show their authority, more than from real necessity, for there were plenty of empty store houses near the river, and other places much more convenient; and it did not appear satisfactory to the officers and soldiers themselves. Friends met on fourth-day, to consider whether it was proper to alter the place of our meeting on fifth-day; and great unanimity appeared, that it should be held there next day as usual. A few Friends waited on some of the principal officers, who received them civilly, and after being informed that the next day was the usual time of our meeting for Divine worship at that house, and that it was our desire to hold it there, with other information respecting the nature of true worship, and our differing from most others in the manner of performing it, they proposed that way should be made for it. We had the house somewhat cleansed, and it was very satisfactory to find that a zeal appeared both in male and female, young and aged, to attend the meeting, which was favoured. On first-day the soldiers did not get away until Friends were gathering, yet it was evident they gave as little interruption as they could. The meeting was held to a good degree of satisfaction, and those who had been instrumental to the house being thus occupied, seemed ashamed of their conduct.

"Twelfth month 19th; The monthly meeting for sufferings this day, was larger than usual, though no particular notice was sent to the members; but truth operating on the minds of Friends, they were brought together; and apprehending that under the present exercise and trials, it would be profitable to issue an epistle to encourage Friends in stability, a committee was appointed, and the next day an epistle was approved, and directed to be printed and speedily dispersed; being as follows:

*"To our Friends and brethren in religious profession, in these and the adjacent provinces.*

"Dearly beloved Friends and brethren,

"Our minds being renewedly impressed with a fervent religious concern for your spiritual welfare and preservation in the love and fellowship of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of peace; by the constrainings of his love we are engaged to salute you in this time of deep exercise,



affliction and difficulty; earnestly desiring that we may by steady circumspection and care, in every part of our conduct and conversation, evidence that under the close trials which are and may be permitted to attend us, our faith and reliance are fixed on Him alone for protection and deliverance, remembering his gracious promise to his faithful followers; 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'

"And, 'As it became Him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings;' let us not be dismayed, if we are now led in the same path.

"As we keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, which is over all, and therein seek the good of all, neither outward sufferings, persecutions, nor anything that is below, will hinder or break our heavenly fellowship in the light and Spirit of Christ.—*George Fox's Epistle*, 1685.

"Thus we may with Christian firmness and fortitude, withstand and refuse to submit to the arbitrary injunctions and ordinances of men, who assume to themselves the power of compelling others, either in person or by other assistance, to join in carrying on war, and of prescribing modes of determining concerning our religious principles, by imposing tests not warranted by the precepts of Christ, or the laws of the happy constitution, under which we and others long enjoyed tranquillity and peace.

"We therefore, in the aboundings of that love, which wisheth the spiritual and temporal prosperity of all men, exhort, admonish and caution all who make religious profession with us, and especially our beloved youth, to stand fast in that liberty, wherewith, through the manifold sufferings of our predecessors, we have been favoured, and steadily to bear our testimony against every attempt to deprive us of it.

"And, dear Friends, you who have known the truth and the powerful operations thereof on your minds, adhere faithfully thereto, and by your good example and stability, labour to strengthen the weak, confirm the wavering, and warn and caution the unwary against being beguiled by the snares of the adversaries of truth and righteousness. Let not the fear of suffering, either in person or property, prevail on any to join with or promote any work or preparation for war.

"Our profession and principles are founded on that spirit which is contrary to, and will in time put an end to all wars, and bring in everlasting righteousness; and by our constantly abiding under the direction and in-

struction of that spirit, we may be endued with the 'wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.' That this may be our happy experience, is our fervent desire and prayer.

"Signed in and on behalf of the meeting for sufferings, held in Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, the 20th day of the twelfth month, 1776.

"JOHN PEMBERTON, Clerk."

"On the 22nd and 23d, some skirmishes happened between portions of the European and American armies not far from Burlington; and during this week two Friends were taken up and cast into prison for refusing to bear arms, or work at the intrenchments making near the city. Upon this, some Friends were verbally named at the meeting for sufferings on the 26th, and the next morning had an opportunity with General Putnam, and laid before him the grounds of our religious principles, and why we could not join in warlike measures, nor consent to pay, or perform any services, in lieu thereof. A discharge was obtained for one of the Friends, and the other had been released the day before on the application of one not professing with us.

"First month 4th, 1777; This week has been a bloody one. On the 2nd instant, a battle was fought at Trenton, in which many were slain, and lay unburied for several days. The inhabitants had generally deserted their dwellings, and the town was much wrecked. On the 3d was a battle, said to be still more bloody, with numbers slain on both sides, among others, Anthony Morris, son of the present Anthony. On the 1st instant, our friend Thomas Watson, of Buckingham, a peaceable, quiet, sensible man, was haled from his home by a number of armed men, who came towards bed time, terrified the family, and carried him before one called Lord Sterling, who sent him to Newtown; where he was confined in irons, and his coat taken away. And though through the lenity of some who watched him, it was returned, yet heavy irons were kept on him for forty-eight hours, and he was detained there three nights without a bed. The general congress having recommended to those called the Council of safety, to enforce the passing of their money, they have created heavy penalties for refusing it; so that fresh sufferings seem likely to ensue. This week great numbers of soldiers have died; the pestilential disorder increasing, and the sick being greatly neglected, not having proper nourishment or nursing.

"25th; Great numbers of soldiers have been buried during the past two weeks, and many others came to the city from Virginia, Maryland, &c., looking like respectable farmers; and the reflection was sorrowful, how many wives were likely to become widows, and children fatherless. Our friends Mark Miller and Thomas Redman, of New-Jersey, were imprisoned this week at Gloucester, for reading in their meetings the epistle issued by the meeting for sufferings; and several Friends at Mount Holly and Evesham, were taken up for refusing to bear arms, &c.

"By the newspapers, it appears that the king proclaimed a fast in England, that the people should lament on account of their sins, and implore the Divine mercy and assistance on their arms, in this contest with America; and on the other hand, in part of New-York, Connecticut, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, fasts and days of humiliation have been proclaimed, to desire success for the arms of America. The sense of such contrary and contradictory proceedings is very affecting. That there is necessity to fast from all wrong things, and to humble ourselves because of the great impiety and wickedness that abound, are indeed to be acknowledged, and that we implore the Lord to have mercy on this land, and to pity the people; but to abstain from labour one day, and even on that day to sport and commit evil of various kinds, and smite and despitefully use such as dare not join in this hypocrisy, cannot reasonably be supposed to be the fast acceptable or available with God. And how can it be supposed that we, as a religious Society, could comply with such injunctions? For thereby our Friends in England and Friends here, might implore the same Divine Being for contrary and contradictory things. Lamentable confusion and defection from the Spirit of Christ!

"Our friends Mark Miller and Thomas Redman, were discharged, after being confined eight weeks in Gloucester jail; and Mark attended the meeting for sufferings, and gave a comfortable account of the Divine support they had experienced. They refused paying any fine or fees, and maintained their testimony with uprightness.

"Fourth month 13th, being first-day of the week, and also on second-day, inquisitors went about to know what provisions people had in their houses; and by fresh resolutions from the Board of war, a large committee was named, to take all provisions, bar-iron, &c., except what they shall deem a reasonable allowance for each family; so that it appears probable much calamity will ensue.

"27th; News was brought that the English troops had destroyed a great quantity of pro-

visions laid up by the Americans at a place called Danbury, in Connecticut. Greatly indeed is it to be lamented that such destruction and havoc should be made of what we may, before long, be much in want of.

"Feeling the gentle drawings of Truth on my mind, I mentioned at the monthly meeting on sixth-day, my prospect of attending the yearly meeting in Virginia, &c.; and after deliberate consideration, divers expressing their approbation and sympathy, a minute was made for me. Putting my affairs in order, and taking a solemn leave of my dear wife and many Friends, I set out on the 6th of fifth month, 1777, and at Wilmington overtook my beloved friend Samuel Emlen, jr., and his companion, who were under a like concern. We had a favourable passage across the bay, from Rockhall to Annapolis, and on the 11th attended the meeting at West river, which was small, and for the most part a suffering time, though more favoured towards the conclusion.

"Fifth month 15th; Attended the quarterly meeting held by adjournment at White Oak swamp, which was favoured. The business was conducted well, a growing concern appearing for the prosperity of truth.

"17th; The yearly meeting was opened at Cures, and finished on the 20th. It was attended by more solid Friends than I expected; great unanimity appeared, and the business was conducted well.

"Fifth-day, 22nd; Apprehending my mind drawn still further southward, I proceeded to Petersburg, accompanied by S. Fisher and R. Pleasants, and on the 29th reached our friend Thomas Newby's, at the head of Perquimons' river, in North Carolina.

"Sixth-day, went to the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, held at the Old-neck meeting house; which was a solid good meeting. Next morning a committee of the yearly meeting for North Carolina, met to consider a matter which was greatly distressing and afflictive. Divers Friends, from humane and honourable motives, had set their negroes at liberty, and the assembly, so called, for this province, had made a law in the present month, to take up and sell all that should be set free. Immediately on the law being published, parties of men went about, and taking up these poor creatures, carried them to Hartford jail; which not only alarmed them, but greatly affected their former masters. Friends appeared unanimous, and a committee was selected to have the case particularly under notice, and to act therein as wisdom should direct. After this the meeting for worship came on, which was large, and many appearances therein. But I found it my place to



teach them silence by example; there being a disposition to hear, and also with many to speak, so that I thought both hearers and preachers had occasion more deeply to learn and love silence. Near the close of the meeting I was free to make some observations to excite to such a disposition, and to an awful retired waiting upon God, in every rank.

"Second-day evening, again entered Virginia, and on seventh-day went to the monthly meeting at White Oak swamp. The first meeting was laborious and exercising; the minds of many not duly attending to the important end of meeting, being outward and indolent, though there were a number of concerned Friends.

"Sixth month 8th; Went to the meeting at Wainoak, to which came many not professing with Friends, and a larger number of black people than I had seen at any one meeting since leaving home. They sat solidly, and I was glad to find encouragement was given them to attend the meeting.

"14th; I got safely home in the evening, through the mercy and gracious dealings of the Lord, where I found my dear wife, better in health than when I left her, and my friends generally well, for which I have cause to be truly thankful. I returned with an easy quiet mind, which I attribute to the condescending goodness of the Lord, preserving me in stability and resignation; for which I bless his name, to whom the praise of his works belongs.

"Seventh month 19th; Our friend Joseph Moore, is in confinement at Trenton, for refusing the *test*; and Isaac Horner for refusing the continental currency. They are preserved in resignation and peace. Richard Smith has also been confined a considerable time in Burlington jail.

"On the 2nd day of ninth month, 1777, about two o'clock, P. M., three persons came to my house, and informed me they had orders from the Supreme Executive Council to take me as a prisoner. I inquired, for what? and demanded their authority. One of them pulled a packet out of his pocket, and read a few lines of a long writing, the amount of which was, that I was suspected of being inimical to the cause of America. I pleaded with them for a considerable time, on the injustice and oppression of imprisoning a man, unless some crime was alleged against him. They replied, they had orders, and must obey them. I represented that I was an innocent man, and had not done anything I was ashamed of, or to the injury of America. They pretended that it was very disagreeable to them to execute such orders; whereupon my dear wife told them, that Pilate washed his hands and said he was clear; yet he was

not so in the Divine sight. Many serious remarks were made, but without effect, though there appeared some tenderness in one of them. Another said I should have a hearing when I came to the lodge, whither they had orders to take me. They presented to me a paper, called a parole, and urged me to sign it, to make my own house my prison, and be ready at the call of the council; not to correspond with the enemy, as it was expressed; nor to do any act or thing, by word or writing, prejudicial to the cause of America. Knowing my innocence, and that my religious principles would restrain me from doing anything to promote the shedding of blood, or to injure my country, I told them I could not sign such a paper, as it would imply guilt, which I was free from. They still urged my going with them; but I told them, that as they had nothing justly to lay to my charge, and as my house was my own, and I was a free man, I could not consent to comply with their unreasonable demand, and could not leave my house without being forced. When they saw I was resolute, endeavours were used to prevail on my wife to urge my going quietly with them; but she was staunch and upright. One of them then went and brought a guard of about ten men, whom they had left in the street; and again urged my going with them. But I still maintained my right as a freeman and a Christian. He then took me by the arm, and said he would force me to go; but I would not move from my seat. The men he had brought into the house seemed averse to meddling with me; but this man insisted that they should do their duty; so I was lifted by two of them off my seat and led to the door. My wife insisted on going with me; so my friend John Parrish, taking her by one arm, and myself by the other, we supported her; and with these soldiers we were conducted to the masons' lodge. Though I believe she had not walked so far, at once, for two years, and was very poorly, yet she was sustained, both in mind and body. The people seemed generally serious, and many affected, when we came to the lodge and were conducted up stairs. Before we were put into a room, the person who brought the guard into my house, demanded the keys of my desk. I told him I thought he had no right to make such a demand, and I would give him none. He then asked my wife, and she also denied him. He then said he would break the desk open; and so returned to my house, guarded by the same men; they broke open my desk, and took out the rough minutes of the meeting for sufferings for seven or eight months past; and in other places which they searched, they found some other meeting papers, and two bundles

of manumissions for the freedom of slaves, which they took away. But in all their searching, they could not find anything to their purpose; and though they condemned Friends for publishing epistles, especially the last Christian exhortation from the meeting for sufferings, yet they now republished it themselves, at a time more critical than any heretofore.

"On my coming to the lodge, I met there my brother James, and divers other Friends. We were favoured with support in our persecution; though that evening and night was to me a season of trial of spirit, and I had little sleep. Yet in the morning my heart was tendered, and from that time to the time when we were removed from the city, I was preserved in a steady resigned state of mind.

"Fifth-day, the 4th; Brother Israel, John Hunt and Samuel Pleasants, were brought as prisoners, so that our number was twenty-three. Previous to brother Israel's coming, he and John Hunt and Samuel Pleasants had presented a remonstrance to the council, and demanded a hearing as their right; but they were not admitted, and informed that they could have no hearing, and so were conveyed to the place of confinement. Afterward we also prepared and sent remonstrances to the council and congress, but could not obtain a hearing.

"On first-day, the 7th, having had much company for several days past, the inhabitants being affected with the unjust conduct pursued towards us, we requested that we might be more retired; and had a favoured opportunity in humbly waiting upon Almighty God, so that the hearts of many were tendered, especially in time of solemn prayer and supplication, for the support and preservation of ourselves and our families.

"On third-day, we sent for some of the persons who were instrumental in our being taken, and demanded of them whose prisoners we were? One of them said that none of us were his prisoners; and the other did not own any except my brother Israel, John Hunt, Samuel Pleasants and Phineas Bond. In the afternoon an order from council appeared, for our removal to Staunton, in Virginia; upon which we wrote another remonstrance against their proceedings. Next day we were permitted to go home to prepare for our journey, and on the following morning I had a solid opportunity in quiet retirement with my family, and parted with my beloved wife in tender affection. We were supported in this close trial beyond expectation, the saying of the apostle being verified in my mind, 'None of these things move me;' being enabled to resign my life and my all to the disposal of

Divine Providence. About eight o'clock I returned to my prison and continued until afternoon, when two men came and informed us they were appointed to conduct us to Reading. We demanded a sight of their orders, which they refused. At length, after much altercation, one of them read a paper, but another paper containing further orders, he absolutely refused to read, or to give us a copy of it. We entered a protest, and called in several inhabitants to witness it: they were also informed that messengers were despatched to the chief justice, for writs of *habeas corpus*; but they paid no regard to that. The wagons, &c., being before our prison, we were at length forced out. Many hundreds of people were ranged along the alley, some of them much affected; and many poor blacks, as well as others, after I was in the wagon, shook me by the hand, being affected with our hard treatment. We were paraded through Third street, until we passed out of the city, when the town-major and the guards generally left us; though a few went with us to the falls of Schuylkill. The next day we reached Pottsgrove.

"Seventh-day, about eight o'clock in the evening, a guard of men came from Reading, much incensed against us, who insisted on our setting out this night; but after a considerable time we were permitted to stay till seven o'clock in the morning. About that time the next day, the messengers despatched for the *habeas corpus*, met with us, and our guides were notified thereof; but still they hurried us to Reading. Here we found the people's spirits greatly enraged, and many appeared to be in a wicked disposition; but through the good providence of the Lord we were preserved from injury. My father-in-law, Isaac Zane, being there, came up on my alighting from the carriage, to salute me; but was laid violent hands on, and abused; and so was James Starr. But after a while their wrath in part subsided, and next day several Friends were admitted to see us. The evening we arrived, we had an opportunity of religious retirement.

"I was poorly all the time we were at Reading, which was during this week; and although the chief justice had granted writs of *habeas corpus* for us all, yet after our persecutors in the city heard of it, they obtained from the assembly an act to supersede them, and indemnify all persons concerned in our removal, contrary to reason and equity, and even their own constitution.

"First-day, 21st; Being guarded by the sheriff and some others, we proceeded to Lebanon; and next day reached Harris's ferry, on the Susquehanna.



"Third-day morning we crossed the Susquehanna, our carriages being driven over, and some of us going in canoes. Great had been the industry of our adversaries to prejudice the minds of the people against us, by lies and forgeries; yet the Lord in great condescension opened a way for us, and softened the hearts of many; blessed be his name, for his goodness both in preserving our minds calm and resigned, and seasoning them with his grace. In the evening we entered Carlisle without molestation.

"Fourth-day afternoon we had a religious opportunity in awful retirement, to wait upon God for the renewal of strength and comfort from him; which, through his great mercy, were in measure vouchsafed.

"Sixth-day morning we set out from Carlisle and reached Shippensburg in the evening. This had been mentioned as a place where it was most likely we should be roughly treated; but though the spirits of some seemed disturbed, yet on a little opening our case, they were changed, and we were well accommodated. Before supper we fell into awful silence, and a concern came upon me to commemorate the goodness of God, to thank him for his mercy, and to pray for the continuance of his kindness to myself and beloved friends present, and that he would condescend to remember and preserve our beloved connexions, from whom we were cruelly separated. Much brokenness of spirit appeared amongst us.

"Seventh-day reached H. Pawling's, near the Maryland line, and the next morning we had a seasonable time of solemn worship, in which our minds were softened by the mollifying virtue of truth, and the Divine witness was reached in divers hearts. The sitting concluded with fervent prayer for ourselves and for this once highly favoured land. Previous to leaving our own province, we again protested against their unwarrantable proceedings; as also at Potomac, on leaving Maryland, crossing the river at Watkins's ferry.

"Second-day, 29th; Near Winchester I met a letter, by which I found the inhabitants had imbibed some prepossessions against us; yet we entered peaceably.

"Third-day, the lieutenant alleged that the papers presented to him were so confused, that he could not determine what to do with us. About noon some turbulent persons assembled, and demanded very peremptorily that we should be ordered out of the town, threatening to force us out that afternoon. The lieutenant moderated them by promising that a guard should be kept at the doors of the house where we were, and that he would

despatch a messenger to congress, and another to their governor, respecting us. We endeavoured under this trial to gather into silence, and my mind was preserved above the fear of man, having been helped to resign myself and all I had, with my dear wife, to Him who gave me breath and being. The power of the Highest is able to stay the wrath of man and preserve his dependent people; blessed and praised be his holy name!

"Fourth and fifth-days, an address to the congress, and also one to the governor of Virginia, were prepared by us, setting forth our case and enclosing our publications.

"First-day, tenth month 5th; This morning we sat down together, accompanied by Philip Bush and his wife. Several of the guards were in the entry, and some others, white and black, about the windows. Our dear friend John Hunt, had a clear and lively testimony, and the meeting concluded in prayer and acknowledgment of the goodness of the Lord. In the afternoon we again assembled, and after a considerable time spent in silence, our friend John Hunt stood up with these words: 'Say to the righteous, it shall go well with him; but woe to the wicked, it shall go ill with him; for the works of his hands shall be given him;' asserting the certainty of future rewards and punishments. He opened also the early appearance of sin, the cause of the fall, and the nature and difference of the offerings of Abel and of Cain; and expiated thereon, in a clear and lively manner. The lieutenant was present at this meeting, having never before been at any meeting of Friends, and was much a stranger to us as a people.

"Seventh-day, about noon the guards left us, and we were without any the remainder of the day. After breakfast nine of us took a walk two or three miles round, which was refreshing.

"First-day, 12th; This morning we assembled in order for Divine worship, and some men, brought from a distance as a guard, came in and sat with us; the time was spent mostly in silence, and part thereof was exercising. I had to make a few remarks at the close, respecting the nature of Divine worship, and the necessity of labouring for a qualification to perform it in an acceptable manner. The men who came for guards, thought there was no necessity for their continuance, and went home again without license. In the afternoon several Friends came; but some persons of an envious disposition appeared disturbed, and objections and discouragements were made to the Friends staying to sit with us. However, they finding most ease and freedom so to do, and risk the consequences,

we sat down and had a favoured opportunity. The meeting concluded without molestation, and Friends departed in peace.

"Fifth-day, our company were notified that indulgence was allowed us to ride or walk any distance within six miles round.

"First-day, 19th; Our large room was pretty well filled, and the Lord condescended to own and favour the gathering. It was a solemn comfortable season, and the doctrine of Christ was preached and flowed freely, to the instruction and edification of many.

"Sixth-day; This evening the houses in the town were illuminated, and other tokens of rejoicing manifested, for the capture of General Burgoyne and five thousand eight hundred men under him.

"Eleventh month 26th; We held our religious meeting as usual. Our friends John Parrish, on a visit to us, and John Hunt, had acceptable service; but to me it was for the most part a season of deep poverty; and I was ready to apprehend that the anxiety of some of our brethren to be informed respecting matters relating to our outward affairs, tended to exclude that good which is sometimes vouchsafed.

"Fifth-day, I went to the preparative meeting at Hopewell, which was a season of exercise and poverty. Though there is an agreeable appearance of Friends, yet the minds of many are outward, and rest in a form.

"Twelfth month 3d; In our meeting held this morning, my heart was contrited and deeply humbled, in a fresh commemoration of the tender dealings of the Lord with us and our dear connexions, in supporting and preserving under the various trials and exercises which have attended since our separation; and fervent desires were excited for dedication of heart, and that, if suffered to return home, we might not forget such gracious and tender dealings with us.

"9th; Being the adjourned monthly meeting of Hopewell, and a large committee meeting previously this morning, I went to it with my brothers and H. Drinker, and joined with Friends in a solid conference on the subject of the first settling of the lands in these parts, a doubt existing whether the natives had been fully satisfied for them. The committee appeared unanimous in recommending to the monthly meeting that a subscription be entered into, to raise a sum to deposit under the care of the meeting for sufferings and a committee of Hopewell monthly meeting, to be applied for the benefit of the descendants of the native inhabitants formerly seated here, if to be found, or any others where it may be truly useful; which report the monthly meeting ap-

proved, and referred for further consideration to the next meeting.

"17th; An order was received from the board of war to remove us to Staunton; may the Lord continue his mercy to us.

"18th; Guards were placed yesterday at the front and back doors of our quarters, and we were ordered not to go out; but they were this afternoon released; yet we were put under stricter confinement than for some time previous.

"26th; In the afternoon we were visited by our friends William and George Mathews, Isaac Jackson and Thomas Millhouse, and spent some time in solemn retirement. Our spirits were contrited and comforted in a sense of the Lord's goodness, and the preciousness of that unity which is experienced by those who know the truth, and are concerned to live under its influence and operation.

"First month 8th, 1778; More liberty to walk abroad for exercise and air.

"13th; A colonel in the American army, who lately returned from camp, visited us, appeared kindly disposed, and thought our case hard, especially as we had never had a hearing, or been convicted of any crime. While he was with us, another colonel came and showed a letter, directing the orders of the board of war to be strictly put in execution. He at the same time placed a guard at the front and back doors of the house. We represented that the order from the board of war did not direct this; and that there was no necessity for it, for that he knew we had not given them much trouble. He said he must obey orders, and that we must be removed towards Staunton. The other colonel said he would stand engaged for us, as did our landlord, who also said there was no need of a guard. After about twenty minutes the guard was ordered away, and our landlord came in and said he had engaged we should not go out, nor be visited. This is the third time that guards have been hastily set over us. Thus we are suffered to be proved; yet through all, our minds are kept pretty quiet; blessed be the Lord.

"15th; A person waited on us; and acquainted us, that he had attended to our case as fully as he was capable, but other business being before congress, ours was deferred; that some members appeared kindly disposed, some were under a fear of disclosing their sentiments, and others warmly against us; though he did not find that they had anything against us, except the publications of our religious Society, viz: the advice to our members to maintain a conduct agreeable to our religious principles and profession. He brought nothing



to revoke the order of the board of war; but upon conversing with the colonel who has charge of us, he was willing to defer sending us away, at least for a week longer, or until we hear further from congress.

"16th; My mind for the week past hath been very poor, having been much hindered from that retirement which I find needful for me to be exercised in.

"19th; Andrew McCoy called on his way from Pipe creek, and acquainted us that nine Friends were named to attend the congress at York on our behalf, and that four Friends were appointed particularly to assist us, in case we are removed to Staunton.

"First-day, 25th; Our religious meeting this day was attended by our friends John Hunt and Edward Penington, quartered in the country. Our dear friend William Mathews, arrived from Yorktown with an order from the board of war, for the suspension of their former order respecting our removal, which gave us some relief.

"28th; George and William Mathews attended our meeting, which was held mostly in silence. Towards the close I had to commemorate the gracious dealings of the Lord with us, in affording us, for a considerable time since our exile, the cup of consolation for our encouragement, and to strengthen and support us in stability and faith, though we had latterly experienced a season of drought and poverty; under which dispensation I desired we might endeavour to profit, and not grow slack, or insensible of the soul's want; being watchful that the mind is not suffered to wander, but humbly to wait until the Lord is pleased to knock; and by thus waiting, be ready to open, and again sup in his Divine presence. The meeting was solid, and our spirits were somewhat refreshed.

"Second month 2nd; Went with some of my companions to the monthly meeting at Hopewell, which was large, and our friend John Hunt had to speak of the judgments of the Lord in this land, mentioning that he had heard, as with his inward ear, a voice proclaiming mourning, lamentation and woe, unless the people repented and sought the Lord; and remarked how opposite the revelling, dancing, balls, &c., now prevalent, were to that humiliation which ought to be experienced. He mentioned also, that he apprehended he should not have the like opportunity again among them, though he should leave that to Divine Providence, and concluded with expressions of comfort to the truly religious.

"Fifth-day, my dear father Zane arrived from Yorktown, where he and several other Friends had spent about ten days, labouring

for our release. They were heard by a committee of congress, and although they did not obtain their desire, yet they had opportunity to obviate objections, and manifest that the charges against us were false and groundless. What was objected, was rather against the body of Friends than individuals. One matter they pretty generally urged, was that Friends did not join with them, or approve their measures. Friends replied that it was our concern to promote peace, and inculcate the principles of Christ; while it was theirs to promote war; and therefore of course they must be opposite; to which they were silent. It was comfortable to find they could not make out anything criminal against us. Several wished us at home, but granting a discharge would make them appear criminal in taking us up.

"First-day, soon after the afternoon meeting broke up, we dropped into solemn silence, and the Lord condescended to cover our minds with his love, and season them by his grace. Both myself and father had to express counsel and encouragement to stability and faithfulness, and a caution to beware of giving way to impatience. My heart also was engaged in prayer to the Author of our being, that his mercy and goodness might be continued to us and our beloved connexions, that we might all be preserved in his pure and holy fear, and under a sense of his love; and that neither heights nor depths, things present, nor things to come, might separate us from his love. Our spirits joined in commemoration of the Lord's gracious dealings; magnified and praised be his great and adorable name, and Christ Jesus the Lamb, both now and forever.

"Second-day, I rode with father Zane as far as Shanandoah, on his return to Pennsylvania; and then called and spent a short time with some poor negroes in their quarters near the river. What was said to them they received in love, and I returned towards my prison.

"Third-day, Dr. Thomas Parke and James Morton arrived with letters from our friends, and I was comforted in reading a letter from my dear wife, being thankful for the Lord's goodness to her and me, in this season of deep exercise.

"Fifth-day, I accompanied Dr. Parke and James Morton to Hopewell meeting, at which were our friends Thomas Bailes and William Robinson, who had gone about three months past with an intent to pay a religious visit to the Delaware and other Indians; but on their way they were stopped near a place called Sewickly, carried prisoners to Hanna's town, and there kept for about twenty-seven days.

At first the people were very violent, and threatened their lives; but after a time they became more moderate, and even consented to their having a religious meeting. They were shortly after discharged, the people agreeing to burn their mittimus; but telling them that if they proceeded, they would be stopped at Pittsburg. There is a great ferment at present among both the whites and the Indians, on account of the injuries these poor people have received, and the cruel murders committed on some of them, particularly near Pittsburg, about two months since, upon the sons of Corn-stalk, the chief of the Shawanese, and a man of great note among them; and on these considerations, the Friends found freedom to return, though Thomas expressed that his love and concern for the poor Indians still continued.

"Second month 25th; I went to visit my beloved friend John Hunt, quartered in the country, who had been very ill. He expressed his joy at seeing me and my brother Israel, and we dropped into silence; in which time our hearts were contrited, and John expressed that he was broken in spirit, and thankful in being renewedly made sensible that the Lord had not forsaken him; that for some weeks it had been a time of great inward stripping and baptism; and he had a prospect that an exceedingly trying time would attend Friends as a people, more deeply exercising than they had ever experienced, and our deepest sufferings would be from some of the same family; that many would make submission to this and the other, but that the poor and some weak ones would be strengthened; and he desired us to notice it. He added, that under his present exercise, he had made a narrow search, and desired the Lord to manifest, if in any particular he had done wrong, or was deficient; nothing however, in particular was manifested, but that there was need of becoming still more pure and holy, and inwardly refined throughout.

"28th; Our friend Thomas Gilpin is ill, and reduced to a very weak state, but favoured with his understanding, and very calm and patient.

"First-day, third month 1st; After our afternoon meeting broke up, our banished friends being more select, we again dropped into silence, and I had to press my beloved brethren to continue watchful and steady, and not to look too much outward, nor be attracted too much homeward, so as to bring them into danger of joining with things that might not prove peaceful to their minds, or to the honour of the cause and testimony of truth, for which we suffered. Our friend Thomas Gilpin continued calm, resigned and sensible,

and quietly departed between twelve and one o'clock. In his sickness he was disposed to be retired and quiet, and several times towards his close, requested to be kept very still; and I doubt not he was inwardly exercised in a preparation therefor.

"This day is six months since I was first arbitrarily deprived of my liberty; but I have been hitherto upheld by an invincible Divine power. Oh! may I thereby be kept still, under all trials, so that the Lord's name may be magnified.

"Fourth-day, John Hunt seemed better, though he had but little sleep last night. He expressed to my brother Israel and me, that he had thought much of some expressions of John Woolman's, in a time of great exercise and affliction, respecting true prayer; that it was deep, and the place thereof was a precious habitation; that it was not to be truly come at in the commotions of the mind, but in pure stillness; adding, that at times he had been troubled with strange imaginations and unsettlement, but that he had laboured after a state of resignation, and he thought he could at times say, 'not my will, O! Lord, but thine be done.'

"22nd; Our friend John Hunt, had his leg amputated, which he bore with Christian fortitude and patience. I spent some hours with him, and found him calm and easy.

"27th; I visited two persons, both on beds of languishing; one with a pleuritic disorder, and the other with the same fever that has attacked several of our captive brethren.

"Fourth month 1st; My worthy friend John Hunt, departed about ten o'clock last evening. On fifth-day a large number of Friends attended the funeral, and some not professing with us, who appeared much affected; his religious labours having had a place in the minds of many. During his illness he was preserved in great patience and resignation, and favoured with his understanding, except that during two or three days before his departure, he appeared somewhat at a loss at intervals; but sensible at the close. He was a wise and experienced minister and elder, who will be greatly missed in the church.

"14th; A messenger arrived from Lancaster, to inform us that the congress had ordered the board of war to deliver us up to Pennsylvania, and that two men were on their way hither, to conduct us to Lancaster. And on the 18th, our escort having arrived, we engaged in preparing for our journey homewards.

"On the 19th, after spending a short time in solemn retirement, we set out; and on fifth-day crossed the Potomac at Nowland's ferry. The wind being very high, and two poles



breaking, our passage was somewhat difficult and dangerous; but through the Lord's good providence, we got safely over and reached our friend Richard Richardson's, near Fredericktown, about twelve o'clock. The next day we arrived at Yorktown much wearied, but were cordially received and entertained.

"Seventh-day, Henry Drinker and myself visited a young man confined in jail for his religious testimony against war, who appeared in a tender disposition. We found that our persecutors had not yet quite relaxed in their enmity. James Pemberton and Henry Drinker waited on the president of the council, informed him of our being here, and desired that we might be restored to our families; he replied that the council would meet and consider our case.

"Second-day; council met, and after spending some hours, came to the following result, which was delivered to us:

'In Council, Lancaster, April 27th, 1778.

'The case of the prisoners brought from Virginia, and now in this borough, being considered,—thereupon ordered—that they be immediately sent to Pottsgrove, in the county of Philadelphia, and there discharged from confinement; and that they be furnished with a copy of this order, which shall be deemed a discharge.

'Extract from the minutes,

'Signed, T. MATLACK, Sec'y.'

"This was far short of what we demanded; which was, to be reinstated in our families in the manner in which we had been wrested from them; but Timothy Matlack gave us to understand that the council would not do more, and said they were determined to do no act that should frustrate the operation of a law the assembly had made, to confiscate the estates of those who went into the city.

"30th; We reached the city without molestation, to the joy of our friends, and I hope with thankfulness to the great Preserver of men. May I ever remember the gracious dealings of the Lord with me during my exile. He was indeed my preserver through various conflicts and trials, the lifter up of my head, and my merciful sustainer, in affording me peace and the softening virtue of his Divine presence, which settled my mind in resignation to his holy will. I found my dear wife as well as I could expect; blessed be the great Name, saith my spirit.

"First-day, fifth month 24th; It became my concern this morning at our meeting in High street, to advise Friends to give attention to the voice of Divine Wisdom commu-

nicated to the mind, as a more sure intelligence than outward counsel; that our reliance being on the Lord alone, his interposing mercy might yet be towards us. It was a favoured meeting, and Samuel Emlen being there, corroborated what I said.

"Sixth month 17th; The British army remaining in the city, were ordered to be ready by six o'clock in the evening, and lay along the redoubts, &c., all night. Early in the morning of the 18th, they marched to Gloucester point, and went over to New-Jersey. Some of the American light horse then entered the city, and large numbers of soldiery and of the former inhabitants, came in by the 20th. The English went away without suffering the inhabitants to be pillaged, or any further destruction of property to be made, and the Americans came in quietly.

"28th; Near Monmouth court-house, was a battle between the contending armies, and it being very hot weather, many fell through the excessive heat, as well as by sword and gun.

"Seventh month 18th; I visited Christopher Sower, who had been taken prisoner by the Americans, stripped naked, and painted in different colours; confined at the camp for some time, and at length released with a few rags given him. The man that painted him and had part of his clothes, was a few days afterwards seized with a violent pain, and died in great misery, desiring that those clothes which he had taken from Christopher, might be taken from his body; which being done, he expired.

"Eleventh month 2nd; I visited two persons in prison, and found them in a thoughtful disposition, and tender.

"Fourth-day; Friends in the city were sorrowfully affected with the melancholy scene enacted, in putting to death the two persons above mentioned. They appeared resigned, and died without a struggle. Their countenances when deceased, looked like those of persons in an easy sweet sleep. The burials were very large, and their execution alarmed and affected the inhabitants, as neither of them had committed anything worthy of such treatment. But their friends were comforted with a belief that they were gone well, and they were strengthened to forgive their persecutors.

"Third month 22nd, 1779; An English transport vessel, with soldiers from Halifax for New-York, ran ashore and bilged, off Egg-harbour. The people on shore observed their distress, and got ready with boats, to go off to their assistance; but a privateer, lying near the vessel in distress, would not suffer it. At length, however, one man, captain Job

Carr, whose heart yearned with compassion for them, said that let the consequences be what they might, he would go to their relief. Accordingly, with a son of Joseph Maps', he went in his boat, and saved about forty-two; but about one hundred and forty perished, who might generally, if not all, have been saved. The people on shore saw the poor creatures falling from the shrouds, as death, through the severity of the cold, seized them. A woman was afterwards found with a child tied to her, both drowned. Oh! cruel and sad effects of the spirit of enmity, hard heartedness and war! May the Lord, in his infinite mercy, soften and take away the stony heart, and promote a more Christian spirit than is now generally prevalent.

"Fourth month 11th; At our meeting in High street, were divers libertines, and such as had been disowned by Friends, and some not professing with us. Our beloved friend Samuel Emlen, jr., was zealously concerned in public testimony, beginning with the words of Jeremiah: 'Mine eye affecteth mine heart, because of all the daughters of my city;' and after some expressions to the dissipated daughters, he called upon the women, in the words of the same prophet: 'Yet hear the word of the Lord, O! ye women, and let your ear receive the word of his mouth; and teach your daughters wailing, and every one her neighbour lamentation;' repeating these words several times, and proclaiming a day of wailing and bitter lamentation, that he that rideth on the pale horse, whose name is death, would invade the habitations of some, and that calamity and distress would attend many parts of this once peaceful land; even this once peaceful and joyous city, the place of his birth, if humiliation and turning to the Lord did not take place. He was favoured with energy and power, and was very close against the workers of iniquity, but comfortable to the true seekers after God.

"On the 22nd of this month, my dearly beloved brother, Israel Pemberton, departed this life, aged nearly sixty-four years. He had been much broken in his constitution, for about three years. In his banishment to Virginia, with others of us, in 1777, in which he remained a prisoner nearly eight months, separated from an aged and endeared wife, beloved children and grandchildren, and hurried in a violent manner from home, among spirits exasperated by misrepresentations, he was endowed with constancy, and a good share of fortitude and patience. The separation, however, nearly affected him, being a man of tender feeling and sympathy. On his return he found his wife in a poor state of health, and from the time of her departure he visibly

declined; and spent his time among his friends, as one sensible that his own departure drew near. He appeared in a very tender frame of mind, and in the fore part of his illness, expressed that he was much favoured in spirit. For some hours before his departure he seemed to be free from pain, and quietly departed without sigh or struggle. At this awful season, a great solemnity and sweet calm attended; and I doubt not he is gone to join the spirits of the just made perfect, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. He was a man of good natural endowments, of a large understanding, which was sanctified and rendered useful, both with respect to temporal matters and those of greater moment. He was very weighty on all occasions that affected the reputation and testimony of truth; a true friend to the poor and needy in their distress, a great advocate of the negroes, and a promoter of various public institutions, particularly of the Pennsylvania hospital, of which he was a manager from the beginning. All ranks of people appeared affected with his death, and a very great concourse attended the funeral.

"On the 8th of fifth month, I left home with the unity of my friends, weak in body, yet under a solid covering of truth, accompanied by my father-in-law, Isaac Zane, and taking meetings in the way, reached the quarterly meeting at Salem, which was very large, and attended by some well concerned Friends; though a more general godly zeal and true religious concern are much wanting. Notwithstanding we have experienced the rod, and much affliction has attended our land, yet greater purity and refinement, and more redemption from the spirit of the world, are still needed. We went from thence to Greenwich, Cape May and Egg-harbour, and reached home on the 31st. In this journey I was sustained through abundant mercy, and favoured with a steady mind. We had to observe the pernicious effects of war and strife, by which many are involved in great calamity. On the coast of Cape May and Egg-harbour, several vessels have lately been cast ashore, and become a prey to the people, many of whom, by the booty of spirituous liquors, corrupt themselves, and are led further distant from God and the teachings of his Spirit; which, if regarded, would lead to compassion, meekness and purity, and would destroy the spirit in man which delights in another's overthrow. Friends appeared to keep clear of being defiled with the spoils of war, either by purchasing the goods or otherwise.

"Eleventh month 4th; At our meeting for sufferings, after weighty consideration, a memorial was agreed upon to the assembly of



Pennsylvania, to express our sense of the grievous laws they have passed, oppressive to tender consciences; particularly respecting our schoolmasters in this city being discouraged from continuing their schools, in consequence of a further supplement to the test law. Friends were received favourably, and such a weight and solemnity attended, that an awe prevailed over the members during the reading of the memorial, and on the observations made by some of the Friends.

"Twelfth month 7th; At Wilmington I heard of the death of a colonel in the American army, who had been a schoolmaster in that town, and very active in distressing Friends. On the 27th ultimo, being at the house of a Friend, he used, as it is said, some endeavours to ensnare him; and at length queried of the Friend, what he thought of General Washington? He replied that he had heard he was a good soldier. This raised the colonel, who compared him to Christ Jesus our Lord; and mounting soon after, rode a little distance; but his horse threw him and broke his scull, and presently he died. He had, but a few days before, taken possession of a confiscated estate; and it is said, obliged the man's wife to leave the place. His sudden death, after such blasphemous expressions, was very affecting.

"30th; Hearing that a master of a vessel, Jonathan Esthill, a Friend, had lain in prison about three weeks, I went and had an opportunity to see him, and obtained liberty to bring him to my house. He was owner as well as master, and had been taken between Augustine and Antigua, by an armed ship, called "The Jay," fitted out from this place; and thus lost nearly all for which he had been working hard for many years. He is a steady, sober Friend, of the north of England.

"First month 28th, 1780; Our friends John Parrish and Samuel Hopkins, returned from a religious visit in North Carolina; they gave an account of a Friend who has suffered greatly for his religious testimony against war. Being drafted to stand guard over part of Burgoyne's army, prisoners in Virginia, he could not comply, and was therefore tried at a court martial, composed of young officers; who sentenced him to have thirty-nine lashes, which was executed in the presence of some hundred spectators. Forty stripes were very heavily laid on, by three different persons, with a whip having nine cords; but the Friend, though much torn, was supported; and persuasions and threats were afterwards offered in vain, to prevail on him to yield to service. It was thought that the faithfulness of this Friend and the severe suffering he underwent, spread the testimony of truth. The procedure gave

great disgust, and one captain, it was said, laid down his commission, declaring that if innocent conscientious men were thus treated, he would not serve any longer.

"Seventh month 20th; At the meeting for sufferings this day, a number of Friends were appointed to labour for the bringing back of Benjamin Gilbert and family, taken captive among the Indians. We met in the evening to confer on the subject, and concluded to apply to the president and council for liberty to send a person by land to Niagara, or to obtain conveyance of a letter from New-York to Canada, round by Quebec. The next morning we applied to the president, but he put difficulties in the way. At length, after saying that it would look partial, to send for one family, and not for others who were captives, he promised to lay our statement of their case before the council. In the afternoon he referred us to a committee of council, on whom we waited. They represented the partiality of the proposal. We reminded them, that these were our brethren, that if every religious society were to exercise the same care, the thing would be general; that it was our wish that all captives might be released, and it was well known that we had ever manifested a benevolent disposition to those under trials, and had in former wars been at much expense and used great endeavours to relieve many who were in captivity, and obtained their release. After we left them we conferred together, and the next day represented the matter to council, who concluded not to allow of our sending. On the 28th we obtained the endorsement of a letter, by Timothy Matlack, to send to New-York, to forward some supplies to this afflicted family, and the letter containing an anxious desire for their relief, we hope it may open some way for them.

"Eighth month 12th; The several testimonies and epistles issued by Friends, which were published by our persecutors in 1777, to justify the proceedings of the congress and council, against those Friends who were then sent into banishment, now appeared again in the newspapers, having a little piece prefixed to them, to excite fresh enmity against Friends. May the Lord disappoint the evil machinations of the wicked, and afford faith and patience to his people to bear reviling and reproach, for the name of Christ and his truth.

"On the 24th, Friends published 'A short vindication of the religious Society called Quakers, against the aspersions of a nameless writer,' in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, of the 12th instant.\*

\* This Vindication was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, "September 2nd, 1780."

"Ninth month 23d; Our yearly meeting began and continued until the 29th. It was a season of favour, and held in solemn quiet, great peace and brotherly love. The city, during this time was quiet; but the last day there was a stir made, and it appeared as though evil was designed against Friends. The effigy of Arnold was carted about with men on horseback, and a great rabble following. They advanced towards Friends' meeting house in Pine street; but on the way, it is said, hearing that the meeting was broken up, they turned down Spruce street. Having occasion after meeting, to pass along Front street and by the coffee-house, where a number of people were collected, some of them appeared very wrathful, and cursed us as we passed, Henry Drinker being with me. But the Lord, whose interpositions in many instances have been marvellous, disappointed the evil designs of bad men, which might have been manifested, had not the meeting concluded.

"Having felt of late an increasing concern to cross the great deep on a visit to my friends in Europe, though I had been for some days very poor and low in mind, and did not know that I should have life and strength to open it to Friends, yet at our monthly meeting on the 29th of twelfth month, some time after the business was entered upon, I felt as though it would be safest for me to make the attempt, and was strengthened to do it in a solid manner; beginning with the words of Christ; 'He that seeketh to save his life, shall lose it; but he that layeth down his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.' A solemnity spread over the meeting, and after a time of solid waiting, several expressed their unity, and a committee was appointed to prepare a certificate. This was what I scarcely looked for, considering the smallness of my gift, but the Lord is able to prepare the way for his own work.

"Second month 3d, 1781; Jacob Lindley, who lately returned from Carolina, relates that some Friends, about ten in number, were forced by the soldiery along with them, when about to combat the British army in that country; and when they approached, and were likely to fire at each other, these Friends, who refused to bear arms, were put in the front, both parties being near, with their guns presented. One of the Friends desired his brethren to do as he should, and he fell flat to the ground, as did the rest. A fire immediately ensued, and the Americans were routed and many slain near these Friends, yet they escaped. I thought this worthy of notice.

"5th; At our quarterly meeting I had to remark to Friends the necessity there was to

labour to have the eye single, and to be truly devoted in heart. I spread my concern before the meeting; much sympathy with me was expressed, and my certificate endorsed. My mind was favoured with a solid covering, and I was very desirous that the meeting might not give way through a regard for me, but that a single eye might be kept, as the matter was deeply interesting to Friends, as well as to myself.

"21st; Having been thoughtful about some Friends at Deer creek, accompanied by David Sands, Samuel Emlen, jr., and some others, I set out; and on fifth-day attended the meeting there, which was an exercising, suffering time. Here are divers valuable Friends, but much oppressed with a wrong spirit, which is prevalent in some there.

"Third month 15th; Feeling some engagement of mind to attend the quarterly meeting at Warrington, on the west side of the Susquehanna, I set out; and on the 16th called at Lancaster, to see our friends Moses Roberts and John Hughes, who have been prisoners upwards of eleven months, without conviction or trial. They were supported in patience.

"On the 17th I crossed the river Susquehanna, and attended the quarterly meeting at Warrington on second-day; where William Mathews laid before his brethren, his concern for visiting Friends in Europe. I reached home on fifth-day evening, having cause to be humbly thankful to the Father of mercies."

## CHAPTER II.

### *Second visit to Europe—Travels in England and Ireland.*

"Having had the concurrence and unity of the monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings of Friends, to which I belonged, in the religious exercise of mind, which the Lord, as I apprehended, begot in me, to resign to his will in visiting my friends in Europe; I used diligent endeavours to settle my worldly concerns; in which I reverently acknowledge the Lord made way for me; and in the fourth month, 1782, it appeared to me best to join our dear friend William Mathews, under a like religious engagement. At our quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, held on the 4th of fifth month, I was free to let my dear friends know, that the time for me to leave them appeared near; which quickened my attention to do everything that appeared necessary, previous thereto. This kept me busily engaged, visiting divers Friends; with some of whom I had seasonable opportunities, in which the softening virtue of Truth prevailed, and I hope, made profitable impressions.



"Second-day, sixth month 10th, 1782; Many Friends came to take their leave of me in much affection, and we had some solid opportunities in retirement that evening and next morning. My heart was humbled under a sense of the love, sympathy and concern for me, begotten in the hearts of my dear friends and some others. Having parted with them and my tenderly beloved wife, accompanied by my dear brother James, &c., I set out to overtake William Mathews, who was then visiting meetings in Bucks county. Previous to his leaving the city, viz: on the 23d of fifth month, I went with him, my brother James, and some other Friends, to William Moore, president, whom we acquainted with our religious prospect. He appeared tender and concerned for us, and particularly so for me, as we had been acquainted from school boys, and the penalty of the laws was great, for departing without consent. We informed him that we did not mean purposely to displease, but apprehended that to those who had nothing in view but an honest discharge of duty in the sight of God, and the promotion of piety and virtue, no difficulties should be given. After this we sent something of like import to the council; as follows, viz :

"To the president and council :

"Having, by the constraining power of God's love influencing my spirit, been at times engaged to call sinners to repentance and amendment of life, and to publish the glad tidings of peace, life and salvation, through Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour; and finding my mind drawn by the same Divine power and love, to visit my brethren in religious profession in Europe, as the Lord may open my way; I have, agreeable to the regular, decent, and orderly way, used in our religious Society, solidly opened my concern to Friends here, who, after deliberate and weighty consideration, have signified their sympathy, unity and concurrence with this religious engagement, by their certificates; leaving me to the Lord and the guidance of his holy Spirit. And believing the time to be come for me to move forward, and leave my native country, my near connexions, and whatever is dear to me in this life, I inform you hereof: and do declare, that I have no sinister view or worldly concern to promote; but singly the honest and upright discharge of a duty, laid and enjoined on me, as I believe, by that Almighty and holy Being who formed us for his glory, and hath a right to our service, to be obeyed and followed in all things; for therein consists our peace and happiness here and forever. And believing the gospel of Christ to be free, the true ministers thereof ought to be free also,

and not interrupted in their religious endeavours for the promotion of piety, virtue and godly living. Under this consideration, and not from a disposition to give offence, I dare not make the consent of human authority a condition of my obedience to Divine requiring; yet am willing, by thus making my case known to you, to remove all occasion of misapprehension or misrepresentation. And recommending you with myself to God, and to the word of his grace nigh in the heart, that by attention and obedience thereto, we may experience peace in our minds here, and happiness hereafter,

"I remain your real friend,

"JOHN PEMBERTON.

"Philadelphia, Fifth month 30th, 1782."

"Sixth month 12th; I desire to be kept humble, patient and resigned. Poverty attends me, yet as we passed from house to house in our journey, I had to break bread spiritually.

"13th; I overtook William Mathews at Hardwick, in New-Jersey, and was most easy to continue there until first-day. On seventh-day we joined Friends in drawing up a representation of the sufferings to which they were liable, by an oppressive law made some years before. The meeting at Hardwick was large, and divers appeared hopeful; yet, alas! the life of religion is low; but Truth helped to labour in the honest discharge of duty. We went thence to Paulin's kiln, and had a meeting there.

"18th; Very hot weather. We were much spent in riding about forty miles to New-Cornwall, in New-York. On the 20th we reached New-Marlborough, and the next day attended monthly meeting there. Thence we took meetings at Crum Elbow and the Creek, meetings settled within a few years, and large.

"Second-day, 24th; We had a large meeting at the Nine-partners; thence to Oswego, Apoughquague, Oblong and Amawalk; many professors and a plain people, but the life of religion at a low ebb. At Oblong we met with J. Eldridge, who appeared to be in a very ranting spirit, and seemed to value himself upon a certificate he had from New-England. I told him I hoped he would not represent that he had one from Friends in unity. It is right to be tender towards the man, yet necessary to set him in his proper place. I urged his speedy return home, and not to impose upon Friends in his way, by appearing in meetings, which he did at Oblong the day before we reached there.

"While we were at Amawalk, five young men came boldly into the room in which we were sitting at a Friend's house, three of them

armed. I thought as I quietly sat, I felt the perturbation of mind they were in; and apprehended, as I afterwards understood was the case, that they were going out to seek prey, being such who made a spoil of all they could take or meet with, without respect to party. I was affected under a consideration of their situation and evil life. They were going towards the part we intended for next day.

"First-day, sixth month 30th; We set out early, and passed through a country formerly well settled, but now much deserted; so that rubbish was growing over fields cultivated in past years, and grass in them and along the way side, which would have afforded much hay; the sight of which was affecting. We passed through without hindrance, though we saw some military men on the way, who had just returned from lying in the woods through fear of their enemies. Alas! how are some who profess the Christian name misled, and how will they risk health and life for false honour!

"On first-day we were at Shapaqua meeting; then to Purchase, Mamaroneck and Westchester. These meetings were low exercising seasons; and my mind was greatly stripped, not being able to see my way clearly; yet I was engaged in some labour, in each meeting. After this we proceeded to New-York; the country from Amawalk hither, the way we came, being much deserted, except by Friends, who mostly kept their habitations. Though many of them were robbed and spoiled, and some had met with much personal abuse, yet the Lord had been gracious; and none appeared to want the necessities of life, though they lived and fared differently from what they once had done. It would have been comfortable to find that these sufferings had had a more profitable effect, and that the professors of the blessed truth had become more truly alive in their profession. There is, however, a precious seed in most places, and some promising youth; but in the general, life is much wanting.

"In New-York, accompanied by dear David Sands, I visited several families; and on first-day we were at two meetings, both large. But, alas! a worldly spirit is prevalent, and the desire of gain has captivated many.

"I have abundant need of the prayers of the faithful, for I am proved, and expect to be 'in deaths oft;' but I labour to keep the word of the Lord's patience, and however simple, to be faithful; and my mind has been mostly quiet, and steadily desirous to move as Divine Wisdom may direct. As we have passed along, the state of religion has been very low, yet in every place the Lord has a precious seed, a concerned few. And indeed,

'had not the Lord left unto us a seed, we might have been as Sodom and like unto Gomorrah.' But many are at ease, and an inward fervent labour is much wanting.

"Seventh month 9th; We crossed to Long island, and the next day were at a large meeting at Westbury.

"28th; We have attended divers meetings on the island, and yesterday the quarterly meeting ended here. There are many valuable Friends, but it has been a baptizing time to me and my companion. Yet, through favour, my mind has been preserved quiet, and in a good degree resigned, knowing that those who are admitted to be glorified, must be willing to suffer where the great Master suffers. I cannot forget my dear friends in Philadelphia, whose labour is great. So will the reward of the truly diligent and faithful be, who care more to be exercised in the Lord's work and service, than in their own, and to have their eye in their Head, and to be preserved single. This will give us to see things, which by many may be overlooked. Indeed it is a great attainment to keep self under, and a steady watchfulness is necessary.

"The yearly meeting here appointed thirty-seven Friends, and directed the two quarterly meetings to appoint so many in each, that the number altogether might not be less than fifty, to compose a meeting for sufferings.

"Third-day, the 31st; My mind being drawn to attend the quarterly meeting at the Purchase, on the main, I crossed the ferry at Whitestone, and next morning went to the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders, where many solid valuable Friends met. The meeting was owned, and my spirit measurably comforted.

"Sixth-day, the meeting for sufferings met; that part appointed by the quarterly meeting, and those of the yearly meeting, who reside on the main; and during our sitting, a number of armed men rode up to the meeting house. They appeared noisy and rough, so that there was room to think they designed mischief; but finding the quarterly meeting had ended, they seemed disappointed. They came, as was supposed, with intent to take Friends' horses; but few being there, and these mostly mean, after some time they rode off. Several Friends, in coming to this meeting, were much beaten and abused, and upwards of twenty horses were taken, some by the British, some by the continental party, and others by persons who live between the lines, under no rule. My mare was stolen in the night. Friends appeared very patient under their trials, though some were a great distance from their homes. The losing of my mare I blame myself for, as a secret un-



easiness attended my mind, and a gentle hint to keep her up that night, which I spoke of, but did not sufficiently urge.

"Third-day, I came by water to New-York. On fourth-day was the monthly meeting there, which did not end till the next day. Here, as well as in other places, there is need of the revival of more deep religious concern, for a qualification to labour rightly in the cause of Truth.

"Eighth month 25th; We have spent about a week with our dear friend David Sands, who is seeking opportunities among the people of Long island, not in religious society with us; and has had eight meetings among such. There was an openness to promote meetings, and to receive the doctrine of truth.

"30th; We parted with him yesterday, about fifty miles eastward of this place, Westbury. He appears better fitted than most I have known for this weighty engagement. His open, easy, and innocent way, has great place, as well as his ministry. It was with much reluctance he parted with us, and a trial to me to leave him. But considering the season advanced, I thought prudence directed our drawing nearer to the place of embarkation, if the way should open.

"31st; There does not appear a likelihood of a passage soon offering. We went to look at several vessels, previous to the 14th instant, but the way did not seem open to me. In the right time it may; which I desire to be helped patiently to wait for, and to move, or not to move, as the Lord shall see meet. It is a great thing to be enabled truly to say, 'Not my will, but thine, O Lord, be done.' My strength and experience are far less than they might have been, had the early visitation of Divine love been faithfully attended to, a willingness wrought to become a fool for Christ's sake, and fleshly reasonings not suffered so much to prevail as they did for many years. I am concerned that the youth of the present day may bow under the Divine yoke, and willingly learn of Him who is meek and low of heart.

"First-day, ninth month 1st; Went to Westbury meeting, and in the afternoon had a large meeting with the black people, held in said meeting house. They behaved well.

"11th; It remains uncertain when a fleet may sail; though some men-of-war, it is said, are likely to depart hence, when private ships also may sail; but these are either prizes, or fitted in a warlike manner, neither of which would be easy to me.

"Tenth month 2nd; At Westbury, met with our friend David Sands, on his return from a laborious visit to the people in the east part of Long island; where he had above seventy

meetings, and met with an open reception. My mind hath been much with my friends in Philadelphia, in deep sympathy, and humble inward prayer that the Lord's arm might be revealed, and that the machinations of seducers and evil men may be frustrated.

"Fourth-day, eleventh month 6th, was the monthly meeting at New-York, at which David Sands and myself mentioned a desire to visit some of the families of Friends, and some who have dispersed in this season of difficulty; which being concurred with, we visited sixteen families this week, in which Truth favoured with counsel, to our own peace and the comfort of the visited.

"16th; This week we visited thirty families; four young men fled from their friends, in one of the families. The Lord continued to favour with wisdom and strength.

"23d; Visited this week, twenty-seven families, spending a considerable time in one family, at two separate opportunities, where there is a painful division. Had a comfortable opportunity at Lindley Murray's: he and his wife are tender hopeful Friends:

"Twelfth month 5th; Went on board a boat and arrived at Staten island, in order to visit the dispersed of our religious Society there, and on the 10th returned to New-York again, having had seven appointed meetings on the island, besides private labours.

"There was great openness among the people. The meetings were solid and weighty, and such an awful silence prevailed, as is rarely felt in our religious meetings. Our dear friend David Sands, laboured much, and many hearts were tendered. No Friend, except our worthy deceased friend, Abraham Farrington, had before had a religious meeting there, that can be remembered. The people lived for some years without a priest, and having experienced many trials, and not being bound to any set form, appeared more open to receive the impressions and doctrine of truth. I believe we went in an acceptable time to those who were formerly members, and are now dispersed, and to the inhabitants generally.

"It looks likely I may soon leave my beloved native shore, and be tossed on the wide ocean; proceeding to new baptisms and trials. Oh, that I may be kept faithful. I find sorrowfully, that I have yet to struggle hard with a cowardly disposition, which at times prevails. I feel my own weakness and disqualification for so weighty an embassy; but the Lord hath hitherto furnished, and helped beyond my desert or expectation. I have him only to depend upon, and wish I may be kept simple, faithful, and resigned to be any thing or nothing, as he may see meet. It is

a great trial to nature, to become mean and little.

"21st; About two o'clock, taking a solemn leave, went on board the ship *New-York*, with my companion William Mathews: she is much crowded with passengers, who are respectful to us; but their company will be trying, as there appear few who have much sense of religion. The Lord hath hitherto helped, and kept me in a state of resignation; and I can say, with one of old, I desire neither poverty nor riches, but that he may feed me with food convenient for me.

"24th; We are now under way, with a fair wind. I continue favoured with a quiet mind and humble trust.

"First month 12th and 13th, 1783; Wet and stormy; so that we went with bare poles and the dead lights all in.

"24th; Between six and seven o'clock, P.M., we saw a light, supposed to be the light-house on one of the Scilly islands. We have great cause to be humbly thankful to the Preserver of men, in thus far being gracious to us, though unworthy, and the time of many on board has been badly spent.

"First-day, 26th; This day we saw land, having had a fine run all night. Our passengers were much rejoiced; but my mind was attended with heaviness, having been impressed with a belief the night preceding, that we should be taken, but was willing to shake it off. Before night the joy of many was turned into sadness. We saw a vessel for some hours making towards us. While she was a considerable distance off, I did not like her; but the captain thought it was an English cutter, coming to impress men; when she came alongside, too late we were convinced to the contrary. The people on board her fired a number of small arms, and then hoisted their boat in order to come on board; which, in their return, was stove and lost, and several of our seamen narrowly escaped. They then demanded our boat, and were in much hurry for it, as we were within about two leagues of an English fleet of thirty-two sail. They crowded much sail through fear of being pursued, and it was a tossing, stormy night. But myself and William Mathews being in our apartment, kept quiet, and saw but little of the hurry when the men first entered the ship. They were very furious, and it was a favour no lives were lost by violence, for some threatened much. Andrew Peterson, one of the best of our hands, was lost when the boat was stove, and one of their hands also, as they told us. Captain Grant and one of our passengers were sent on board the privateer, besides our seamen; and more were ordered, but secreted themselves. Indeed it was run-

ning a great risk, to send them from the ship, as the sea was high. They left only two hands and a boy on board belonging to the vessel, and that night the ship and the privateer being separated, the people put on board to govern the ship, proved very unskilful: they appeared afraid most of the time. The passengers generally remained on board, but our captors were assured we would not attempt to hurt them. I may acknowledge, to the praise of the Lord's name, that my mind was preserved in great stillness and resignation. Indeed, good is the Lord and abundant is the advantage of an humble trust in him, who can create a calm in the midst of tumult. Divers of our passengers were in great fear and agitation.

"Third-day, came in sight of Calais, and a boat coming on fourth-day morning, took some of our passengers and part of their goods, but they were long in getting to shore, and suffered much with cold and wet. The vessel was ordered to Dunkirk; and the captain of the privateer being now on board, we sailed towards this place. But it was difficult to keep a sufficient number on deck to work the vessel, they being very busy in plundering the passengers' trunks, &c.; so that before we reached Dunkirk, there was scarcely a box or trunk unopened, except mine and my companion's, which they promised should not be molested. On fifth-day the captain went ashore, and sent a vessel off for the remainder of the passengers, &c.; but the wind being high, after she got to the vessel the rope broke and she swung off, and did not again reach us till evening. We went on board her about seven o'clock, with our trunks, and most of the goods of the passengers who had landed at Calais, which the people took as plunder. We were in this boat, rolling all night, and had but little rest, which, with losing rest the two preceding nights, made it trying; but the Lord sustained us. We landed between eight and nine in the morning, and being hurried from the boat, were taken to the house of one of the privateer's men, where we were refreshed. I lost my bed, some clothing, and my saddle-bags. This afternoon we were guided to a house to lodge; where we continued all the time we were in Dunkirk, much exercised with the filthy conversation of the privateer's men, who frequented the house. Several of them lodged in the room with us, which was exceedingly trying. A sorrowful event occurred on fourth-day evening, while on board, among this wicked crew, whose evil conversation we could not avoid, and on whom reproof made little impression; a jest being often made of every thing serious. A stout, hearty young



man, one of the privateer's crew, who had been quarrelling and swearing much, called upon God to damn his soul! And though I used much entreaty with him and the other to cease, it was a considerable time before they could be prevailed with. This young man, within half an hour afterwards, fell from the fore-top-mast yard upon the bow of the vessel, and thence into the water, and was supposed to be killed by striking on the bow. I endeavoured to impress them with seriousness after this sorrowful event; but so vain and ungodly were these miserable people, that they only jested and made ridicule of this man's death. So much wickedness as we saw and heard whilst these men were on board, and since being in Dunkirk, I never knew. They appeared ripe for every evil act, and boasted in their impiety. I mourned on behalf of so many likely young men giving themselves up to so much baseness, and becoming so hardened in sin.

"Second month 3d; I have endeavoured to look inward, and to wait for the directions of the great Master, but no service has yet been pointed out. We have been viewed by many, and I believe seriously. Last evening we spent some time acceptably with three sober persons. I did hope to find some religiously disposed people among the many English, &c., resident here; but the world is sought after, and the privateers being generally in port, the town is crowded with a set of the most profane men I ever was among; which grieved us much; but the Lord in mercy has supported hitherto, who can make hard things easy, and sweeten every bitter cup.

"4th; We left this wicked place, noted for privateers, who are now stopped from proceeding out of port, on account of preliminaries for peace being signed. We took coach, and reached Calais that evening.

"7th; Sailed about four o'clock in the morning, and after a boisterous passage, arrived before three o'clock at Dover, and went to the house of our friend Richard Low, where we were kindly received. In the evening we had a comfortable religious opportunity with several Friends at his house, in which my mind was much contrited, under a sense of the Lord's goodness in bringing us safe among our beloved friends.

"8th; My mind has been for some days attended with an anxious concern that my dear friends in America, and particularly in my beloved city, may be kept humble, steady and watchful. Notwithstanding there may be a prospect of an accommodation between the powers at war, yet some close exercises may attend our religious Society. The Lord hath been with them in wisdom and counsel, in

seasons of deep exercise made a way when there appeared no way, and directed their steps to the exaltation of his great name. I wish his mercies may be remembered, and his wisdom and counsel sought in future steps.

"9th; First-day was at the two meetings at Dover, which some Friends from Folkstone attended. The Lord's merciful regard was vouchsafed in both meetings, and the tender impressions of Truth had some place in the minds of many, both of the youth and more advanced.

"10th; I visited eight families of Friends, being the whole number in Dover; it appeared to me that a renewed visitation was extended to many, and I was comforted in this discharge of duty. In the afternoon set out for Folkstone, and in the evening had a large meeting with Friends and the people of the town, who behaved with much solidity; and Truth favouring, it was very satisfactory. I had religious opportunities in three families this evening, my mind being concerned for the beloved youth, and engaged in much love to them. Many of them were tendered.

"11th; Visited two Friends under bodily infirmity, and then attended the monthly meeting at Folkstone. Afterwards parted with Friends under a sense of Divine love and favour, and proceeded to Ashford."

After having meetings at Ashford, Canterbury, Margate, &c.,

"16th; Was at two meetings at Canterbury, both favoured opportunities. The people behaved solidly, and the doctrine of truth appeared to have place in many minds. Visited three families in the evening. My mind was thoughtful respecting Deal, and I proposed the matter to Friends; who encouraging a visit there, notice was agreed to be sent.

"17th; Set out early for Deal, accompanied by divers Friends of Canterbury. Some of the town's people attended the meeting, who behaved soberly; counsel and doctrine were opened to them; and my mind was relieved and favoured with quiet for yielding to this duty. Then returned to Canterbury.

"18th; After a religious opportunity in a Friend's family, in which the tendering goodness of the Lord was felt, we took carriage and reached Rochester, and were kindly received by our friend William Horsenail, who, with many others, several of whom were formerly shipwrights, and laboured in the king's dock-yard, near this place, had been convinced of the truth. My heart could but commemorate and acknowledge the goodness of God, in preserving us to this day under his favourable notice.

"Fourth-day, 19th; Attended the meeting

at Rochester; said to be the largest in this county, though thirty years past it was so reduced that there was but one Friend. It was a comfortable refreshing time. Feeling a draught still towards the people, I appointed a meeting to be held in the evening; and notice being sent to the dock-yard at Chatham, the house was filled, and it was a good meeting; praised be the Lord!

"Fifth-day, not finding my mind thoroughly easy, I staid the mid-week meeting this morning; and Friends being select, except one woman, it was a relieving comfortable time to me. Here William Dillwyn met us, and we set out for Gravesend, and went to the house of a Friend, a shipwright, who has much business. The honest labour exercised towards him on account of his business, yielded me peace, and I believe was not unkindly taken by him.

"Sixth-day, reached our friend Joseph Row's house, in London, between one and two o'clock. My mind was covered with awfulness in entering this great city.

"First-day, 23d; Attended the meeting at Grace-church street in the morning, and at Devonshire house in the afternoon, which were large and solid, though the latter was silent, except a few observations I had to make. Many Friends collecting at Joseph Row's, we had a weighty opportunity, though under a sense of poverty.

"Second-day, attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders; and I was enabled to be faithful, in plain dealing, which I believe was received in love. Many have need to come more into a right example of plainness and self-denial. Met with Christiana Hustler and Hannah Wigham, they being engaged in the weighty service of visiting families in part of this populous city; a laborious work indeed.

"First-day, third month 2nd; Attended the meeting at Devonshire house, which was large and divinely favoured; the goodness of God being manifested, in renewedly extending his gracious call, to awaken a people who have too generally lived in forgetfulness of the manifold mercies dispensed to them.

"Second-day, attended the morning meeting; where was a large appearance of men and women Friends. The Lord opened counsel through many concurrent testimonies, in plain dealing with ministers and elders, and it was an edifying time.

"Fourth-day, attended the meeting at Grace-church street; small as usual on the men's side. The world takes up the time and attention of many, and diverts from better prospects. It was a solid meeting, and good flowed to the youth.

"24th; Attended the quarterly meeting at Hertford. The business was conducted under a good degree of solidity. Yet for the want of a living zealous care to purge the camp, dimness and weakness prevail. There were some close remarks made, especially on the subject of tithes, many being suffered to remain members, who pay them, and so trample upon the testimony of truth held forth by our worthy predecessors, who suffered deeply for conscientiously refusing to comply with such antichristian demands. I had to express my belief, that truth and righteousness would not spread and flourish, until the Society was purged of such unfaithful members. Having experienced much poverty of spirit since I left London, and not being able to see my way until returning from meeting, and the path then appearing most clear to go towards Norwich, I parted with my dear friends, with whom I had travelled from family to family in London, in much unity, in visiting the seed there.

"First-day, third month 30th; At meeting at Norwich, I had to remark to Friends my concern of mind, at their negligence respecting the time appointed for gathering; meetings being often much hurt by the late coming of many who live at a distance, and do not leave home until the time they should be at meeting.

"Fifth-day, at meeting at Wymondham, attended by Friends from several places, and some of the sober neighbours; yet it was heavy and laborious. Next day returned to Norwich; thence to Yarmouth, Long Stratton, Diss, Brandon, Bury and Bardwell; a small meeting, there being only two men, one woman, two boys and two girls, besides the Friend who went as guide to us. Thence to Needham and Sudbury, and had a meeting there, to which came many people; and I hope some profitable impressions were made.

"26th; We are now in the county of Essex. The meetings in Suffolk and Norfolk are generally very small, and some not likely to be maintained long, unless there be a revival. The spirit of the world and an eager desire after its gains, pleasures and friendships, have been exceedingly baneful. The Lord having blessed in basket and in store, many who were useful in their day, their success in gaining much wealth, hath been, for want of due reflection, a means of raising the minds of many of their descendants above the pure witness; these have rejected the cross, and been carried away and lost to the Society; which is indeed sorrowful; for great favours call for great gratitude, and this is manifested by humility and faithfulness.

"First-day, attended two meetings at Saffron Walden, where the state of religion is at



a low ebb. I hope I may be enabled to 'keep the word of the Lord's patience;' but it is a stripping time, and I am led into suffering with the seed.

"For some weeks after I landed in England, my mind was seldom free from a sense of good; but dry seasons have attended since; yet I believe I am in my place, and have no room to murmur, for the dispensations of Divine Providence are in unerring wisdom.

"Second-day, to Bishop Stortford, where the monthly meeting for Hertford was held, and in the evening I joined three Friends in a religious visit to four families. Seventh-day, I saw the house and residence of the wicked Bishop Bonner; a Friend has since lived in it, and the monthly meeting was sometime past held there.

"Fifth month 12th; This morning we set out towards Bristol; refreshed at Dunstable; and hearing there were a few under the name of Friends, I went to see them, and had a little counsel to drop at each house; then proceeded to Tring, and found some tender spirit-ed Friends: thence to Aylesbury and Witney.

"14th; The meetings we have been at have been generally small, with respect to Friends; those not of our Society, in most places, manifest a willingness to attend; but their views and expectations are much outward. Were the professors of the blessed truth more generally redeemed from the spirit and friendship of the world, and did they live and appear more conformable to their profession, light would spread and truth prosper more. But the eager pursuit after earthly treasure, and employing in schemes of trade and business, talents, which, if sanctified by an humble submission to the Truth, might be greatly useful in removing burdens and scattering the darkness which now prevails, is cause of sorrow. Much labour is wanting in this land, and some mourn the fewness of rightly exercised servants. So much barrenness prevails, that I sometimes think it scarcely quits cost to travel.

"The consideration of what step will be advisable to take, to expose to the public, or those in power, the evils of the African slave trade, is likely to come before the yearly meeting from the meeting for sufferings. A shocking case lately appeared: William Dillwyn writes me, that one hundred and thirty-three poor creatures were lately thrown overboard alive, from a ship bound from Africa to the West Indies, more with a view to make a good voyage, as they term it, than from necessity. The negroes were weakly, and not likely to sell for much, and so to recover insurance, they made a plea of necessity. The insurance, as I am informed, was recovered.

but it makes some stir and noise, and may tend to open the eyes of some. It seems that but few know the iniquity of the trade.

"Fifth-day, proceeded to Cirencester, and had a meeting there; and on seventh-day arrived at Bristol.

"First-day, fifth month 18th; Was at three large meetings in Bristol, which were favoured. On second-day morning a meeting for ministers and elders; and in the afternoon one was held for those who usually frequent our religious meetings; in which our friend Robert Valentine, laboured zealously in much plain dealing. He and myself went to a widow Friend's house, where we had a favoured opportunity with some youth and others. Third and fourth-days, meetings were held; which many teachers of different societies attended. There were several appearances in the ministry, but our friend Catherine Philips had the most extensive service, in a clear line of doctrine, and the people were attentive. These meetings being well over, and favoured with the overshadowing wing of Divine love, is cause of thankfulness and reverent acknowledgment to the great Shepherd, who is still manifesting that he is willing to be gracious, and gather into his fold the scattered of the flock. There was a large appearance of the beloved youth, to whom a fresh visitation is extended; and some, I hope, will submit thereto and become useful. But it is very sorrowful to observe some meetings in this land wholly dropped, and others in a declining way. Many are willing to come to our meetings, but when they consider the doctrine preached, and look at the example of many of the professors of the truth, it is to be feared they stumble. But the foundation stands sure, and the Lord still knows who are his.

"Third-day was the quarterly meeting for Gloucestershire, held at Frenchay, and divers Friends coming from Bristol, the house was crowded. The business being entered upon, it appeared that great weakness prevailed; but the use of a committee to visit the monthly meetings, to join in strengthening the hands of concerned Friends in the maintenance of our religious testimonies and discipline, being pointed out, the meeting went into a nomination. This meeting held upwards of seven hours. In the evening I had a pretty seasonable opportunity with some, who are wide from the simplicity which Truth leads into.

"28th; Feeling some exercise therefor to attend me, I thought it best, as the present time only is ours, to return to Bristol, to spend a few days more; though I was not idle when there. But I have private employ, which my companion, William Mathews, does

not seem led into. So I returned with my kind friend John Lury, and two other Friends, and was openly received."

Sixth to second-day, visited divers families, and attended several meetings.

"Sixth month 2nd; Went to the meeting of the overseers, and in the afternoon to the adjournment of the men's meeting, which held from three o'clock until half past eight. There are some well concerned Friends here; but they are kept under by a lofty overruling spirit, that is not properly baptized, but suffers the will and wisdom of man to prevail and act in the church; and sorrowful it is, that a carnal worldly spirit, that is not subject to the Truth nor the cross, has spread and caused desolation. There are many tender youth in this city who might be brought forward, if there were more of the leading members who preferred the cause of Truth to all worldly considerations, and lived under the spiritual baptism. Third-day, I left Bristol and reached Melksham, and on sixth-day arrived in London.

"7th; Though absent in body, my heart yearns for my brethren at home, with desires for their preservation and advancement in the Truth. I am very sensible that a field of labour will open, to guard Friends and keep them from stepping into schemes of trade and unprofitable worldly cares. It will indeed be sorrowful, if any who have been brought to see the vanity of the world and its friendships, and had their prospects towards enduring good, should lose the sense thereof, and run with a giddy multitude into the pursuit of earthly treasure. In obtaining this they may be greatly disappointed, and may lose the enjoyment of that favour which is better than life.

"16th; The yearly meeting closed about nine o'clock, P. M., and I was thankful that it ended so well; being on the whole a good meeting. And though there were some who intruded by worldly wisdom, and gave uneasiness to the truly exercised, yet the strength of such is much broken, and truth and its testimony gain ground. There were at this meeting many well concerned Friends and hopeful youth. A petition to the parliament, to prevent, if possible, the poor negroes being brought from their country, was approved of, and signed by about three hundred in the meeting. It was presented in parliament the next day, favourably received and read. The yearly meeting appointed a committee to visit Norwich, Bristol, Northumberland, Staffordshire and Wiltshire, to promote their joining with adjacent counties, as quarterly meetings, some of them being reduced. Meetings in many places are small and weak, so that the

prospect is gloomy; yet it is evident that the glory is not wholly departed from Israel; but a living concern is still maintained.

"17th; Rose early, took coach and came to Wellingborough, in company with our dear friends Esther Tuke and Benjamin Middleton.

"Sixth-day, the 20th; Was at the quarterly meeting at Leicester, in which it was evident that the life of religion was very low, few being livingly concerned for the exercise of our Christian discipline. Had a comfortable opportunity with some young people, and then proceeded for Nottingham, several Friends being in company.

"First-day, the 22nd; Went to the general meeting at Warnsworth, and sorrowful it was to find that religion is at a low ebb in a place where once it greatly flourished; many have inherited the estates, but not the virtues and godly zeal of their forefathers.

"Second-day, attended the monthly meeting at Leeds. The meeting for business was large and measurably favoured; and on third-day, coming to York, attended the meeting for ministers and elders, which was large and solid. On fourth-day was held the quarterly meeting, and in the evening a large favoured meeting for worship, to which came many of the town's people. On fifth-day, about eight o'clock, a committee met, appointed by the quarter, to visit the monthly and preparative meetings; in which several weighty matters were opened, tending to stir up and encourage Friends to labour for the good of the body.

"Friends at the quarterly meeting were reminded of the exercise of that pious man, John Woolman, who laid down his life in this place, respecting the poor black people; and they were desired, in the recess of parliament, to use their influence with such of its members as they were acquainted with, to induce them to think seriously on this subject, and labour to check the slave-trade. There was a large appearance of solid, weighty Friends, and many promising young people, which tended to give a comfortable hope. There are some in most places who are preserved under a sense of truth, and concerned for its prosperity. With respect to the petition lately presented to parliament, against the slave trade, Edmund Burke told Richard Shackleton, he was sorry that he was not present, as he could have spoken his abhorrence of this detestable traffic. And another distinguished member called upon a Friend, and expressed his hearty willingness to afford any assistance he could in this matter. So that there is more encouragement than was expected. These accounts I expect, will be cordial to dear Anthony Benezet [of Philadelphia,] and many others. I much desire that my dear friends on that side,



may keep steadily on their watch, and be truly faithful to the openings of Divine counsel. Many deep exercises may be their portion.

"There is a ranting spirit in some in this land, who give Friends trouble. Thirteen persons have lately been disowned, who were concerned in ships carrying guns, which has alarmed many; some of whom manifest an Ishmaelitic spirit; so that such as are engaged for truth's testimony everywhere, meet with their trials.

"Seventh-day, sixth month 27th; This morning had a solid parting opportunity with our dear friends William Tuke and wife, at whose house we had been kindly entertained at York, and proceeded to Darlington.

"First-day, was at two meetings there, and on second-day went to Durham. In the evening was a meeting for ministers and elders, which was small and dull. Some religious service opened, upon hearing the answers to the queries; which, though close, appeared well accepted. Here we met with our friend John Stevenson, who some years past visited Friends in America. Third-day the quarterly meeting opened by a meeting for worship, which was large. It was sorrowful here, as well as at other places, to observe the deviation of some who make profession with us, from that plainness and simplicity which Truth leads into. Many have multiplied their outward store, and the youth have soared above the pure witness and despised the cross. In the meeting for business, many seasonable remarks were made, to excite to a more attentive care and concern to put the discipline in practice, and I believe some honest Friends were strengthened.

"Sixth-day was the quarterly meeting for Westmoreland; in the evening a public meeting for worship, both low and exercising seasons; neither of us had anything to offer.

"Seventh-day, went to see several Friends, and laboured to attend to the opening of truth, but I was so bound as in fetters, that I had little to communicate.

"First-day, seventh month 6th; I was at two meetings in Kendal; and on second-day at the general meeting at Preston Patrick, to which many came from Kendal and other places. It was a season of deep exercise to me. On third-day morning was a meeting for ministers and elders, for Lancaster monthly meeting; then the monthly meeting for business; and in the evening a meeting for ministers and elders for the quarter. And on fourth-day was the quarterly meeting. All these meetings were seasons of exercise; my mind, both in and out of meetings, being deeply proved, yet kept in a good degree of patience and resignation. On duly ponder-

ing my steppings, I was not accused of wilful omissions or commissions; and believed I was dipped into a sympathy with the pure seed, which lies oppressed in the hearts of many.

"Fifth-day, not being fully easy to leave Lancaster, I attended their mid-week meeting, in which I found my mind more at liberty. Spent part of the remainder of the day in visits, to my relief and satisfaction, among some who had deviated widely from the simplicity of the truth.

"Sixth-day, my companion having set forward for Liverpool yesterday, I took coach this morning in company with Richard Shackleton, and arrived at Liverpool in the evening.

"First-day, the 13th; Was at two meetings there, in which counsel was opened to divers states. This meeting is much increased since I was here, thirty years ago; but flocking to places of trade, and getting money, being the great objects of many, and the improvement of the spiritual gift not being properly attended to, it is not to be admired at, that the life of religion is low and the seed oppressed. However, there are some valuable hopeful Friends here. I believe a concern for better times grows, and a gracious visitation is renewed to many, which, if attended to, will qualify to bring forth acceptable fruits. It would grieve our dear friend Anthony Benezet, were he here, to see with what earnestness and diligence, numbers of vessels are fitting out for Africa. The great profits made last year, have stimulated many.

"Fourth-day, the 16th; I was yesterday at the monthly meeting of Hardshaw, held at Warrington, being that from whence my grandfather went. I felt more interested in it, as having sprung out of it, from my forefathers; and was pleased to find that the discipline appeared to be conducted with more regularity and zeal, than in most I have been at in this nation.

"Sixth-day, 18th; About two o'clock set sail in the brig Dublin, captain Sergeson, and on second-day following, in the afternoon, we landed safe at Dublin; being mercifully preserved in our passage, though our vessel struck on a place called the Kish, on the evening of first-day, the weather being very foggy. On this sand bank, in the third month last, an East Indiaman struck and sunk, and all on board perished; so that we have cause to be humbly thankful we were guided safely. I went to the house where I formerly quartered, and was kindly received by William Taylor and his mother.

"Third-day, attended the meeting at Meath street, at which were mostly young people; good was felt therein. The rest of the week

visited several families, in company with Friends appointed to that service. It is very affecting to walk the streets of this city; the crowd is nearly as great as in Cornhill or Cheapside, London, at noon; but the appearance very different. Such multitudes of miserable objects I never beheld in so short a space. The scarcity and dearth of grain, the decline of divers branches of business, but most, the vast number of whiskey shops, create great misery and destitution.

"First-day, attended two meetings in Dublin, both measurably favoured; though the great neglect of assembling at the time appointed, particularly in the morning, hurt that meeting. At the close of the second meeting the women being desired to keep their seats, the queries were read and solidly considered, and some seasonable remarks made.

"Third-day, was the day for holding the men's and women's meetings; the business was conducted well, but the number of rightly exercised Friends is few.

"Fourth-day, my friend William Mathews, appearing disposed to attend the quarterly meeting for Leinster, and I being easy also, though my prospect on first landing was northward, we set out, reached Ballitore in the evening, and lodged at Richard Shackleton's.

"Fifth-day, reached Enniscorthy in the evening, much wearied; and on sixth-day attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, which was a low season.

"Seventh-day, was a large and exercising meeting, the minds of many being outward, which increases the burden of the true travellers; and the Lord sees meet, in wisdom, to disappoint the expectation of those whose eye is more dependent upon man, than upon Him, from whom all that is truly good, whether immediately or instrumentally, proceeds. Little was said in this meeting, except some remarks I had to make; and then we proceeded upon the concerns of the church, which business was conducted well. This day I received a number of letters from my dear friends in America, which came by my dear friend Nicholas Wain, lately arrived at London, on a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain. I have great cause to be humbly thankful, that the Lord is moving upon the minds of my friends thus to salute me, and express their sympathy and unity with my religious engagements.

"First-day, eighth month 3d, was a large meeting, attended by many sober people of the town. My companion, and my dear friend Mary Ridgway, had the public service. This Friend, by faithfulness, has become an able minister, devoted to the cause of Truth, and

much exercised for the promotion of righteousness.

"Fourth-day, went to Edenderry, which was formerly a large lively meeting, but now much reduced, and few rightly labour for the experience of true religion and godliness.

"Sixth-day, a meeting at Oldcastle, at which were two Episcopal ministers, and divers not professing with us. The meeting held nearly two hours in silence, after which I had a short testimony. One of these ministers spent some time with us in the afternoon, and appeared a solid, thoughtful man. Next morning he sent a kind letter and a short essay on the calamities prevalent, tending to excite proper considerations in the minds of the various ranks among the people.

"Fifth-day, 14th; Yesterday came to Dungannon to attend the quarterly meeting for Ulster, to be held near this place. It is dull travelling in this land. There is great decay from the life and substance of religion and godliness in many places. Many meetings, both here and in England, are dropped, and more are likely to be so. Places for trade increase by removals, and that lessens meetings in the country.

"The account of many, in my native land, letting their minds out into the world, gives me much concern. It shows what poor weak mortals we are, that when from under the heavy hand of affliction, we soon forget the covenants made in the day of distress. If those who have seen, in the day of proving, the vanity and folly of grasping after the world, and whose spirits were measurably redeemed and purified, turn again to it, they may become more insensible than ever; and if trials return, which in some shape or other, they probably will, such may fail to find that confidence and Divine support they mercifully experienced in the late trials. Did not the Lord cast up a way for many, and cause the meal and the oil to sustain, beyond what they could expect? My heart yearns for my dear brethren, and abundantly desires that warning and counsel may not fail to be given. I have thought of the great concern and care of the worthy William Edmundson, when Friends in this land were in danger, as great prospects of worldly gain were opened to view; how he laboured to curb that inclination; and how his labour was blessed, by a submission on the part of his brethren. May the watchmen maintain their ground, and labour for the good of their brethren, not being discouraged if some requisite evil for good.

"There is a good prospect here of outward plenty; though during the last winter and spring, the poor suffered grievously, and had



not much charity been extended, multitudes must have perished. It is true, they are idle, and increase their misery by a thirst for whiskey. But many that would labour, have not work, and there are swarms of beggars and miserable objects indeed.

"Sixth-day, went to the meeting for ministers and elders, held at the Grange, near Charlemount, which was small and a low season. Seventh-day was the quarterly meeting for Ulster province, which was large. There was a good appearance of Friends, the meeting was favoured, and the business carried on well. First-day was a large parting meeting, also favoured.

"Second-day, went to a meeting called Toberhead, which was large and solid, the people conducting well. There is but one Friend, Jarvis Johnson and his family, here, in unity with Friends, and few that make profession. So many attending on so short a notice, I thought gave a good testimony respecting our friend's conduct.

"Third-day, proceeded to Londonderry, and had a large meeting in the court-house. But there were many rude, giddy people, who took more liberty in that place than they might have done in some other; balls and other frivolous entertainments, being often held there; which rendered the meeting less satisfactory. My companion, nevertheless, had pretty large service, and divers remarks were made on their conduct, and rebukes given. Though such rude behaviour was very discouraging, yet good was in the meeting, and some, I hope, were benefitted. We were satisfied that we gave up to this prospect of duty.

"Fourth-day; early this morning we left the city, and after crossing the ferry, parted with three of the Friends who were with us, and the others went with us to Newtown Limavady. My spirit had been clothed with great heaviness before leaving the city, and I had expressed my feelings to the Friends; who encouraged my stay, and kindly offered to tarry with me. But my companion apprehending himself clear, I ventured to journey. The burden, however, increased so much, that I proposed to return, to seek another opportunity at Londonderry; to which my companion, with great reluctance, agreed. His backwardness increased my concern; but the minister of the Society called Methodists, being willing we should have his meeting house, notice was spread; and on fifth-day morning we had a large meeting, which was still and much favoured, many being tendered through the power and influence of Truth, under the seasoning virtue of which it ended. Now we concluded we might go; though I had felt some concern respecting the prisoners

confined in jail here. I hoped, however, that I might go forward, but on the way my burden increased, so that I had little rest the night following. I gave up, much in the cross, to return again to Londonderry, and a Friend bore me company. After dining, we went to the jail and had the prisoners together; and it was sorrowfully affecting to see so many, mostly youth, and some quite young, who through a disregard of the Divine fear, had brought themselves into misery and disgrace. They behaved soberly and took the visit kindly, and some appeared affected. It did not yield me so much comfort as I had hoped for; but having endeavoured with sincere and honest intention to discharge myself of apprehended duty, I laboured to be still. There are none of our Society at Londonderry, nor within thirty English miles of it, or thereabout; but in the Lord's time there may be some gathered.

"In the afternoon I visited an elderly woman and her son, both religious people; and the conversation yielded some satisfaction. About the seventh hour I went again to the Methodist meeting house, notice of a meeting having been spread. There was a large gathering of people, many of them of the upper rank, and who had not been at the previous meetings. A greater solemnity seemed to spread than I had observed at either of the preceding opportunities; and I believe it might have been a profitable season, though spent mostly in silence; but the minister, who, I suppose, concluded he must be active, got up and had a formal, dry discourse, and afterwards went to prayers, as he called it. This I thought was in the will of the creature, not seasoned with the salt of the covenant, and rendered the opportunity burdensome. And my companion and myself keeping our seats with our hats on, it was noticed, though not in words, and I apprehend, gave some displeasure. We returned to our lodgings heavy; and when I awoke in the morning, my mind was clothed with sadness, and continued so. But I could not clearly see any duty pointed out; and having had my mind open to discharge what might be laid upon me in the meeting last evening, I feared staying, lest the cause of truth might suffer. I left the city a second time, and had not only a very wet, but a sorrowful ride to Maghara, where we lodged at an inn.

"First-day, eighth month 24th; Last night was one of the most distressing I ever experienced, and I had little sleep. A fire seemed to be kindled within me; yet, fearing that by returning again, the appearance of instability might prejudice the good cause, more than anything I could do would advance it, after

much trial of mind, I went on; but on the road I had no peace. At Ballymena I met William Mathews, and was with him at a crowded meeting. My mind was in a tried state, yet near the close of the meeting, feeling some engagement, I kneeled down to prayer, in a broken, contrite manner; and afterwards expressed a few words to the people. I soon took opportunity to open the distress of my mind to William Mathews, and informed him of my fear of bringing dishonour to the truth, adding, that I could not think of returning to Londonderry without some suitable help. He agreed to consider the matter. So after dining at a public house, we proceeded to Grange, where an afternoon meeting had been appointed; this was large, and the house more commodious than that at Ballymena. Much good counsel was communicated, and the people were generally solid. At the close of the meeting William Mathews informed me, that if I could be easy to proceed and take the meetings in Ulster, he would, if the weight dwelt with me, return to Londonderry. So we proceeded towards Antrim, and lodged at Shane castle.

"Fourth-day, notice being generally spread, we had a very large meeting at Lurgan, both of Friends and the town's people, who do not profess with us. It was a solemn meeting, the people behaving well. My mind continued much proved.

"Fifth-day, went to a meeting at Lisburn, which was for the most part, heavy and exercising; yet good revived, and it ended comfortably. After dinner I had a conference in a humble, broken spirit, with William Mathews.

"Seventh-day, having had Belfast often in mind, I was not willing to forego the opportunity of a meeting there; so we set out early, and readily obtained the room over the market place, where the sessions are usually held. Pretty many came, and though some were unsettled, yet upon the whole, the meeting was as satisfactory as could be expected. I was much stripped, and many fears attended my mind, both before and after the appointment of this meeting, feeling myself very weak. Yet I was thankful that I was favoured with stability, and that the meeting was in measure owned. Our dear friend John Gough, and divers others from Lisburn, were at it and were satisfied, which rendered it more easy to me.

"First-day, eighth month 31st; Went to a large meeting at Ballinderry, held in a malt house; and towards evening were at a meeting at Hillsborough, which was dull. My spirits and bodily strength were much exhausted,

not only by hard travelling, but by peculiar exercise of mind, that I was ready to give out; but was somewhat recruited next morning. Attended meetings at Rathfriland and Moyallen, and a large one at Ballyhagan. Having passed through all the meetings this way, my mind was in much exercise, being proved with so much barrenness, that it was difficult to know what step to take that would end in peace.

"Seventh-day, went to Dungannon and had a meeting in the Presbyterian meeting house, the minister and many respectable people being present, who behaved well. The meeting was held to a good degree of satisfaction.

"First-day, ninth month 7th; Went to the Grange; the meeting was large, but it was a low season. We dined at the widow Greeves's, and then set out and had a wet ride to Money-moore. On second-day morning we set out in the rain, and reached Dungiven; where I had, when there before, felt the reaches of love towards the inhabitants; and these being somewhat renewed, I ventured to appoint a meeting. The inn-keeper being willing we should have one of his rooms, gave notice, and divers good looking people came, who generally behaved well. Though I was weak, yet what was delivered was cordially received, and the people departed in a loving mind. Having some small tracts relating to our religious principles and testimonies, I handed them to the people, who appeared glad of the opportunity. No meeting of Friends, I suppose, had ever before been held here.

"Third-day, reached Londonderry about the ninth hour. I was under deep exercise of mind. My return to this city, for various reasons, was not an easy task, though the minds of the people are open, and we were received cordially; some Friends who went on before us, had provided a place and given notice of the meeting; so that about the eleventh hour we met again in the Methodist meeting house. Many came and behaved well, except that three or four young people, for awhile, appeared light. These were warned, and it seemed to have some place. Some expressed their satisfaction; and having laboured to fulfil what I believed right, I feel tolerably quiet. I have not had eighteen days of such deep proving, as of late, since I landed in Europe; but I came to be instructed in mortification and abasement, and desire to be kept single and resigned, and if my life is but given me for a prey, I hope to be content. I visited the prisoners again, and found their numbers had increased; tarried at Londonderry, and sent some books to the mayor.



"Fourth-day, my mind continuing in a very proved, exercised state, I was deeply engaged for divine direction. I visited three families, who received me kindly; and after dinner set out, and passing Strabane, reached Newtown Stewart; the next day went to Omagh, and on sixth-day to Cavan and Ballynacrig.

"Seventh-day, six weeks' meeting at Moat-a-Grenoge. There was a solemnity in the meeting which I was glad to feel. Our friend Richard Shackleton, was in a lively manner concerned in the ministry. Here we met our valued friends Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson. Third-day, attended a crowded meeting at Ballymurphy, divers people of the upper rank being there; and it was to a good degree of satisfaction. My mind having been deeply exercised several days, and very heavy yesterday on the road, and in the evening after our journey ended, respecting a visit to the inhabitants of Sligo, I thought it best after this meeting, to inform William Mathews of my prospect, and leave it to him to go or not, though his company was very desirable. But as a meeting had been appointed to be held on fifth-day at Tullamoor, he thought it not right to omit attending it. So with two Friends I set out, but was so much tried on the way, with poverty and blindness, that I was almost ready to turn back; however, under deep exercise we reached Elfin, where we quartered at an inn. I had little sleep.

"Fourth-day, breakfasted at Boyle, and reached Sligo about the fifth hour. The session-house being procured for a meeting, notice was given for one to-morrow morning.

"Fifth-day, my mind was much bowed, with fervent cries that the Lord might be pleased to grant light and favour. In this humbled state I went to the session-house, to which many well looking people came, and appeared satisfied with what was delivered. I went to visit the prisoners confined in the jail, which they took kindly; and we distributed several small tracts relative to our religious principles. We reached Boyle to lodge.

"Sixth-day, setting out early, we reached Ballymurphy about the third hour; but I was very heavy and distressed, which I kept much to myself. In the evening, Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson on a religious visit, had a sitting with a family here; in which my mind was so covered with distress, that I concluded the cloud of suffering which prevailed, was altogether owing to me, and was ready to leave the room; but after near two hours spent in painful suffering, the Friends opened their mouths, the one after the other, in close searching doctrine. After this opportunity I took occasion to open the state of my mind

to Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson, and Richard Shackleton, at which they were affected with tender sympathy, and expressed their satisfaction with my company and the frame and labour of my spirit, and told me they did not wonder that increasing distress had attended me since coming to that family, for some sorrowful things had happened therein. They uttered some suitable counsel to my present situation, which tended, in some degree, to my relief.

"Seventh-day, feeling it best to endeavour to get up with William Mathews, I parted affectionately with the above Friends on the road, and proceeded to Moat; had religious opportunities in two houses there, and reached Tullamoor in the evening.

"First-day, ninth month 21st; Reached Mount Mellick; found William Mathews well, and attended the monthly meeting, which was large, but exercising; a dull, caseful disposition prevailing, though there were in this place, some hopeful Friends.

"Second-day. Yesterday and this morning, I was favoured with letters from my dear wife and brother James, which tended to revive my drooping mind, and excited thankfulness, in finding the Lord was rich in mercy to my wife in my absence. I have had for some weeks past, little leisure and less capacity to salute my dear friends. I have been led into a path, new and singularly proving; but at all the places we were respectfully received, and I believe an open door is left for further labour. I am so poor and weak, and so full of fear of overdoing, that pain attends me respecting some places, though I endeavoured to do my best."

After this they attended meetings at Mont-rath, Knockballymagher, Roscrea, Kilconnermoor, Limerick, and some other places.

"Fourth-day, tenth month 1st; This morning we proceeded to Charleville; which place having been much in my thoughts, I was most easy to propose a meeting. The widow, at whose house we put up, having a large room which she was willing to let us have, it was seated, and notice being spread through the town, the meeting was much crowded. Though for want of better knowledge, some were unsettled, yet many behaved soberly. William Mathews had a large, seasonable opportunity, and truth impressed the minds of many.

"Fifth-day, rising early, we proceeded, and reached Samuel Neale's in the evening, where we were joyfully received.

"Sixth-day, attended the meeting at Cork, where there was a comfortable appearance of plain young people.

"First-day, the 5th; Attended two public meetings in Cork, the first of which was silent. Though there are many valuable Friends here, yet many others are superficial professors.

"Third-day, was at the mid-week meeting in course, and also the men's meeting for business.

"Fifth-day, had a comfortable opportunity at Samuel Neale's, and then took horse; and as I drew near to Middleton, where we proposed to refresh ourselves and horses, I felt some engagement of mind to hold a meeting; and notice being accordingly given, a pretty many gathered, and some counsel was imparted, which appeared to be well received. We passed on to Youghall, and were kindly entertained by our aged, valuable friend, the widow Elizabeth Richardson, who was my hostess at Limerick when here before. It was comfortable to find she was truly alive in spirit; as much so as most in this land.

"Sixth-day, the meeting at Youghall was favoured, my companion having a very open time. After dinner we had a comfortable opportunity with a young Friend, a daughter of a merchant in Cork, who is convinced and converted. She is much rejected by her parents, who do not approve her change. We then proceeded to Caperquin.

"Seventh-day, we had a large meeting in the market-place, which, I hope, did not lessen the reputation of truth; many expressed their satisfaction. We reached Clonmel in the evening and attended the meeting of ministers and elders; and first-day, two public meetings and an evening opportunity at Robert Dudley's, to which came many Friends. These meetings were exercising, yet some counsel opened in each. There was a large appearance of plain, hopeful youth, especially among the females. Attended the quarterly meeting for Munster, and then had a meeting at Garryrone. My mind was much exercised in the prospect of going back to Charleville; but labouring to be resigned, and gathering some elders, with a few other Friends, I laid my exercise before them. I was encouraged to pursue my prospects, however feeble I might feel; and as my companion was more disposed to attend the meeting at Clonmel, I resigned him in love; though on my part under discouraging thoughts.

"At Clonmel, the elders having a conference, deputed two Friends to take an opportunity with William Mathews and myself; being dipped into sympathy and concern for us and for our religious service, they thought it right to propose our parting, under an apprehension that our service might be more extensive. As our prospects at times varied, they feared our minds were more burdened

and oppressed than perhaps was right. Their care and sympathy I could not acknowledge; but told them I did not see my way clear to part, and that I considered myself not fit to journey alone. They did not press it, but left the matter under our consideration until after the meeting at Garryrone; and if then our concerns led different ways, advised to attend thereto. It is a great blessing, that notwithstanding the low, languid state of things, a living, feeling sense, is still preserved in the church.

"Fifth-day, proceeded to Charleville and appointed a meeting. A number of people came, supposed to be of the more reputable inhabitants. Many of the lower class were deterred, as we were informed, by the Romish priest having reprimanded the widow who kept the inn we were at when here before, for suffering us to have a room for a meeting. He had made some do penance for attending it, by walking seven miles out, and back. This made the meeting smaller, though more came than our room could hold. Some favour was shown to us, and I had cause to be thankful that this day's work was so well over.

"Sixth-day, awaking very early, a fresh exercise attended me, in a prospect of going to Mallow. After rising, I got my companions together, and solidly laid the exercise before them; and they encouraging me, we reached Mallow about noon. I was much stripped of inward comfort, but I ventured to give notice of a meeting: a large number came, and I hope the reputation of truth was not lessened. One man, a soldier, came to me after meeting, and in a solid manner thanked me for the good advice given. On seventh-day, my mind having been again exercised in the night season, I feared to go away without attempting another meeting. After which I prepared to leave Mallow, and reached Cork in the evening, more easy, I believe, than I should have been, had I come away without giving them the opportunity of another meeting.

"A sorrowful gloom attends this land, and it is to be feared that things are ripening for a scourge. A set of people are taking the same steps, or nearly so, that were taken in America; meetings and resolves are frequent, and there is a heavy cloud felt; as was at the beginning of our troubles. Ireland is a land in which I have been deeply proved, and the great Master keeps me poor; perhaps in this state I am more attentive to his voice, and the want of spiritual bread makes me willing to yield to what is hard to the natural part.

"How I may now be led, I know not; I live from day to day, and hardly see, one day, how I may be led the next. But, how-



ever we may be proved and led in paths not heretofore known, yet if pure wisdom and strength be vouchsafed, there will be no lack.

"Fourth-day, having yesterday laid before divers Friends in Cork, a concern that had for some days attended my mind, respecting a visit to the people of Kinsale, I set out this morning and had a very wet journey, my friend Edward Hatton, &c., accompanying me. Many came to the meeting, which was in measure owned, and counsel flowed to the people.

"Seventh-day, rising early, set out for Waterford and arrived there in the evening, much wearied with a long ride, the ways hilly and bad. We passed through Dungannon, and saw the rock where our dear friend Susanna Morris, was shipwrecked.\*

\* This truly evangelical minister of Jesus Christ, as John Griffith calls her, suffered shipwreck three times; but the occurrence here alluded to, was about the year 1731, on her voyage to pay a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain and Ireland. Joseph Taylor, from Raby, in England, was returning in the same vessel from a similar service in America. The following is condensed from her own account of this memorable occasion:

"Soon after I got out to sea, I dreamed that our ship would be lost, and there remained on my mind a solid weight, for fear it should be so. But at times, I thought it had been as some other dreams; and yet I thought it safe to dwell humble and low before the Lord. I again dreamed the same; and yet was weak as to being fixed in a belief of the truth of it, until the Lord was pleased to favour me with his goodness, and in one of our meetings to make it known to me, that we should surely suffer shipwreck. And then, for a season, I was in trouble; but, Oh! blessed forever be the name of our God; for I had soon a good answer returned into my bosom, of our preservation, and that if we would be faithful, we should have our lives for a prey. I hinted something of my mind to the captain, who seemed somewhat startled; and lest he should be too much discouraged, I had it given me to tell him, that I should see him safe on shore. It was some time before it came to pass; and when I hinted a little of what was made known to me, to Joseph Taylor, I found that it seemed like idle tales to him. So I forbore to go further in the relation of it to him; yet I was preserved so as not to stagger in my mind, or disregard the manifestations made known to me, from Him that is true. And as I endeavoured to dwell near Him who is faithful and true, my habitation was pleasant, until the sudden outcry was proclaimed, and nothing appeared but the destruction of all our lives. Then, for a time, my outward tabernacle greatly shook and trembled. But, blessed be the great Lord of all our mercies, the time of trembling was soon over, and what was made known to me was renewed, that the all-wise God would command the proud waves, that they should not come at his servants to hurt them; as it was said: 'Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.' And so it was, the great

"First-day, tenth month 26th; Was at three public meetings at Waterford this day; that in the evening was attended by a large number of the inhabitants not professing with Friends. All these were exercising meetings, the professors of the truth being involved in the spirit of the world. It is to be feared, that through a desire of gain, some have not been free from joining with a spirit that upholds war; for notwithstanding there may not be a taking up gun or sword, yet contracting for provisions and other matters, in the way of trade, for fleets, &c., tends to sully and bring dimness and reproach on our profession.

"Third-day, had a meeting at Ross, with the few Friends there, and some other inhabitants; and on sixth-day reached Dublin, where I met William Mathews. I attended the half-

God did preserve us, I believe, for his own name's sake. It was the time called Christmas-eve, and very cold; and we had, for two days, little sustenance for our bodies; and many times our heads were under the great waves, which rolled over us after the ship sunk, by reason of the strokes she got on the dreadful rocks. Afterwards she drove, until she settled on a sand bank. In that distress I had no help of man, or counsellor but the Lord alone, and thereby thought it best for me to get to the upper side of the vessel, and fix my seat by the shrouds, where I was favoured so that I kept my hold, when the waves rolled over us; and we remained in that wet condition about nine hours, in a cold time of frost and snow, before any of us got relief. And yet I was not hurt—the Lord is pleased to favour his heritage—though many of the ship's company lost their lives; some perishing with the cold, and others were drowned."

John Griffith mentions the following additional particulars of this event, narrated to him by Joseph Taylor:

"The ship was driven on her broadside, yet did not soon break; but the sea running high, broke over her, and several of the crew were washed overboard and drowned. The captain, Susanna Morris, Joseph Taylor, and perhaps one more, scrambled up to the upper side of the ship, and held fast by the shrouds, the sea frequently breaking over them. Joseph Taylor told me, Susanna never discovered the least impatience, in word or countenance, all the time; but he confessed that he once, in a flutter, or impatience, did say to this effect; 'We might as well have gone at first, for we *shall* be drowned.' She looked upon him, and said nothing; but, he said, her looks were a sufficient rebuke for his impatience and distrust. After they had held a considerable time by the shrouds, this extraordinary woman had a sense given her, that they would not be safe on that side of the vessel much longer; and although it seemed very hazardous to move and fasten to the lower side of the ship, she urged them all to attempt it, believing it would be the means of their preservation. She at length prevailed, and they moved, in the best manner they could, to the lower side of the ship; and soon after they had fixed themselves,

yearly meeting of ministers and elders for the nation; also two public meetings; and second-day was spent in transacting the affairs of the church; some former advices were agreed to be revived, to caution against too eager a pursuit of the world. There is a pretty large appearance of Friends now here; and although there is a general languor, many being involved in the world and its spirit, yet there is a concerned number who continue to have the cause of truth at heart.

"Fourth-day was a public parting meeting, which was solemn; and then the meeting for ministers and elders, in which I opened a prospect which had attended me for some days, of visiting several places where no Friends reside, which was united with. Mary Ridgway spoke in a prophetic way, of a day approaching, that would try the foundations of the professors of truth.

"First-day, at the meeting in the afternoon, our dear friend Samuel Neale, had to express in a lively, feeling manner, his sense of a day approaching, which would prove the faith and try the foundations of the professors of the truth. He had not only at that time, but at divers others, been made deeply sensible thereof; whether by pestilence, or other means, he could not tell; but he exhorted Friends to prepare for trials. In the evening we had a religious opportunity at our quarters, Mary Ridgway and Samuel Neale, and divers other Friends being there. Here also he had to speak to a state in danger, and mentioned the case of Jonah, whose gourd was taken away; which he believed might be the case with some present. May I, and may all watch and live in humility, in which is preservation.

"My mind is engaged to visit Newry and some other places, the prospect of which is deeply humiliating; but I came for peace, and must pursue the line that leads to it. The

there came a great swell of the sea, and threw the vessel quite flat on the other side; so that if they had not moved, they would all have been drowned. A priest being informed that there were some persons alive in great distress, came down to the beach and charged his people not to hurt them, but use all means to save their lives, threatening that if they refused to comply, they should never have their sins forgiven. And through the assistance of a merciful Providence, they brought them safe to land, and treated them with great hospitality."

"And now," says Susanna Morris, in concluding her account of this wonderful preservation, "I write not this relation because I would have any to think the better of me; no, that is not what I aim at; but that the poor in spirit, or weak in their own eyes, if willing to serve the Lord, may take a little courage to trust in the Lord, and be truly willing to serve him in all that he may require of them."

sympathy of many brethren has been manifested, indeed more love shown than I could expect; I desire to be preserved from wounding the cause, if I cannot advance it.

"Our dear friend Mary Ridgway, in much feeling sympathy, accompanied me on third-day to Drogheda, where the meeting was held in the session-house, and was attended by several hundred people. One person, after meeting, expressed his thankfulness that a renewed visitation had been extended to him, who through unfaithfulness to some former touches of good, had not made progress in religion. He was very tender; and if but one is brought forward, it is worth undergoing baptisms and trials for. The rain has prevented our going forward to Newry. My suffering is great, and the sense of my own weakness depresses me: however, I ought not to complain. Here our aged friend James Christy, met us.

"Sixth-day, proceeded to Newry, and had a meeting in the Presbyterian meeting house; the minister having offered it.

"First-day, attended the youths' meeting at Lurgan, where our friend John Gough had very acceptable service, in close and pertinent remarks to parents, and also to the youth. In the evening, divers Friends being present, we had a religious opportunity at our quarters. My mind was deeply proved, under the prospect of visiting places where there are no Friends; and our friend John Gough, was dipped into sympathy with me, as he afterwards told me, though he knew not what rested on my mind."

After this he visited Moyallen, and then returned to Dublin.

"Third-day, summoning the elders, overseers and ministering Friends, I laid before them the deep provings of my mind; and on solidly weighing the matter, they encouraged my return to the north. I was much stripped and proved, and remained so for many days: I have had many trials of faith since I came into this island, and when they may terminate I know not. I have been particularly led to visit places where there are no Friends; and knowing my own unfitness, and how much the reputation of truth is concerned in such movements, it bows my mind greatly; however, I have no right to dictate, or say, what doest thou?

"Fourth-day, I went to Lisburn, to my dear friend John Gough's, where I had a kind reception, and conferred with him about the prospect I had of visiting some remote places; he was dipped into sympathy with me. At the close of the meeting next day, our friend opened his mind respecting joining



me in my prospect, if way opened for his leaving home.

"First-day, twelfth month 7th; Attended a large meeting at Lurgan, and paid religious visits to three families.

"Second-day, being joined by William Pike, I left Lurgan, and on the road met with our friend John Gough, and two others; and we proceeded on our journey northward."

He held meetings at Ballinacree and Coleraine, and thence went to Newtown Limavady; where, he says, no meeting of Friends to his knowledge, had been held since William Edmundson visited it. The people, he adds, behaved well, and the meeting was favoured.

"Sixth-day, rising early, we reached Strabane, and strove for a meeting; but the provost, to whom we were recommended, being from home, the burgesses, on conferring, refused us the town-hall. So in the afternoon we went to Lifford, about three quarters of a mile from Strabane, and readily obtained liberty of the court house: we had a pretty large meeting, but in general they were a light company; yet counsel opened, and we were satisfied with having laboured to do our duty. We returned to Strabane, and two of our friends waiting upon the provost, he excused himself from letting us have the town-hall. So in the morning John Gough wrote a letter to the provost, burgesses, &c., which he and I signed, informing them that it was the only instance in the course of a long journey, that we had been refused being accommodated with a place for a religious meeting. However, having liberty of the court house at Lifford, the inhabitants of Strabane were invited, and some came; and the people behaved better than at the meeting yesterday.

"First-day, went to Newtown Stewart, and at the inn had a large room offered us. A large meeting it was, and very satisfactory. There never had been, as I know of, a meeting of Friends held here before, except that as our friend John Alderson, upwards of twenty years ago, passed through the town, he had an opportunity with a few of the people.

"Second-day, we reached Omagh, and applied for a place to hold a religious meeting, which was readily obtained. There was a large gathering of people in the jail and court house, who behaved well, and some were very solid: the meeting was open and satisfactory; the curate of the parish was there. No meeting of Friends, that I can learn, was ever held here before; and though things looked at first dark and discouraging, yet light and favour prevailed when we met. After the pub-

lic meeting was over, I had an opportunity with about twelve felons, men and women.

"Third-day, reached Dungannon, and the province meeting coming on, my companions left me, departing to their several homes. I went forth, in this journey, with scarcely any faith, and was kept low, yet was favoured with encouraging company, and got on better than I expected. May I be enabled to praise the Lord, though unworthy of the least of his mercies. My dear friend John Gough, was wonderfully opened and enlarged in doctrine, and if I am exercised in order for others to be in the way of doing good, I desire to be content. I believe the testimony of truth was exalted, and an openness left for others to follow. I now wait, not knowing how I may be led after the province meeting; though, as more labour of like sort opens to my view, it is uncertain when I may get away from these parts. But as dear John Woolman remarked, we have no just cause to murmur at the different paths which Infinite Wisdom sees meet to lead into. I think my trials are great, but I know I have increased them for want of exercising the small portion of faith given. I take no step, but with the solid sense, sympathy and unity of the most feeling and judicious members; and, as a man, glad should I have been, had they put a negative on my concern. It is indeed strange that I should be thus exercised; but those who have accompanied me have been much favoured; and I am willing, if good is done, that others may not only have the greatest share of peace, but of praise; though truly there is no praise due to man."

In a letter written about this time to his brother, James Pemberton, he thus speaks respecting the interesting subject of the wrongs of the African race:

"I was anxious to hear how you fared at the yearly meeting. So agreeable an account is cause of thankfulness; and I was pleased with the step taken, to lay before congress the afflicted state of the injured Africans. They have said much about liberty, and I wish, in this affair, they may manifest their regard thereto. It is pleasing to find that the case of this people becomes more and more seriously considered, as this gives hope that good will arise, and deliverance come in time."

After this John Pemberton returned to Lurgan, taking meetings in his way; and John Gough and James Christy again joining him, they visited a number of places where no Friends resided. His short account of this tour, contained in the following extract from

a letter to his wife, shows the earnest exercise of an humble mind, to be found in the path of duty.

"Lisburn, First month 3d, 1784.

"My dearly beloved wife,

"Desirous that thou mightest hear from me as frequently as possible, I now again sit down to salute thee in unabated love, desiring that the Divine Arm of strength that wrought a willingness in us to be separated, for the discharge of duty to Him and the promotion of piety and godliness, may continue to be mercifully near to preserve and sustain, inwardly and outwardly. I believe we may appeal to the great Searcher of hearts, that our eyes were truly single; and blessed be his name, we can testify to his goodness, that hard things have, through his gracious help, been made in measure easy, and bitter portions have been sweetened by his love. May we be still helped to trust in him, and by waiting upon him, receive strength to journey forward in the high and holy way cast up for the redeemed to walk in; that through his mercy, we may receive 'the white stone and the new name;' and in the solemn close, be admitted to join the heavenly host in the triumphant song.

"Since my last, I have been another tour, accompanied by my dear friend John Gough, and other kind friends; had seven meetings in seven days, and rode one hundred and thirty miles, notwithstanding the days were short and the weather unusually cold. In these journeys we were often on horseback nearly two hours before sun-rise, yet were preserved in health. Three of these last meetings were held in Presbyterian meeting houses, two in a methodist meeting house, and one in a large chamber of a market house, all large, solid and quiet; and our friend John Gough, in this, as in the former journey, much favoured. I consider these journeys as making way for other servants. I was called to surrender all, in a time of difficulty and danger, and am now engaged in a trying path, to prepare the way, as I conceive, for others better fitted. When I may be released, I know not; I see no end at present. I find it very difficult to preserve peace to my mind; fears, doubts and diffidence, and too readily giving up my own feeling and judgment, bring stripes. Many drooping moments have I had in this land; though I believe few have met with more sympathy from truly concerned Friends.

"By a letter received yesterday from Cork, I find William Mathews was there. He attempted to go twice for England, but was

stopped in mind; yet I apprehend he will get away before me. But if we are enabled to fill up our respective duty, the reward will be sure.

"Things seem ripening here for confusion and distress; and the Lord in mercy, may be awakening some to prepare a hiding place in the day of trouble.

"Now, with the tenders of endeared affection, I bid thee farewell; being thy faithful husband,

"JOHN PEMBERTON."

He continued for some time in the northern parts of Ireland, visiting many places where no Friends resided, and having meetings at several towns, where no Friends' meeting had been before held. John Gough and James Christy were his constant and sympathizing companions. Ballymena, Ballinderry, Moira, Stramore, Moyallen, Lisburn, Shane castle, Castle Dawson, Toberhead, Bellackey, Portlanon, Ballamoney and Ballinacree, were among the places visited during the first month, and a part of the second. At Lisburn he attended the quarterly meeting for Ulster, and after this was over, remarks:

"I had an opportunity with the ministers and elders, who manifested much brotherly sympathy with me in the exercised path I have trodden, and yet am likely to tread; in which they were careful to avoid discouraging me. I also opened to them a desire prevailing in my mind to have another opportunity with the inhabitants of Lisburn; in which they acquiescing, in the evening we had a large meeting, solid, and I hope profitable.

"Second-day, second month 16th; This morning we set out for Londonderry; my mind never having been easy since I was last there.

"Third-day, endeavours were used last evening, to meet with the mayor of Londonderry, in order to obtain the town-hall to hold a meeting in; but he being gone to a play, which did not break up till midnight, it was about one o'clock this day, before we obtained leave. Notice being then given, the principal inhabitants attended; and the meeting issued full as well as could be expected, among a people much void of true religion; the pursuit of worldly gain and false pleasures, taking up the attention of the people of the upper rank. My spirit has been much burdened in this place, and is yet more particularly bound to it.

"Fourth-day; the sins of the people in this city lay so heavy upon me, that I had little rest after a day of great exercise. In the



morning I arose and wrote to the mayor, and so left the place. In crossing the water, and on the road, my mind was taken up with thoughts respecting Strabane; but hoping it would wear off, I proceeded about nine miles. I then told the Friends with me, my situation; who kindly agreed to accompany me. So we turned towards Strabane, and arriving there between the fourth and fifth hours, we ventured to apply to the provost for the town-hall, though it had been denied us when here before. He, consulting some others, informed us that we might make use of it.

"Fifth-day, the place being prepared, and notice given by the activity and diligence of my worthy, aged friend, James Christy, the meeting began soon after one o'clock, and was large; many, or most of the principal inhabitants, and many of the poorer sort also, being there. The Lord was graciously near, to uphold me and open my way, so that I left the place pretty easy, and came to Claude.

"Sixth-day, the wind being high, and a sleet falling, it was with difficulty we could get along, or sit on horseback; and it blew so hard, that in riding a few miles we were very wet, and I feared we might be lost, as the roads were so filled that we could scarcely find the path; and were obliged to stop at a poor man's house, to dry ourselves and get some refreshment. We reached Dungiven, where we were obliged to stay the remainder of the day, which was as blustering and snowy, as I have known, and I fear many people and cattle will be lost.

"Seventh-day, I thought it best to turn my face towards Londonderry again; having, through weakness and hurrying away, omitted to visit the prisoners in that place; and reaching it soon after three o'clock, we had a religious opportunity in the jail, and the prisoners took our visit kindly. Greatly affecting was it to see so many fellow beings in such a situation, most of them having brought distress upon themselves through disregard of the Divine fear. I left a small sum with the jailer, to hand to the most necessitous. We then visited three families of sober people; and this making it late, we found some difficulty in procuring lodging; but after trying several inns, were at length admitted. Having eaten but little, and been much exercised all day, I was faint; yet after taking refreshment, had some sleep.

"First-day, 22nd; Awaking early, my mind was renewedly exercised, and I found it most easy to go to the meeting of the Methodists; and after their 'service' was over, I requested liberty to speak a few words; which I did tenderly, expressing my persuasion that there were some tender people among them,

who sought the favour of God; and yet a fear attended me, lest they might rest too much upon outward performances, in hearing preaching, praying, and singing of psalms; and that it was my belief they would make as great advances in the Christian path and life of religion, were they to study and practice silence more. As I expressed myself in soft language and much tenderness, I hope I did not hurt any; and one afterwards told me he believed none would take my observations amiss, being delivered in love. Now I thought I might leave this city, which had been a place of deep exercise to me. We crossed the ferry, and there I found some desire to have a meeting at the town on that side the water, and the people appeared satisfied with the opportunity.

"Second-day, reached Newtown Limavady, after a small meeting at Ballycally. In our way we called at a free-school for the education of the children of such Roman parents, as choose to send them to be brought up in the Protestant religion. My expectations were disappointed, finding the house very-dirty, and a strict care respecting the poor children wanting. Our visit was received kindly by the master.

"Fourth-day to second-day, at Coleraine, and had two meetings. I also found some stop respecting proceeding; and a renewed exercise attended my mind respecting Londonderry, which remained with me, at times very heavy, while at Coleraine. I opened a little of my exercise to my worthy, aged friend James Christy, who was solidly impressed with it, but hoped it was only a trial of faith."

This concern, which was of a peculiarly trying nature, remained with him for several weeks, until his mind became at length resigned to it, under a conviction that peace was to be obtained only through faithfulness to the pointings of duty, however contrary to the natural feelings. In the mean time he continued for the most part, visiting many places in that part of Ireland, which he had previously had in prospect, having a number of meetings in places where there were no settlements of Friends. At Ballycastle, he says:

"We had a large and favoured meeting in the chamber over the market-place, the people generally coming. Several Episcopal ministers attended it, as also one Ezekiel Boyd, with his wife and children, the proprietor of the town and lands about it, who pressed us to take dinner with him; but after some friendly discourse, we excused ourselves and proceeded to Clough.

"Fifth-day, after a meeting at Clough, we passed on and reached our friend T. Irwin's, near Ballymena, where we dined and had a religious opportunity with his family; and then went to visit a sick man, confined to his bed by illness brought on through intemperance. He having, some days before, expressed a desire to see me, I visited him and dealt plainly with him.

"First-day, third month 7th; Attended the men's meeting at Lurgan, and received many letters, which had been lying some time for me.

"Second and third-day, at Stramore. It is sorrowful to hear that so many people are flocking to our city [Philadelphia,] for the sake of pursuing after earthly treasure. Our religious Society is brought into great disrepute in some parts of this land, by the failure of many under our name, for very large sums, through embarking in government contracts; some of whom now acknowledge that a blast has attended every Friend who engaged therein. I wish it may teach others more care; but the hands of some in Great Britain, as well as in this land, are deeply defiled, by entering into matters very opposite to the testimony of truth: so that the hearts of many are made sad; and some who are truly concerned that occasions of reproach should be removed, are looked upon as busy meddlers. For there are those who are in the spirit of Sanballat and Tobiah.

"Seventh-day, the 27th; I have had a slow fever and cough, by hard travelling in very severe weather and close exercise of mind, which rendered it needful to lay by awhile. I am now recruiting, and should have recruited faster, were it not for the weight of exercise that attends my mind. I expect in a few days to leave this, to be led as the great Shepherd opens the way. If I am mercifully preserved upon the foundation, and in obedience to and reverent trust in the all-powerful Arm, all will be well. It is a great attainment to be wholly given up. It is only hereby that the mind becomes stable, and a happy calm is known. We are too apt to look at some requisitions as hard, which are so to the unregenerate, unmortified part. But to those who can unreservedly say, it is their meat and drink to do the Lord's will, hard things become easy, and mountains are removed; I find I am far from having already attained; the creaturely part is ready to shrink, and fears to prevail. But the Lord is merciful, and if I am but kept to the end, and favoured with an admittance into the gate of the holy city, it is all I look for. May the Lord be near, and preserve in an humble watchful state, and in a daily exercise to la-

bour for daily bread. Trusting to former experience and sliding into a relaxed state, will assuredly bring loss. The nearer we are concerned to live to the Fountain, the more fresh will our spirits be, and the more ardent our concern to be fitted to fill up our allotment, both in the church and in life. My path is widely different from what I expected when I left home.

"First-day, fourth month 18th; Rising early, we went through Strabane to Rapho, and had a large meeting in a malt-kiln; and afterwards set out in the rain and had a very wet ride over the hills to Letterkenny, where we lodged; and on second-day, our landlady offering a large room, it was seated, and we had a pretty satisfactory meeting; though, as Friends were much unknown, some at first appeared shy. But they were afterwards pleased with the meeting, and some were for making a collection. The landlady said it was the only visit they had had at which there was not a collection. I told her and a friendly man who was speaking of this matter, that I had never received sixpence for preaching, and that none of our ministers were paid, believing in the words of Christ: 'Freely ye have received, freely give.' We left the people favourably impressed. At several meetings besides this, persons were for promoting subscriptions, wondering how we sustained the expense of travelling, without pay. I was deeply exercised upon leaving this place, respecting my next proceeding; and having for many weeks borne my exercise, I became much resigned to follow the prospect, let the consequence be what it might.

"Third-day, fourth month 20th; Set out early this morning and reached Londonderry between seven and eight o'clock, and concluded to prepare to fulfil what appeared my duty. And my kind friend James Christy, having prepared some wrapper, had it made up in the form of a cloak; and thus I passed through two gates and the main street of the city. We walked slowly, and my mind was covered with much solemnity and awe. At some places I proclaimed repentance to the inhabitants. Some appeared struck with admiration, but not the least affront was offered, nor any mob followed. Coming at length near my quarters, my mind being very quiet, I was free to turn in, but soon found I was not fully released. The Lord has been merciful, and I trust, accepted a part of the service that engaged my mind. It was very humiliating; yet I was favoured with great composure in the performance of it. My path is strait and not common in our day: but He that formed us hath a right to direct. I could have given up my natural life, had



the Lord seen meet to accept it, rather than to return to this place and to fulfil the prospect. But with Him, obedience is better than sacrifice, and in a steady subjection, hard things become easy. May I be preserved not to wound the testimony.

"The next day, the exercise continuing with me, after much solid weighing, about the tenth hour I passed through two other gates of the city, and through two or three streets where I had not been before, as also the main street again; and several times had some little matter to express, warning the people to remember the mercies of God, and to turn to the Lord of hosts, lest his righteous judgments overtake them, as they had been poured forth in other countries. The people were very civil, and though it was their market day, and the time of the assizes, and the streets about the market-place, in particular, pretty full of people, yet no taunt or insult was offered. As I had seen much rudeness among boys in this place, I had some reason to fear a mob might follow, and my life be in danger; but no such thing appeared; all was quiet. Finding my mind, as I thought, somewhat eased, we prepared to leave the place; and not being able to get over the ferry at Derry, we went by Strabane, and reached Omagh in the evening, where we lodged."

The substance of what John Pemberton delivered to the people on this occasion, is thus stated in a memorandum in his own hand-writing, found among his papers:

"Repent, repent, O! all ye inhabitants of Londonderry and of this land, while the Lord's mercies are continued unto you!"

A number of people gathering about him at one of the gates, after repeating the above words, he expressed that it was a great cross to him, as a man, to appear as he did, but that he believed it was required of him to be as a sign to this people; and that if the highly favoured people of this land did not humble themselves and manifest greater gratitude to the Author of all blessings, it was easy with him to permit trials to overtake them, as he had permitted trials and chastisements to overtake the inhabitants of his native land, for their ingratitude for great favours conferred upon them.

"Sixth-day, returned to Stramore, and unexpectedly met with William Mathews, Patience Brayton and Rebecca Wright; and our meeting was mutually satisfactory. Though it was a great trial to give up to this journey, yet being favoured to return in safety, I had occasion to be humbly thankful to the great Preserver.

"Seventh-day, attended the quarterly meeting for Ulster, held at Moyallen; a low season.

"First-day, fourth month 25th; The meeting was large, many not professing with us attending. William Mathews had, yesterday at the close of the meeting, to speak of a day of trial that in some way or manner would overtake, wherein the professors of the truth would be deeply proved; and therefore Friends were exhorted to be prepared for it.

"Second-day; this morning rising early, I set off for Armagh, accompanied by our dear women Friends from America, and some other Friends. The court-house being granted, we had a large meeting, and the people generally behaved well. This city is the residence of the archbishop; but though the resort of abundance of those who profess to be ministers of Christ, yet the life and virtue of godliness are not more prevalent here than in some other places. After dinner we went to the large new jail, and visited the prisoners, nearly forty, and three of them under sentence of death. Many of them were young men, and some grey-headed; and it was an affecting sight to see my fellow creatures loaded with heavy irons, and others also through a disregard to the Divine fear, brought into suffering and confinement. Much sympathy attended my mind for them, and I laboured, according to the measure given, to awaken in them proper reflections, and a regard in future, for the Divine fear. Some appeared tender.

"Fifth-day, had a meeting at Castle Beltingham, to which many people came; and among others, as it was said, four Romish priests. Two of these priests came into the meeting late, appearing as travellers. While our dear friend Rebecca Wright was speaking, one of them burst into laughter, and some young women and girls, and a few men, behaved lightly. After she sat down, I endeavoured to expose the inconsistency of such conduct with the solemnity of such an occasion, though that room was not built purposely for religious meetings; and I informed them that in my native land, it was considered as one mark of good breeding, to behave well in places of worship. Notwithstanding this inconsistent behaviour of some, much owing, I believe, to the novelty of a woman preaching, yet others were sober, and appeared solemnly impressed. I took an opportunity, after meeting, of speaking with these two disorderly priests, and told one of them that by his appearance, I took him to be one who professed to be a minister, and that such conduct disgraced him; to which he made no reply.

"At Drogheda my mind was deeply weighed

down, as I apprehend, in sympathy with the Seed of the kingdom in suffering in many hearts.

"Sixth-day, reached Dublin in time to refresh ourselves before the quarterly meeting for Leinster; and there I was also refreshed by the company of many dear friends, after a toilsome journey of five months, in a very arduous employ, yet mercifully sustained beyond expectation. May the Lord be praised!

"Second-day, the half-yearly meeting for business was opened, and continued by adjournments."

After this he had meetings at Timahoe, Athy, Cooladine, Wexford, and several other places, and then proceeded to Enniscorthy.

"Third-day, attended the meeting, which was favoured, many reputable sober people of the town being present. After their departure I had an opportunity with Friends, and pointed out the necessity of waiting for that wisdom and power which influenced our worthy ancients, and qualified them to maintain our religious testimonies with propriety, making such opportunities seasons of edification.

"Fourth-day, arrived at Kilkenny, and the room over the market-place being granted, we had a large meeting, which was pretty quiet. John, Duke of Ormond, the mayor, the sheriff, some of the magistrates, and other principal inhabitants attended, and many of the lower rank also. At this place the meetings of Friends have been often disturbed, but this was peaceable. The duke, after meeting, said that Friends should at any time be accommodated with the same room. The sheriff also, at the departure of the people, joined in an endeavour that no disturbance should occur, for there were many rude boys who were prevented from getting into the meeting, and were very restless and bold. In the morning I found myself not easy to leave this place without an opportunity with the prisoners in the jails. In the county jail there were about twenty persons confined, several of whom appeared impressed with the advice given them. We left some money with the jailer, to be laid out in bread and milk for them; and then went to the city jail and visited the prisoners there. This opportunity was not so comfortable, though they acknowledged the kindness of our visit.

"Sixth-day to second-day, fifth month 24th, at Ballinacly. Notwithstanding my hurry, I am not yet loosened from this island. Great is the mercy of God toward her inhabitants, too few of whom properly lay it to heart; yet there is a seed that God will bless, and after a day of trial, may raise up to be testimony bearers of his truth. I am not my own, and

find obedience alone produces true quiet; great enjoyment I cannot boast of; the Master keeps me low and poor; and I find I am not to live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from his mouth.

"Sixth month 24th; I continue to journey as heretofore, but my rides have not been very long at a time, having been for several weeks employed in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow. I was this day week on the sea-coast, visiting the descendants of those who came from England with Strongbow, in Henry the second's time. They differ from the general inhabitants of this island in their dialect, retaining much of the old English, or Saxon speech. The meetings were quiet, and we parted lovingly. I hope a solid care still dwells with me, to move under the guidance of Divine wisdom, and to watch when notice may be given to cease, and leave this island. I saw my way into it, but cannot yet see my way out. Friends continue their kindness, sympathy and love, but I wish to get away before any shall think I dwell long among them. It is satisfactory to hear that my dear friends are not uneasy with my singular stepplings in this land; I feel my own weakness, and consult my friends on every movement, and hope always to go along in the unity.

"I find that the yearly meeting of London, has yielded to the women Friends a regular yearly meeting; which was one, among other matters, that made me much desire to get to London, to join in promoting it."

The reader will probably recollect, that this important subject had been brought forward thirty years previously, at the quarterly meeting of York, by William Brown, and that John Churchman and John Pemberton then took a deep interest in it. But the yearly meeting at that time did not see the way to unite in the proposal, referring it after solid deliberation to a future year.

"Sixth month 29th; Received letters from my brother, with the sorrowful tidings of the decease of our worthy friend, Anthony Benezet, who will be much missed in our city; being not only a pious example, but greatly devoted to serve mankind.

"Seventh month 3d; Attended the quarterly meeting at Mount Mellick, which was large and pretty open.

"Second-day, set out for Tullamore, Thomas Cash now joining me as companion."

He had a meeting in the barracks at Tullamore, and afterwards visited Athlone, Loughrea, Galway, Gort and Ennis, in the county Clare, having meetings among a people very much in bondage to the superstitions of the



Romish church, and tyrannized over by their priests. At Loughrea, he says, that after the meeting, a Romish priest stood in the street and beat some of his people with a stick, threatening to excommunicate them for having attended the meeting.

He adds; "Trouble seems ripening in this land; my path remains to be very mortifying to me, and did I not experience the unity of the more solid part of Friends, I could not abide therein. It will be cause of rejoicing to be released, but the Lord hath a right to direct. With respect to our religious Society, the state is very low in this land. The world and many of its customs prevail, to the great hurt of the church. Dear Anthony Benzet, in his letter, received the day before I had account of his death, mentioned one, which, he says, was increasing on that side of the water; and which, from my first landing in Europe, I have borne my testimony against: that is, furnishing the table after dinner and supper, with bottles of wine and glasses. Where this is practised, the life of truth, I am persuaded, will gradually decline. It lays snares in the way, and is a pomp that should be withstood. I believe it hath hurt the professors of truth in this land much. Many live high among us, as well as others; whereas, multitudes appear almost famished; and it is greatly affecting to see the vast numbers of poor, and the multitudes confined in jails.

"First-day, seventh month 25th; Attended the meeting at Limerick, which was very exercising for a considerable time; a sleepy, unconcerned spirit prevailing; but Truth at length arose, and it ended more lively and comfortable. Great is the mercy of God to a forgetful people.

"Fourth-day, after meetings at several places we had a wet ride to Killarney, over a barren mountainous country, and on fifth-day had a large, quiet, and favoured meeting there, held in a room over the market-place. Among others, Lord Kenmore, a papist, attended; also a colonel and some soldiers. This Lord Kenmore kindly inquired how our friends now fared in America, and spoke very respectfully of William Penn.

"Sixth-day, we reached Cork in the evening, glad to get among Friends again, and were kindly received by my dear friends Samuel Neale and wife.

"First-day, eighth month 1st; Attended the meetings at Youghall, both large, and very suffering seasons, though there were many goodly looking Friends. In the evening was a full gathering at our quarters, where they usually hold an evening meeting on first-days; it was an exercising time, held in silence, except some little said by Joseph Poole.

"Second-day was a large meeting, mostly held in silence, and a suffering time. I had to make a few remarks at the close. Then the business for the province came on, and was a more lively season.

"Third-day, had a meeting appointed for the inhabitants, which was very large, quiet and favoured."

Soon after this they returned to Cork and remained there and in the neighbourhood, for several weeks. On the 24th of eighth month, they went to a small village called Baltimore; "and notifying the people, had a large meeting, generally of Protestants, and very poor. These people live by fishing and boating, and some of them by plundering vessels in distress; they behaved with much sobriety, and parted with us affectionately, divers expressing their thankfulness for the opportunity. This meeting was held in an open old castle, without a roof, but it accommodated us pretty well. Just as the meeting broke up, the parson of the parish rode up near the place, telling us that hearing of the meeting he came to see how his people conducted, and insisted much on our calling at his house to take refreshment. We parted affectionately, and proceeded to Bantry, over a wild country.

"Fourth-day, the parson, John Bemish, who descended from Friends, being willing we should hold a meeting in the Episcopal worship-house, the people were notified, and we had a large quiet meeting, more open than I expected; for in the morning we had been beset by three Romish priests, who appeared alarmed at our coming; and we had much reasoning with them at the inn where we quartered. Divers town's people were present. One of them, a dark ignorant man, asserted his disbelief of the Holy Scriptures. They insisted much on the necessity of baptism in their way, and on the traditions of the 'fathers,' &c. One of these afterwards expressed his concern at their conduct. I was fearful they might use endeavours to prevent their people from attending the meeting; but a large number were present, and I believe some were enlightened with the opportunity.

Fifth-day, we set out early for Crookhaven, the extremity of the land. The people, and their employ, here, are much as at Baltimore, looking very rough, yet ready to admit a meeting; which was held in a field among the rocks, some sitting on seats, and others on the rocks and ground. They were very quiet, and the opportunity was favoured. Part of the road to-day being very rocky, and impassable for any carriage, it was tedious, and we returned much wearied.

"Seventh-day, a meeting being appointed at Kinmore, to be held under a shed on the

premises of James Douglass, deputy agent to Lord Shelburne, many came, and it was a solid good meeting. James Douglass appeared astonished, saying there were double the number of Protestants that usually attended their place of worship, besides many Romans; adding that he did not expect half the number, and admired at their quiet behaviour. Some expressed their satisfaction with the meeting. We dined early, and set out for Belvorney, where we arrived in the evening, having several smart showers in passing the rough high mountains.

"First-day, arrived at Macroom, and notice was given of a meeting at 5 o'clock in the evening. It being a popish wicked town, the priest not only cautioned the people not to attend, but directed them to attend 'prayers' at the same hour that our meeting was to be held. Notwithstanding this, many came, and some Protestants of rank, but these came mostly late. The meeting was more favoured and quiet than could be expected, though some appeared at first to have envy and malice in their hearts.

"Second-day, went to Dunmanaway, both myself and Thomas Cash reduced to a state of weakness and poverty of spirit. I thought it safest, however poor and low, to propose a meeting; and many of the people being Protestants, they readily offered a school house. Many were much tendered by the power of Truth, my companion having a very open time, though I had but little to offer.

"Third-day, Thomas Cash inclining to stay at Bandon two or three days, I set out for Cork, and arrived at my dear friend Samuel Neale's about one o'clock.

"Fourth-day, ninth month 1st, continued at Samuel Neale's, poorly and much worn in body and mind, yet have cause to be humbly thankful that we were preserved from personal harm during this journey, and that the Lord in mercy has favoured with counsel and strength to pass through much arduous labour. Blessed be his holy name!

"Fifth-day, 16th of ninth month; since the above I have been diligently employed, having had meetings at Passage, Glanmire, Cove of Cork, Cloyne, and Castle Martyr, all large and quiet, and the people appeared generally solid and satisfied, and parted in love; though at two of the places among seafaring people. From Castle Martyr we came pretty directly for Waterford, and attended the quarterly meeting for Munster, which was large, and many promising youth were there. Though I am long detained in this land, I have little rest, and when I may be released I know not, but strive to keep patient. I endure seasons of great stripping and poverty, yet the Lord's

strength is made perfect in our weakness. The work is his, and the power is of him, for of myself I am the weakest of all the Lord's servants. Dear Thomas Ross and Samuel Neale are hinting to me, that I shall not get away until next year: it will be trying indeed if I am so kept; but the Lord hath a right to direct. I wish not to stay longer than is right, and to attempt to flee would only multiply sorrow. I take the unity of Friends with me, having laid myself open both at Cork, at the late quarterly meeting, and this day, at Clonmel.

"Tenth month 4th, at Catherlough; I was so solicitous last week for a release, that I believe it was not well pleasing to the Lord; being left in a state of great weakness and stripping; so that I find I must submit, and beg for a renewal of patient resignation. I have, with my dear companion Thomas Cash, had large meetings at Mitchell's-town, Tipperary, Cashell, Thurles and Templemore, also at Birr, Kilconnormoor, Knockballymagher, Ballanakill, and this place; also a large meeting at Abbey Lix. Here I had to begin, after a longer space of silence than usual, with expressing the value of patience, and the necessity there was for our labouring to be clothed with a resigned disposition of mind, in our religious gatherings for the solemn act of worship; that by truly waiting on the Lord, the fountain of all our mercies, we might experience our minds seasoned by his love and grace, and be prepared to worship him aright."

After being at Cooladine, Kilconnor, Ross, and a number of other places, he returned to Dublin, to attend the half-yearly meeting there, and thus proceeds:

"I attended the meeting of ministers and elders for the nation of Ireland, in which there was instruction. In the evening spent about two hours with John Gough, on his essay of a History of Friends. On fourth-day, spent about two hours with him again, in hearing his essay read, and parted with divers dear friends about to return to their homes.

"The half-yearly meeting was large and favoured. I think in many parts of Ireland there is an increase of zeal and devotedness, and a comfortable appearance of hopeful youth. There is a commendable concern spreading here, as well as in Great Britain, for the institution of schools for the children of Friends; and subscriptions are promoted, to establish one or more in each province in Ireland; also one for girls at York, England, to be visited and inspected by female Friends; and however difficult it may be in our own country, I hope Friends will continue to revive the matter.

"Eleventh month 19th, went to Newtown



Prosperous, accompanied by Thomas Ross and his companion, and divers Friends met us there. We had a meeting with the inhabitants, to whom Thomas Ross was drawn forth largely. Thence went to Edenderry.

"First-day, 21st, attended two large meetings at Edenderry. The corpse of a young man was brought into the morning meeting, which induced many not professing with Friends, to give their company. The necessity of a timely preparation for death was enforced, and Mary Ridgway had a powerful testimony.

"Fifth-day, went to Phillipstown, accompanied by Thomas Ross, and had a meeting with the inhabitants; visited the prisoners; and on seventh-day we made a stop at Clara, and had a quiet favoured meeting. Third-day, to Rosscommon; where the priest, as we were informed, intimidated the people; notwithstanding which, there was a pretty large meeting; considering the place, it was quiet, and many appeared satisfied. Visited the prisoners here also; and on sixth-day went to Athlone, and had a large, solid, good meeting with some of the inhabitants. Afterwards returning to Moate-a-grenoge, we were openly received by Barclay Clibborn and family."

About this time John Pemberton was affected with a disease in his right hand, which assumed a threatening appearance, and rendered it necessary for him to submit, for several weeks, to medical treatment. He continued however, to get out to meetings at Moate.

"I continued," he says, "at Moate throughout the first month, 1785, and endured much pain most of the time, as I had done the preceding month, but was favoured to get to all the meetings as they came in course. Poverty of spirit, however, and much stripping, was my allotment. But the Lord in great mercy preserved in patience and resignation; blessed be his holy name! During my stay here, I was favoured with many acceptable letters from my dear wife and brother in America, and from many friends in this land and in England, expressive of sympathy with me in my close provings; which were cause of humble gratitude. The wound now began to heal fast, but the inflammation having continued so long, and the pain so great, I had little use of my hand for a long time.

"Second month 8th, my dear friend Richard Shackleton came to visit me, and staid until the 11th. I was under a very close exercise at this time. On the 10th, my beloved aged friend Thomas Ross, came to Moate from a sense of religious duty to join me in my travels; and on the 14th we visited three families of Friends; and the next day went

to Ballymore, and held a religious meeting there in the Episcopal worship-house. The minister attended and was respectful, and the meeting was large and favoured. On the 16th, we went to Ballymahon, and had a meeting there. The popish priest used endeavours to prevent the people from coming; nevertheless, the meeting was pretty large, and owned, considering the darkness of the people, it being a popish town.

"First-day, 20th, attended the meeting at Kilconnor-moor, and in the afternoon visited a Friend who had been long confined with a paralytic stroke. The next day, after two meetings at Shenstone and Brusnea, proceeded to Rosscrea, and were kindly received and entertained by our friend John Pim. Next day we went to Burros, in Ossory, and had a large and very comfortable meeting with the inhabitants. Many Protestants live here, and among these the meetings are generally more lively than among the poor dark Romans; and yet the Lord is looking towards these, and some become tenderly impressed with the virtue of truth. As there are a few under our name in this place, we had them together, before we left it, and counsel was delivered to them.

"On the 24th, we set out for Ballyragget, with intent for a meeting there. But the priest (it being a popish town) used endeavours to prevent it, though the inhabitants pretty generally manifested some desire for such an opportunity. I sent for the priest, and many people came also, and we had much discourse. He seemed to assent to the truths, but said the people, even the children, knew all we advanced, and they did not want to be instructed. He was very full of talk, so that it was difficult to find room to speak. There was another priest, a dark, ignorant, rash young man, who denied the Scriptures, and often went in and out of the room, much-disturbed. He was several times reprov'd, and I believe many present were ashamed of his conduct. As many people attended, and our faith and principles were opened, as far as we had opportunity, we concluded it might suffice. Some were very attentive and sober. The priest asked us to dine with him, though he so opposed us. He was crafty, and was uneasy at so many attending, and sent some away. He wanted to get us to his house, that we might converse more privately; but this did not answer our end, for we wanted the people informed. After he left us, several sober soldiers came into the room, with whom we had a solid opportunity. They offered a room in the barracks, that we might have a meeting; but after dining at the inn, we proceeded to Kilkenny.

"Rising early on second-day we set out in a thick fog for Waterford, and there met with our dear friends Mehetael Jenkins, Hannah Bevington, Sarah Stephenson, Samuel Neale, and many others, and were with them at the meeting for ministers and elders; a time of instruction and seasonable counsel. Second-day was the quarterly meeting, large and favoured; the business conducted well, and many suitable remarks made in considering the state of the several meetings.

Third month 1st, attended the meeting at Waterford, and a very large one in the evening, appointed for the town's people. It was thought that several hundred went away, as they could not get in.

"6th; Bonds and afflictions are my daily portion; for when one day's labour is over, the weight of another is upon me; and the Lord, who knows best how to deal with his children, keeps me poor and low.

"The burden, in every part where I have been, lies on a few; but the Lord is as able to save by few as by many; and the more singly-devoted, the more will these be exalted; and these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for those who keep the word of his patience, and hold out to the end, a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

"22d; The weather yesterday being cold and stormy, it was not thought prudent to cross the water at Passage, a village below Waterford, as we had proposed. So this morning, being the fourth-day of the week, we returned to Passage, and the custom-house officer having provided the king's boat, with six oars-men and three officers, we rowed to Duncannon, and had a meeting in the yard of the castle, a strong fort. Many who attended were soldiers, with some of the inhabitants of the village. Much counsel, in gospel love, flowed towards them. My companion, after meeting, had some satisfactory conversation with an officer who had been in America during the troubles. Thence we proceeded in the same boat, to Ballyhae, and had a comfortable good meeting, the boatmen attending both these opportunities. On our landing, we were met by Rudolphus Green, the custom-house officer, who insisted on our going to his house. We complied, and after taking refreshment, returned to Waterford, much wearied.

"Seventh-day, accompanied by Isaac Jacobs, I went about three miles, to visit a chartered school, where about forty children are educated, being brought up to industry as well as learning, until fit to place as apprentices, when a fee is given with them. It was better conducted than one I before visited. I had some counsel to drop to the children.

"First-day, the meeting this morning at Waterford was large and solid. I had some thing to say towards the conclusion, respecting the great value and necessity of attaining to a true inward waiting upon Almighty God. But a forward woman, in a ranting deluded spirit, stepped from the lower part of the meeting to the gallery, and there told a dream, which created uneasiness, and in part took off the solemnity that had prevailed. Friends, afterwards had a solid opportunity with her, but she was in a self-confident spirit.

"Sixth-day, being the day of their men's and women's meetings, it was a favoured season. During the consideration of the state of the meeting, a concern was begotten in my mind to testify against the evil and pernicious effects of stage plays, and how ensnaring they were to youth; and Friends were urged to think whether something was not due from them to represent to those in power the hurtfulness of this evil. The concern spread over the meeting, and a committee was appointed to consider what mode to pursue. Some extracts were made from several authors, the Prince of Conti, William Penn, R. Barclay, S. Hume, &c., which Friends agreed to have printed, testifying against the evil effects of stage plays, and other vain diversions; and a letter was also written, and signed by Thomas Ross and myself, directed to the mayor and other magistrates of Waterford, expressing our concern in finding so much encouragement given to plays, and urging them to labour to suppress these, and other evil pastimes, and to exercise their authority against profane swearing and other evils. I visited the jail, and on second-day morning, the poor in the poor-house, being upwards of one hundred. They were thankful for the visit. I then set out with dear Thomas Ross for Kilmacthomas, about twelve Irish miles, and had a large favoured meeting; proceeded to Dungarven; and on third-day had a large meeting in the court-house. Friends apprehended we should have a disturbed time, but He whose power subjected evil spirits formerly, preserved us, so that the meeting was quiet, weighty and solemn. An aged man, a magistrate, attended, and expressed his satisfaction with the meeting, saying that he never heard such doctrine before. I observed a man near me, as soon as I stood up, take out his paper and pencil, to make notes; but I was favoured not to be intimidated. Thence we went to Youghall, and on fourth-day to Ardmore, and had a quiet good meeting. On fifth-day afternoon, I went to Clashmore, and had a large open meeting, all except a very few being Romans; yet the meeting was as quiet and solemn as most of those among Friends. I was much worn and fatigued this evening, so staid at Youghall on



sixth-day, and in the evening had a very large meeting with the inhabitants, which was open and satisfactory, some being under the humbling impression of Truth, and looking towards Friends. The Lord favoured with his gracious help, and his name was praised. Before I left Youghall, I visited the hospital, or infirmary, and had some advice for the few there. On seventh-day we came to Cork. The week before this was not much less laborious than this has been; and indeed little else but great toil has been my allotment in this land. I am kept low and abased, and am engaged to beg my daily bread, and each day to crave to be helped this once. May the Lord be magnified; for I am a poor creature to be thus led: his own works praise him. I labour to keep my eye single, and to lean to the Lord for wisdom, strength and utterance, and to keep within the limits of my small gift. May all live near that source which nourishes and keeps alive, and preserves in a holy zeal.

“Fifth-day, fourth month 14th; Went to a village called Blarney, and held a meeting, which was large, and owned by the prevalence of gospel love, and the doctrine of Christ Jesus was preached.

“Sixth-day afternoon, had four religious opportunities in the jails; the felons and debtors in each jail being separated, we took them so. It was indeed greatly affecting to see so many fellow mortals crowded in dirty, stinking prisons. They were glad of the visit, and some assented to the truth of what was delivered. One of the jailers told Samuel Neale afterwards, that the jails never had such a visit paid them before, and he wanted liberty to say something about it in the public papers; but this I forbade.

“First-day, between the afternoon and evening meetings, I visited the Bridewell, and found a young hearty black man, who knew me, and said he was born in Philadelphia. It appeared as if he had been much imposed on. I compounded with his creditors, and got him released from confinement; and he being without shirt, or shoe, or stockings, I provided him some clothing, and he promises to repay as speedily as he can, after his arrival. I have engaged also for his passage, that if he does not pay the captain, or his friends for him, I am to be accountable. Samuel Neale accompanied me to Bridewell, and we released here also a young man detained for his fees.

“Fifth-day, we proposed to leave Cork; but I was not clear without attempting a religious opportunity with the soldiery; and application being made, had a meeting of some hundreds of them in Friends’ meeting house. Two colonels and some other officers attend-

ed, one of whom was called a lord. The meeting was in a good measure satisfactory, through the Lord’s gracious help. After this we speedily set out.

“Second-day, we went to Ballyporeen, and obtaining a place, the people generally gave their attendance, though it is a dark popish place; and it was said the priest of this parish had warned the people not to go to hear the Quakers. Hence we went direct to Clonmel, and the next day had a large, open, good meeting with the inhabitants, Friends and others. Several Episcopal ministers were there, and many soldiers. This was a weighty meeting, and strength was given to publish the glad tidings of the gospel, and way of life and salvation to the people, to our ease and their satisfaction, as many expressed. One Episcopal minister, before he left the meeting, came up to me and expressed thanks. I told him, if any good was done, thanks were due to God, and not to man; for we were only instruments. Towards evening I went to the jail and had the prisoners arranged in the yard, and gave them some advice, which they acknowledged. Most of them were young men in their prime, and divers loaded with heavy irons, a sorrowful sight indeed; two men and one woman were under sentence of death.

“Sixth-day, reached Dublin; and on seventh-day the national meeting of ministers and elders was held. It was, however, a very cloudy, proving time. Little was said in the line of ministry; but what was delivered tended to promote a serious examination and inquiry for the cause of such prevailing heaviness.

“The general meeting, on the second, third and fourth-days, was large, and a great appearance of hopeful youth of both sexes. It was a solid quiet meeting. I have had a slow fever for several weeks, with a cough and pain in my breast, owing to constant exercise. Being likely soon to leave the island, I can say that I have laboured to avoid doing harm, if I have not been instrumental of much good; and though my path has been singular and arduous, yet the Lord hath helped and borne up under many deep exercises, and made way for me among a people much strangers to our religious principles. To these I believe a gracious visitation is extended. May the Lord prosper his work in his own way and time, and bring forward the beloved youth of our religious Society, many of whom are under the virtue of Truth.\*

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\* Samuel Neale thus speaks of the religious services of John Pemberton in Ireland:

“Dear John Pemberton is a most dedicated vessel in the Master’s house. He seems to leave no

"On sixth-day morning I embarked for Liverpool, in company with my beloved aged friend Thomas Ross, also Edward Hatton, James Christy, jr., and Thomas Taverner, of this nation, going to attend the yearly meeting in London. We landed about eleven o'clock the next day, at our destined port.

"Next day being the first-day of the week, invitation was given for the afternoon, and many inhabitants came. The meeting was more open and favoured than could be expected in a place where such a wicked trade is promoted; there being some hundred vessels fitted out in a year, from this place, for the coast of Africa, to make slaves of the inhabitants of that country."

### CHAPTER III.

#### *Travels in England and Scotland.*

"FIFTH month 13th, 1785; We left Liverpool on second-day morning and arrived in London yesterday afternoon, after calling at Coventry and attending their meeting on fourth-day; a close searching time, but the Lord gave utterance. We travelled two hundred and three miles in little more than three days.

"Seventh-day, attended the yearly meeting for ministers and elders, which was instructive; and on first-day, 15th, two meetings at Grace-church street, both large, many not professing with us being present, who looked for words; but there was not much preaching in either meeting.

"Second-day in the morning, the meeting for ministers and elders again sat, and was a large solid meeting. Our dear friends John Storer, John Townsend and Thomas Colley, spread before the meeting their concern for visiting their brethren in America; and our friends Nicholas Waln and Samuel Emlen, expressed their expectation of liberty soon to return home. In the afternoon the business of the yearly meeting opened. At the first sitting down, our friend Nicholas Waln, had some very close hints to give respecting worldly wisdom and riches usurping, showing that these ought not to govern in the church; but the seasoning virtue of Truth; and that under this, all, even the weakest and poorest, had the same right to speak. I believe it was a profitable hint.

"Third-day, both meetings were solid, and that forward spirit, which by worldly wisdom

stone unturned, to perform what he believes to be his duty, and has remarkable openness amongst the 'Catholics,' who are in general, the most ignorant of our inhabitants. Amongst this class of people our dear friend labours much, and I believe his service is successful."

had often interrupted the service and hurt meetings, was much kept under. On second-day afternoon, the 22nd, the meeting concluded very solemnly in supplication by George Dillwyn.

"This yearly meeting was very large; and perhaps in few which have been held in London for these fifty years past, had there been less of the floating worldly wisdom manifest; and there was much less interruption than usual by wise harrangues; Friends maintaining a solid exercise, kept down that spirit. It is cause of great thankfulness that there are many weighty brethren and sisters still preserved, and I believe that a concern increases for the promotion of righteousness. A large number of hopeful young people, both male and female, attended the meeting, and the mouths of several were opened in public testimony. A good account was given of Ackworth school. There are a number of valuable Friends in Yorkshire, who have much of the weight of it upon them, and seem to exert their best endeavours for the benefit of the institution. It requires close attention and great wisdom to guide such an affair. The women's yearly meeting ended on seventh-day evening. Dear Thomas Ross and myself, accompanied by John Storer and Richard Shackleton, made a visit among them just before they closed, and it was comfortable to find the Lord was with them.

"Third-day, went to Tottenham and spent about a week there, for the sake of rest, and with a hope of recruiting in health after long and constant exercise of mind and body.

"Fifth-day, sixth month, 2nd. This morning I took leave of my dear friends George Dillwyn, Samuel Emlen, &c., and in company with dear Thomas Ross, and some other Friends, reached Chelmsford in the evening.

"Sixth-day, proceeded to Colchester, and lodged at John Kendall's; and on second-day attended the quarterly meeting at Ipswich.

12th, went to Norwich quarterly meeting; and the next day was at two large meetings, attended by many of the inhabitants not professing with Friends. The testimony ran close against the liberties that prevail among the professors of truth; and Nicholas Waln was led exceeding closely in the afternoon meeting. On fourth and fifth-days, visited the prisoners in the Castle and the city jail.

"Third-day, the 28th, reached York, and attended the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders. It was large, and many valuable Friends were present; my dear and aged companion was led in very close service among them. We lodged at William Tuke's.

"Fourth and fifth-days, the quarterly meeting for business. Daniel Snowden, aged about



ninety years, walked twenty-four miles to this quarterly meeting, and sat four or five hours in it, having his hearing and faculties admirably.

"Sixth-day, visited the prisoners in three jails. In one there was a very large number of felons and debtors; some were tenderly impressed.

"First-day, at Darlington. At the close of the afternoon sitting, Friends were desired to stop, and counsel was communicated, tending to excite to a steady circumspect conduct, that their light might shine among their neighbours.

"Fifth-day, a meeting for the inhabitants of Sunderland was held in the evening, large and much favoured; many minds being tendered with the pure influence of truth.

"First-day, attended a general meeting at Benfieldside, to which resorted many hundreds of people, so that we were obliged to hold the meeting in a field. The meeting house, though larger than many, would not contain half the people. The day of the Lord was proclaimed, and the way of life and salvation opened to them. Though they behaved soberly, and many were tenderly impressed, yet there was not that openness to receive the word with joy, as was the case when dear George Fox entered that part in 1653, (called in his journal *Derwentwater*.) The fields then appeared white unto harvest, and the Lord by judgments had prepared the minds of the people to embrace his love, and to be open to instruction. On second-day we came over the hills to Newcastle, and next morning attended the monthly meeting at Shields, which held about five hours. My companion had a favoured opportunity, chiefly directed to Friends, beginning with George Fox's exhortation, 'Friends, keep all your meetings in the power of God.' Patience Brayton and her companion were also here, and had good service. Except this week, we have had nine, ten, and eleven meetings a week, since we left London, which is greatly exercising to body and mind. But I want to fulfil my mission, and if it please the Lord, to return to my native land; the time for which, I do not see, though I often think of my dear friends there, with desires that He may be with them, and strengthen them for the arduous work of their day. The ways of the Lord are a great deep, and he has a right to employ where and how he pleaseth; may his name be revered.

"We had many large meetings in and about Sunderland, and North and South Shields, and much openness; also at Morpeth, Alnwick, Felton, Kelso, in Scotland, Berwick, Eymouth, Dunbar, and Haddington, and two at Edinburgh, yesterday, the 7th of eighth

month. But we find at some places in Scotland, that though the meetings have been large, the people are so bound to forms, and the prejudices of education, that we have not experienced so much openness as in England. Esther Tuke, Elizabeth Hoyland, Philip Madin, John Abbot and Henry Taylor, with dear Thomas Ross, and myself, are our company.

"At Haddington we found some difficulty to obtain a place for a meeting; the provost refusing the Town Hall. But a large house, built for training and exercising horses, being applied for, was readily granted; and though it was out of town, and the morning having been rainy, made it rather dirty walking, yet a large number of people gathered, the priest among the rest, and were quiet, and I believe many parted satisfied.

"At Edinburgh we had the few professors together, with some of the students under the character of Friends; and on third-day had a large meeting at Leith; the next day at Kirkcaldy; thence to Cupar, Dundee, Aberbrothwick, Montrose, and Inverbervie. Thomas Ross had to speak particularly to the people, to wean them from the teachings of men. Thence to Stonehaven, and so to Aberdeen, where we had four meetings, all large and satisfactory. On fifth-day we designed Friends to be select; but the people seeing us go to meeting, many came; nevertheless the testimony ran much to Friends, showing what it was that gathered us to be a people, and that it is the same power that must now preserve us. The way was pointed out, by which our first friends were led into a denial of the world's ways and practices, both in speech and other things, and that although it brought grievous sufferings and persecutions, yet their faithful upright walking at length gained them esteem, and discerning men now despise those who deviate from our known testimonies and principles.

"Thence to Inverary, Old Meldrum, and Kinnuck. Some Friends live at the five last places. Here we parted with dear Esther Tuke, Elizabeth Hoyland, and Henry Taylor, who steered for England; and with Thomas Ross, Philip Madin and John Abbot, we set out further north, and had meetings at Elton, Petershead, Frazersburg, Bamff, Portsay, Cullen, and Fochabers, where the duke of Gordon, his wife, and many others from his family, came to the meeting. Thence to Forres, Nairn, and Inverness; and here dear Thomas Ross was poorly and spent; my mind continued much exercised in further prospect of duty, yet as he was not fit to go into a more desolate country, I attempted to set my face with him towards England; but became so distressed, that on the 4th of the ninth month,

he urged my leaving him, and pursuing my prospect; and our friend Philip Madin, promising to take care of him, I reluctantly parted with him; and with John Abbot, of Huntingdonshire, and Alexander Cruickshank, of Old Meldrum, returned to Inverness. We had two very large and satisfactory meetings there, and crossing into the highland shires of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, had meetings at Boulie, Dingwall, Milltown and Tain. Three Presbyterian ministers, also Lord Ankerville, so called, and Sir Hector Monroe, attended the meeting at Tain; the latter expressed their satisfaction, and Ankerville pressed us to his house. This meeting was a season of favour; and the way of life and salvation was pointed out, under the seasoning virtue of truth. May the Lord, the great helper, have the praise! We distributed some books, as we usually do after meetings, and then hastened on our journey, and crossed a water with one of the ministers, who with his wife and daughter, was at meeting at Tain, and pressed us on our return to call at his house in Sutherlandshire, and tarry a night; and if we inclined to have a meeting we should have his 'kirk,' and he would notify the people. We were afterwards very openly, and without affectation, kindly received and entertained, and though a very stormy, snowy day, had a gathering of reputable people, and the Lord condescended to favour us. This man was so civil and sincere, that he offered to suspend his morning and evening prayers, if they were offensive to us.

"From Tain we went directly for Wick, where we had three large meetings.

"Ninth month 11th; This day is three years and three months since I parted with my dear wife and comfortable habitation; in which time many and deep have been my probations, but the Lord hath helped hitherto.

"13th; Proceeded to the northernmost part of Scotland, and crossed to South Ronaldsay, one of the Orkney islands, having about three hours passage.

"We continued on these islands five weeks, in which time we rode about three hundred miles by land, and went about seventy-four miles by water, not allowing myself one day's rest, and had forty-four meetings, mostly large. Sixteen were held in their kirks, so called, which being offered by their ministers for the accommodation of the people, I was free to accept them, and we were kindly entertained at several of their houses. When I considered their openness to offer their worship-houses, and some of them to send their servants to notify the people, appearing sincere, I was free to accept their invitations. And indeed,

in some places there were no other suitable houses to accommodate us; for the country, as well as the people, is generally poor, and few inns. We met with much civility, and were accommodated at some of the best houses. The provost of Kirkwall, William Lindsay, had his house always open to receive us, as we passed backward and forward; he was a feeling, sympathizing, sensible and considerate man. We visited six of the islands, viz: South Ronaldsay, Burra, Flota, Wass, Grimsa and Pomona. This last is about thirty-six miles long and ten broad, and we spent most of the time on it. The poor people on Grimsa, where there is a worship-house, told me there had not been a sermon there before, for more than seven years. Though there is no great real hunger and thirst after righteousness, yet the people seem free from some of the vices that prevail in many places. They live in harmony, and would come from one to five miles to a meeting. I believe there were from two to three hundred people at some meetings, and at others five hundred and upwards. I look upon my proceedings as only paving the way for others, and believe, though a poor creature, I have left love in every place, and an open door. My mind was deeply proved throughout the journey, and I was not clear in leaving the islands, there being many more; but the weather was very boisterous, and snow came on; and the thoughts of being detained in a cold country, where we must be beholden to strangers, and perhaps confined all winter, I could not reconcile, and hoped my gracious Master would have compassion."

This anxiety to get away occasioned him much mental conflict. He thus mentions one attempt which they made to escape from the field of apprehended duty, and what it cost him.

"Ninth month 27th; The weather very stormy, with frequent showers of rain and hail; yet we had a full meeting, much spent in silence; and having laboured to be resigned to return to Pomona, I sat the meeting with more satisfaction. The opportunity was favoured, and some were tender. On fourth-day, looking again towards crossing the Firth, renewed the unsettlement of my mind, but strong were my desires to be released from these islands; and so we proceeded to Burwick ferry, on the south side of South Ronaldsay. When we came there, the boatmen refused to cross. Though I did not feel myself clear of these islands, yet both myself and companions were disposed to go, as the season was advanced, and we were far north and had a very difficult passage to cross. On fifth-day,



the wind being lower, and it appearing likely for us to cross, we placed our horses on board a boat and put out to sea. But showers of rain coming on, and high tempestuous winds, after passing one third part over, it was judged prudent to return; one of the men saying he did not know what sort of people they had in the boat, having never been obliged to return before. I thought of Jonah, for my mind continued heavy and not peaceful. On getting ashore we set out, and at Carra ferry had a meeting held in a barn, to which many poor people came, to whom advice was given in innocent simplicity. Dined on potatoes this day, which led me into a deep feeling: with the poor.

"Tenth month 19th; Went to Burwick and crossed the Pentland Firth with a fair wind, and through favour got safely over.

"23d; Went to Thurso, the largest town in Caithness, where we provided a spacious room in a ware-house; but when the people were assembling, it was thought it would not contain a fourth part of them; so the chief magistrate proposed our going to the 'kirk,' which being opened, it was supposed seven hundred people assembled, to whom the gospel was preached in a good degree of the demonstration of the Spirit; though it was a trying time to me for many hours before the meeting, and my mind had been much stripped and tossed. But blessed be God, he owned the meeting, as also another large meeting in the same place the next day, through the condescending goodness of the Lord, the great helper of his depending children.

"We left Thurso in the rain, and proceeding about nine miles, a man of good appearance stood near his house looking at us, and kindly invited us to take up our quarters; which we accepted, and had a meeting that evening at his house, with his servants and neighbours. Setting off early next morning, we had a long rough ride through much snow, and over bad roads; and had meetings at Golspy and Dornoch, Tain, Cromartie, and Fort Ross. Here were many raw people, yet they generally behaved well, and the meeting was full as well as could be expected. A person who was at it, told me that he believed there were only himself and one other person, called Sir Alexander McKenzie, that were ever at a meeting of our religious Society before.

"Sixth-day, awoke this morning under great exercise of mind, and crossed the ferry to Nairn; where there was a market, and my companion having a concern to go into it, I accompanied him. He stood at the mar-

ket-cross, and spoke to the people, many of whom stood amazed, yet they were sober, and some solid. We then proceeded to Forres, Elgin, Fochabers and Keith, and afterwards had a large satisfactory meeting at Huntley. At Montrose I parted with my dear friend Alexander Cruickshank, who had been a kind companion and fellow-helper, though not in the ministerial line. He returned home, and John Abbot and myself crossed the ferry and proceeded to Dundee.

"Third-day, eleventh month 14th, crossed the water, and passed on to Cupar, where we refreshed ourselves, and found our visit to that place as we passed northward, had left a profitable impression. The people would have been pleased with another religious opportunity.

"Fifth-day, rode to Edinburgh, and the next third-day reached Newcastle. I was enabled to bear the fatigue of riding better than I expected. The meetings in these remote parts have been generally large, the people behaved well; and I have laboured by watchful attention, to keep in the meekness and simplicity, so that I hope the reputation of the blessed truth has not suffered. Since I left London, that is, from the 2nd of sixth month, to eleventh month 23d, I have travelled about two thousand miles, and been at about two hundred and seven meetings, besides visits to prisons, schools, families, &c.

"I was detained at Newcastle, in visiting families. On second-day, twelfth month 12th, the business of the monthly meeting was entered upon; in which my mind was engaged to urge Friends to a proper care over their members; and a committee was appointed to visit those who deviate from our religious testimony, in complying with the priests' demands, and who have launched into the world's customs, in dress, &c. From thence I reached York on the 24th, coming there to see my dear aged friend Thomas Ross, who has been poorly several months.

"Fourth-day, 28th, at Leeds. The quarterly meeting for Yorkshire opened with a meeting for worship, in which Rebecca Jones, lately returned from Ireland, had good service, and had to proclaim a time in which that quarterly meeting would be thinned of elders and active members, and that the burden must rest on the youth, who were encouraged to come forward. It was a solid weighty time. On fifth-day the business of the meeting was resumed, and Rebecca Jones spoke of a time coming when the foundations of Friends would be proved; and exhorted to labour to be prepared for it, when the blast of the terrible might be as a storm against the wall. The minds of many appeared tenderly affected.

"Third-day, the affairs of the church were transacted, and in the evening was a public meeting. I was silent, as I have been much of late, it being a stripping purging season.

"Fourth-day was the meeting for ministers and elders, in which several testimonies were borne, but I inherited barrenness.

"Third-day, attended the monthly meeting at Stockton, and on fifth-day went to Yarm.

"First month 19th, at Crawthorne. I have indeed great cause to bless the Lord, in that he has inclined the minds of many in near sympathy with me in the singular path I have had to tread; and it ought to have engaged me to more resignedness of mind and unreserved dedication than has sometimes been the case. The flesh is weak, and we often suffer loss by parleying and looking out too much, and suffering our own fears, or thoughts of what others may say or think, to prevail. I have been hitherto, through great mercy, preserved in the unity, and I wish ever to dwell in such abasedness as to be kept in it; but my own natural will, joined to the desires of some, hastened me out of Scotland sooner than was prudent. I know that some, out of near sympathy, have wished my line was turned; and having striven for it, I have brought on much inward proving; and indeed outward too; for I have been poorly ever since I left Scotland, though wonderfully preserved for the most part whilst there. I have not attempted a meeting for those of other societies since I entered England from the north, until last first-day. I have since had two meetings, large and open, which have relieved me a little. However mortifying or singular, I must go the way I am led, or I may go home; for I seem to have little to do among Friends. I live but from day to day.

"The general state of our religious Society here is low; yet there is a remnant preserved, and in most places some who labour to keep their habitations in the truth. The attention of Friends has been lately much taken up respecting a small society formed in France, called by our name. Friends in London have had much satisfaction in conversing with a person who brought a copy of an epistle from them. He was brought up to the law, but left it from religious scruples, and has since followed weaving. He is a man of substance, of a sweet disposition and sensibility, and is concerned that some who profess the light of Christ, are in the practice of powdering their hair and wearing large silver buckles, &c., which truth led him out of. There are several in their little society who speak in their meetings at times, particularly a woman, who speaks with power, tendering the hearts of

the people, not only of their society, but strangers who come out of curiosity. It is evident the light is spreading, but these poor people will probably be brought under great sufferings, as they have not withstood the the priests' demands, nor the hiring of substitutes on account of war; though they have had scruples, and wanted advice.

"In the last month, I received a letter from William Lindsay, provost, or chief magistrate of Kirkwall, in the Orkneys, who was very kind to me and companions when there, part of which follows:—"

"Dear sir,

"It was with great satisfaction that I received and read your letter of the 14th of last month, from Dundee. The warm and kindly expressions which you make use of, proceed, I am fully convinced, from a feeling, sincere and benevolent heart. I have long had the highest admiration of the manners and sentiments of your society in general, though I never had a personal acquaintance with any of them before I saw you and your two companions, who have not by any means lessened the esteem which I formerly entertained of it. It is much easier, however, heartily to approve, than sincerely to imitate. Many in this country remember you with unaffected good will and kindness, and have been frequently enquiring whether any word has been got from you. We have daily instances of the instability of human life and affairs. I wish we may all make that application of it which you recommend. And now I wish, that that goodness which has guided and protected you through a journey so perilous and fatiguing, may continue to attend you, and at length restore you to your friends and country, in the enjoyment of that peace and tranquillity of mind, which can be experienced by those only, who have discharged the duties to which they have been called, faithfully and with a good conscience. Whether I shall ever see you again or not, I hope I shall long remember those persons who were the first to give me a palpable evidence of that innocence, simplicity and benevolence of manners, for which their Society has been so much celebrated.

"I am with great regard, dear sir,

"Your friend, &c.,

"WILLIAM LINDSAY,"

"Caldwell, near Kirkwall, 3d Dec. 1785."

"Fourth-day, first month 25th, 1786, at Aytton. I have had five public meetings lately, some of them very large and open. I find the Lord owns me in this path. I continue poorly, but healing virtue enables to fulfil each day's duty.



"Sixth-day, attended the monthly meeting at Castleton, which was a seasonable good meeting, though the testimony ran closely against a lukewarm spirit and formal profession without life, and also against a worldly spirit.

"Seventh-day, went to Moorsom, and the neighbours being notified, many came. Some were tender, but too many careless professors of Christianity. I laboured as well as I could under the strength afforded. A sergeant of the army came, with some other people, from Gisborough to this meeting, he having attended the meetings at Gisborough and at Ayton; and two women, one of them far advanced in years, who live at Ormsby, walked about seven miles to Ayton meeting, being some time under conviction.

"Second month 7th, at Lindley Murray's, near York. I came to this place on second-day of last week, hearing that my worthy aged friend Thomas Ross, was reduced to a weak state. I found liberty to come and abide with him, and have since attended on him with diligence. He is gradually wearing away; but preserved in a happy state of mind, and full of good matter.

"Though many are regardless of the Divine fear, and are treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath, yet the glorious gospel light spreads, and many we find, are believing in it. Surely the Lord intends to gather, or he would not engage some to go amongst a dark superstitious people, to shake them from their false dependence, and turn their minds to the teachings of the good Spirit in their own hearts, and also to open the way for such labour. Indeed, though I am such a weak instrument, yet way hath been wonderfully opened for me; so that, as I have formerly mentioned, ministers and great men of the earth, have countenanced the doctrine of the gospel and acknowledged the truths delivered. For many weeks I laboured to turn from this path, but found it produced perplexity and barrenness; so that I returned to it, and latterly have had several open comfortable meetings in the upper part of this county. I seem likely to continue here a while for the sake of this worthy ancient. He has been very solicitous for my company, and I desire to discharge the care of a faithful friend to him in his last moments.

"So much snow has fallen, that some of the oldest people do not remember the like. I have rode through heaps that were as high as my head when on horseback.

"Second month 15th, I attended upon my aged friend and comfortable companion, Thomas Ross, with all the care I well could, until I closed his eyes on second-day morning, the 13th instant, about ten o'clock, at the house of our dear, and I may say, worthy friend, Lind-

ley Murray. He removed thither from William Tuke's, on the 26th of twelfth month, being open, airy and retired. For a week before his departure, he wanted great attendance, being rendered very helpless; yet his understanding was preserved until just at the close, though he lost his speech about three hours before. He often begged he might have an easy passage, which was granted to him, though for several days he endured a good deal of pain. He drew his last breath with apparent ease, and I doubt not is gone to the general assembly of the just, to reap the reward of a devoted well spent life, saying the day before he died, that he had been fighting the good fight above fifty years, and hoped he should have the reward. A very comfortable evidence of this often attended him; that it may be justly said, 'the righteous hath hope in his death.' I wish his descendants may be concerned to know the God of their father, and serve him with a perfect heart; that so their end may be alike glorious.

"His remains were deposited in the silent grave, on fifth-day the 16th, next to the remains of dear John Woolman. Rebecca Jones was much favoured at the grave, and our dear friend George Dillwyn, at the meeting house, where a large company gathered."

Thomas Ross was born in Ireland, in the county of Tyrone, and educated a member of the Episcopal church. He came to America about the twentieth year of his age, and settling in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, was convinced of the Truth as professed by Friends, and received into membership by Buckingham monthly meeting; and in the year 1753, became a member of Wright's town monthly meeting. Not long after his conviction it pleased the Lord to bestow upon him a gift in the ministry of the gospel, in which he experienced a growth, and was exercised to the edification of his brethren. He frequently visited meetings in these and the adjacent parts, and in company with John Griffith paid a religious visit to the northern and southern colonies.

Towards the close of the year 1783, after being raised from an attack of severe illness, his mind was renewedly drawn to visit, in the love of the gospel, the churches in Great Britain and Ireland, of which he had had some prospect for several years; and spreading his concern before Friends, he received testimonials of their sympathy and unity from the monthly, quarterly, and general spring meeting, and prosecuted the concern as set forth in the following memorial respecting him, which will doubtless be acceptable to the reader, viz :

*"Testimony of York monthly meeting, Great Britain, concerning THOMAS ROSS, late of Wright's town meeting in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, a minister, who departed this life at Holdgate, near the city of York, the 13th of the second month, 1786, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.*

"To perpetuate the memory of the just, by endeavouring to render their examples and precepts beneficial to others, is a debt due to posterity as well as to the praise of His name, by whom they have been made more than conquerors, and become pillars in his house, which go no more out.

"Having the unity and near sympathy of his friends and brethren at home, as appears by sundry certificates, he embarked in the fourth month, 1784, with divers other Friends, under the like religious engagements, and arrived in London just before the yearly meeting, which, though under bodily infirmities, he attended.

"He was detained by indisposition in and near that city for some time after. When a little recovered he travelled towards Bristol, and after some religious labour there and in that neighbourhood, sailed for Ireland and arrived at Cork; visited the meetings of Friends in that nation, which when he had nearly gone through, he found his mind engaged to join our friend John Pemberton, of Philadelphia, in religious labour, principally amongst those who do not make profession with us. After the national meeting in Dublin he returned to England, attended the yearly meeting in London, those at Woodbridge and Norwich, the quarterly meetings of Lincoln and Durham, and divers other meetings, and then proceeded in this religious service to Scotland.

"His bodily indisposition increasing, he was under the necessity of resting at Old Meldrum, Edinburgh and Newcastle; from which last place, taking a few meetings in his way, he reached York the 2nd of eleventh month, and was at our monthly meeting the day following, which was the last meeting he was able to attend.

"During the course of his travels we have abundant cause to believe his religious services were truly acceptable to Friends, and well received by others; for, having an especial eye to the puttings forth of the Divine hand, his ministry was attended with living virtue and deep instruction; though 'not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth,' yet in godly simplicity, and with a zeal according to true knowledge. He was wise in detecting the snares of the enemy; faithfully, and without partiality, warning those who were in dan-

ger of falling therein; and, as in the course of his own sanctification, he had been made deeply acquainted with the necessary baptisms peculiar to that important work, so he was furnished by living experience and the renewings of holy help, with qualifications to administer in tender sympathy, pertinent and wholesome counsel to the true Christian travellers; and so to dip in the present state of the church, as profitably to 'declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin.'

"In meetings for business he was particularly serviceable, his remarks being mostly short, pertinent, and very instructive; exciting to a steady attention to divine counsel in the transacting of our Christian discipline, and therein to exercise true judgment, without partiality and respect of persons.

"During the course of his illness he was preserved in a heavenly frame of mind; on almost every occasion dropping instructive counsel and advice to Friends who attended on and visited him, of which the following collection is but a small part. He frequently said, that he knew not why he was continued in such an exercised state of bodily weakness, yet doubted not, but that it was all in wisdom, and for some good end; adding, 'It was not for the clay to say to the Potter, why hast thou made me thus?'

"Sitting in the family where he was during the fore part of his illness, he expressed himself thus: 'Dear young people, keep to your first love. The Bridegroom of souls will not be unmindful of the bride, whilst she remains chaste: some of you, I believe, are espoused to Him. O, the ardent desire which I feel for the youth! Thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins love thee.'

"The same day:—'I have not sought mine own honour, but the honour of Him who first drew me from my habitation, and have great reason to praise his name. One thing which inclines me to think my work may be nearly done, is this, that it never appeared to be laid upon me to pay a general visit to England.'

"At another time said, 'O, the harmony there is in the Lord's family! Ephraim shall not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim; nothing shall hurt or destroy in all thy holy mountain.'

"Again, under bodily oppression, 'I find no relief but when I feel a revival of that which is the healer of breaches; but that is not at my own command. My mind was last night much drawn out to my fellow labourers. O, that they may keep little!—I have remembered that saying, There are a few names even in Sardis, who have not defiled their garments; and I hope there are a few in York. Dear friends, what a people we should



be, did we dig deep enough; our lights would shine before men; we should be as the salt of the earth. How many, who have begun well, have had their garments defiled with the world, and are become like the salt that has lost its savour; they are as dead weights in our assemblies, so that the living are scarcely able to bear the dead. O, Friends, keep to the Truth, for it shall rise above the heads of gainsayers.'

"At another time, 'I could not be more at home anywhere, it revives me to see the children about me. I tell you, young people, the hardest thing I ever found in my passage was, when I was right to keep so. O, the desire I felt to get here! the love I feel for you is like the love of Jonathan and David, it extends over sea and land. It is like the precious ointment, so that some can say with one formerly, Neither heights nor depths, principalities nor powers, things present or to come, shall ever separate us from it.

"The least star casteth a lustre, as the glorious luminaries in the outward creation; so that we may say, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord, God Almighty, just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints.'

"Again; 'Commune with thine own heart, and be still; this is doing business:—O, how precious Truth is! it may employ us on the highway, and in our outward engagements—dear friends, let us prize it.'

"To the physician; 'The outward man grows weaker, yet inward support waxeth stronger and stronger.'

"The same day he said, 'It is a great favour to have a brook by the way—O, I see my way over all! it is like a foretaste of what is to come: blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; when he breaks in upon us, it is like balm—there is balm in Gilead—there are many not willing to go to the house of mourning, but there is occasion for it; it being high time to repair the breaches.

"I have thought for many weeks past, the curtain was nearly drawn; there seemed but few sands left in the glass; and yet I sometimes feel such a travail for Zion's prosperity, and the enlargement of her borders, that I am ready to think the day's work is not yet done; and at other times I feel so feeble and weak, that all seems nearly over: the event I cannot tell, but am favoured to be resigned.'

"At another time; 'Think nothing too near or too dear to part with, dear young people, to purchase the truth: your parents cannot give it you, though they may give you all they can; it is the Lord's prerogative. I have thought it was a great favour to have an education in the truth; but I have been grieved to see many born in the Society, like Esau,

selling their birth-right. Be not ashamed of the cross, dear friends, deny Him not before men.'

"Again; 'Beware of lawful things; these lawful things are the strongest baits satan ever laid for our Society. O, these lawful things, they have hurt many. What a testimony would it be, if Friends were to shut up their shops on week-days, to go to meeting; which ought to be the main concern; though many consider worldly things as such. When we have done all we can, we are but as unprofitable servants; we can add nothing to Him, who is the fountain of goodness! O, that ocean of ancient goodness, I seem at times, as if I was swallowed up in it—I have cause to be thankful that I am favoured with a resigned mind, and have no will, either to live or to die—O Father, receive me into thy bosom.'

"At another time; 'O, my heart is knit to you, my friends, and to the seed which is in bondage in many hearts; and though you may have to go with it into the wilderness, yet be not discouraged.'

"Feeling himself easier and his mind favoured, he said, 'O, when He puts in his hand as at the hole of the door, how does it smell of sweet myrrh—I hope I am not insensible from whence my help comes. He sometimes hides himself as behind the curtain; yet we must not awake or disturb our beloved, until he please.'

"To a Friend; 'Keep to thy gift, and look to the Giver, and have no confidence in the flesh.' On the general state of mankind, he said thus; 'O how has my mind been oppressed in observing that profaneness which abounds amongst the people, many of whom draw iniquity as with cords of vanity, and sin as with a cart rope. Yet I have this satisfaction, that I have not failed to reprove many of those I have seen in this state, and have often advised inn-keepers and others, to discourage all kinds of wickedness in their houses: my advice hath been generally received without gainsaying, and I have comfort in the discharge of this duty.' Sympathizing with faithful Friends, he remarked, 'Where there are a few faithful labourers, the work falls heavy upon them; we cannot expect to rise high when the seed lies low.'

"Under much bodily affliction, he said, 'How can one die better than in the Lord's service? for he has been indeed, a wonderful counsellor. He has many times opened a way, when I could see no way; he will never leave nor forsake those who trust in him.' Again; 'It is a trying time, and yet I believe I have a well grounded hope of having done my duty. I feel no condemnation. O, dear friends, what a favour indeed, that we have

an unction from above! keep to the truth and its testimonies.'

"At another time; 'It will not do for any to rest contented with having known the Lord in days past, and years that are over and gone; we must follow on to know him; a supply of daily food is requisite; and if there is not a hunger and thirst after righteousness, we may be sure the mind is distempered; but O, how have I been pained to see and feel many of the professors of the truth going after the world and its spirit; who instead of being way-marks, are as stumbling-blocks to honest inquirers—the state of these is lamentable. I have been comforted in the prospect of a rising generation, if they are not hurt by those who ought to be helpers, loving the present world.

"I have in my time met with many cross winds and boisterous waves, but have been preserved in a care to keep near to the point that guides to the harbour of rest. For these fifty years I have been endeavouring to fight the good fight of faith. O, dearest Father, not my will, but thine be done—O, when will the curtain be drawn! that this mortal may put on immortality and eternal life, which will, I do believe, be my happy portion.' To some Friends about to take leave of him, 'let your lights shine wherever you are—I have not much to say, but there is a great deal comprised in this.'

"To some young people; 'You are in health; prize it, and make a good use of time; for to the most diligent, such a time as this will prove very trying.'

"He would often, in thankful commemoration of the goodness of God to him, break forth in these words: 'What shall I render unto thee, O Lord, for all thy benefits!'

"A few days before his decease, on a Friend returning from meeting, he said he had been favoured with such a calm, that he hoped he should have passed away. And a day or two before he died, he broke forth in these words: 'O joy! joy! joy!' Again; 'O death where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory? the sting of death is sin. I see no cloud in my way, I die in peace with all men.'"

John Pemberton thus proceeds:

"28th; Attended the monthly meeting at Thirsk, which was pretty large, and there I mentioned to Friends my thoughts of a meeting with the inhabitants of Burroughbridge; and my dear friend Robert Proud offering to accompany me, we returned in the evening to his house at Carleton-miniot.

"Fourth-day, went to Burroughbridge and Boswell Middleton, and having procured the

town-hall, we had a large meeting, and upon the whole tolerably favoured. Sixth-day, to Burrowby, thence to North Allerton, and on seventh-day, to Osmotherly, and had a meeting in Friends' meeting house. My dear friend Robert Proud was favoured, but to me it was a poor low time. This hath been my state for some time past, being much proved in mind. Here I parted with Robert Proud, and with Isaac Taylor proceeded to Bilsdale, over a hilly road, the weather cold, and considerable snow on the ground.

"First-day, third month 5th, went to Bilsdale meeting under great lowness and discouragement. The meeting was full, many not in profession with us attending. The people were directed not to place their dependence on man, but upon the teachings of God's spirit.

"Third-day, attended the monthly meeting at Scarborough. The meeting for worship was low, yet some instruction opened, in the complaint uttered respecting Ephraim and Judah, that their goodness was like unto the morning cloud and early dew, which soon passeth away; and those not in profession with us were exhorted to put their trust in God, and not in man.

"Fourth month 2nd, at Ayton. I have been diligently engaged in Yorkshire, having had many large meetings, and also visited about seventy families at Scarborough and Whitby. It is wonderful that so much openness should be in many places, where there are few right examples. At the last mentioned place there is a very sorrowful departure. Almost throughout this land there appears a willingness to hear the testimony of truth declared; and I hope a gathering day will come; though a day of trial may first take place, to shake the earthly hearts of the people, and discover the rottenness of others. Many lamentable things happen among us—sorrowful failures, by grasping after the world, and not being limited by the pure truth. One lately, which makes and will make as great a noise as any that of later time has happened amongst us. I was uneasy when at the Friend's house, and took divers opportunities to speak to him, but did not expect things were as they now appear.

"I evidently see that in the path I tread, great watchfulness is needful, among a people accustomed to be fed with words. I endeavour to keep in the simplicity, and am mostly clothed with deep poverty,—a poor creature, and often ready to be dismayed."

During the remainder of this month he was diligently occupied in various parts of the counties of Durham and Northumberland, being deeply proved in mind under an apprehension of not being clear of Scotland. He



re-entered that nation near Kelso, on the 29th of fourth month, and reached Edinburgh two days afterwards.

About this time, having heard with much sorrow of the disreputable failure of one, at whose house he had formerly been entertained, he wrote to a friend of that neighbourhood; and his feelings on the occasion may be gathered from the following extract;

“Sunderland, Fourth month 22nd, 1786.

“Dear friend, D. S.,

“The disreputable and unjust conduct of ———, I am persuaded, must give thee and every sensible judicious Friend much pain. . . . . : not only unjust in betraying the confidence placed in him, and making use of the property of others without their knowledge or consent; but very inconsistent with the holy, pure principle we profess, which leads to self-denial; and those whose minds are bounded by this principle, do experience it to limit, respecting worldly pursuits: though, lamentable it is, that many among us are burying their talents in the earth, and eagerly grasping after worldly treasure. The Lord, in great wisdom, sometimes sees meet to blast the expectation of these, that others may be warned to guard against the snares of the world and an ambitious craving mind. Religion leads to a proper industry; but it teaches to avoid surfeiting cares, and that our chief concern be to lay up treasure in heaven—to seek above all, the peace and favour of God; which must be by loving him with all our heart, and being faithful to the manifestations of his light, grace and truth.

“When I was at N——, and lodged at ———’s, I was often uneasy, and at divers times spoke to him respecting the multiplicity of his engagements, urging him to bring his affairs into a narrower compass: though I did not apprehend he was so variously engaged, or in so deplorable a condition. But, as it proves, that while at his house, both before I entered Scotland, and since my return, I was entertained at the cost of others, and not eating *his* bread; I am most free, to calculate, as nearly as I well can, what it might amount to, and request thou wouldst present the sum to the assignee, to be joined to what may otherwise arise towards paying his creditors. Thou knowest that we, as a religious society, have always pleaded for just dealing, equity, and truth. And as I came from my native land under a sense of duty to Almighty God, and from love to mankind, to promote, as the Lord might see meet to enable me, righteousness and truth in the earth, so I wish to manifest, by my conduct, in all respects, that I am sincere. If this is

not thought sufficient, please to add, and I will repay thee.

“Thy affectionate friend,

“JOHN PEMBERTON.”

The amount thus directed to be paid to the assignee, was seven pounds ten shillings.

“Fifth month 10th; What is called a yearly meeting was held here [Edinburgh] last week, which however is no meeting of record, though they have long corresponded with the yearly meeting in London. The few Friends in Scotland, being now convinced that they are incapable of maintaining a yearly meeting with propriety, have agreed to request the yearly meeting of London to take their circumstances into close consideration; and have proposed that the whole Society in that part might be considered as one quarterly meeting, to be held, however, half-yearly.

“31st; at Old Meldrum. I came yesterday from Aberdeen, where we had been to attend their meetings on first-day, and meeting for discipline, at which there were two notifications of marriage, which I suppose has not been the case at any meeting there for a long time. I am through mercy pretty well, considering the trial of mind that has attended on thinking of again going to remote places. Alexander Cruickshank of this place, who was with me last year, is going, and Isaac Taylor of Yorkshire, besides Thomas Cash. I desire to do no more than may be evidently required, and if I move under right direction, the great Master is able to support and preserve.

“I left Old Meldrum, and went to Chapel Siggot, and finding most ease in appointing a meeting, notice was spread and we had a pretty satisfactory meeting in a barn.

“First-day, sixth month 4th, at Auch Medden. Notice having been spread yesterday, and the Methodist meeting house being procured, we had two very large favoured meetings, particularly the last, in which the testimony of truth was in a good degree exalted, and the hearts of many tendered. A gaily dressed young woman, who was at the meetings here, wrote a letter to us expressive of her gratitude and satisfaction with those opportunities. I afterwards had some of her company. She was solid, and her mind tender. When I passed this place before, I was under deep exercise of mind on account of the people in that neighbourhood; but for want of proper resolution passed away, and suffered much, and met with discouragements, when I proposed returning. The meetings now being large and favoured gave me ease.”

After this they had meetings at Gordon-town, Banff, Campbell-town, Fort George,

Cromartie, Golspie, &c., and on the 16th of eighth month, being at Caldwell near Kirkwall, he thus writes :

"I have entered the Orkneys, and have been much employed since, in passing from from isle to isle. Since the last of the fifth month, I have been exposed to many provings inwardly and outwardly; but have been hitherto mercifully supported, and have experienced much kindness, particularly in the Orkney Islands. I have visited eleven called the Northern islands, and an island called Stroma, in Pentland Firth; also two others which I was at last year. It is very evident that visit left profitable impressions, and made the way much more easy for us now. The meetings have been generally very large and quiet, and most of them favoured seasons, in which the minds of many were much tendered; often from two to five hundred were present. On those eleven islands we had twenty-six meetings. It was mostly rough weather, through the seventh month, and we were detained on Westra about a week. How soon I may be released I know not, but desire to be favoured to see clearly the right season to depart. It is a great favour, under religious concerns, to see the time for moving from home, and to attend to it; and I believe it is equally important to determine the right time for leaving the countries visited. There may be danger through fear to overstay, as well as through fear to return too soon. May the Lord guide by his counsel, and direct my steps aright. To dwell in a state of deep humility and watchfulness, as well as faithfulness, is abundantly needful. I dwell under the daily cross, and little but conflict and provings are allotted me; yet the Lord has condescended to furnish for his own work beyond expectation.

"On first-day evening, the 13th instant, we had a large meeting at Kirkwall, held in their cathedral. My kind landlord, William Lindsay, thinks there were more than fifteen hundred present. Many say they have seldom seen it so crowded. They are generally a moral sober people. Though I have passed over many waters, I have rarely heard an oath or ill expression from any. The books spread, I believe have been useful, and have removed prejudices. The winters being long and the days short, many read much; the writings of Mosheim and others respecting Friends, had hurt some; but what they have seen since has set many to rights.

"The next day went to a parish called St. Andrews, and had a large meeting, which was measurably favoured. The minister, John Seolley, an aged man, who had offered his worship-house, stood up before the break-

ing up of the meeting and recommended the counsel that had been delivered, to the notice and practice of the people, saying it was gospel truth.

"On third-day, the 15th, I was most easy, though in a low state of mind from various causes, to appoint a meeting at Orphir; we went, and many assembled in the kirk, so called; but the meeting was mostly dull. After this meeting Thomas Cash concluded to go to some of the other islands which I had visited last year, so we parted for a season, Joseph Taylor and myself returning to Caldwell.

"Ninth month 30th; Set out for Græmeshall, where I was kindly received by P. Græme, and as it was very stormy during this and the next day, we continued at Græmeshall. The wind was so high, accompanied at times with rain, that much corn was damaged, being cut off at the ears by the violence of the wind. Being desirous of proceeding for England, on second-day, a sloop being just ready to sail for Stronsay, with a fair wind, we were prevailed upon to embark in her, and sailed several hours; but the wind proving high and contrary, we were obliged to return to Holm sound, having been on board from half past eight, A. M., to near ten o'clock at night. Next morning we hired horses for Kirkwall, and there took boat for Shapinsay, and were received kindly by Alexander Pitcairn.

"Fifth-day, had a meeting at Lapniss, held in a barn, or store-house, and though the morning was rainy, it was large; but the life and comfortable spring of religion were much wanting. Spent the evening with some satisfaction in opening the order of our discipline.

"Third-day, the 12th; The wind was high and the water rough—a boat arrived at Burwick from Caithness; but the skipper expressing doubts of his being able to get over, we declined embarking, and staid at the ferry all night. A Methodist minister came over in this boat, the first of these people that has visited Orkney.

"Fourth-day, the wind still boisterous; continuing so the two following days, for the most part, so that we could not cross the Firth. On seventh-day, the morning proved more favourable, and a boat coming from Caithness, we embraced the opportunity of returning with her, and were about two hours and a half on our passage. We soon after took horse and reached the widow Sinclair's, at Brabster Dornier, in the evening.

"First-day, ninth month 17th; Through fear of offence, by travelling on this day, we continued at the widow Sinclair's, and had a little sitting with her and her children after breakfast. In the afternoon I was visited by



Alexander Sangstre, a man who seems convinced of our religious principles.

"Sixth-day, proceeded to Tain, and in crossing the ferry near Lord Ankerville's, we met him; and he pressing us to dine with him, we complied, and our visit was taken kindly.

"Third-day, 26th; This morning we crossed to Fort George. It snowed much last night, and the hills were very white this morning. After dinner we had to ride in a heavy storm of sleet and snow to Billeward, where we were well entertained at a good inn.

"We came the Highland road, through a rough country; but great pains having been taken, this road is better and shorter than the coast road, with good entertainment. We had a meeting on seventh-day at Dunkeld, held in a large loft or drying room, belonging to a manufactory. Many people attended, and it was a more favoured time than I expected. It is likely no Friend ever attempted a meeting here before. The meeting was at first fixed to be held in a large room not fully finished, in the inn where we lodged; the bailie of the town, the landlady and others, approving thereof. But after notice had been given to divers of the inhabitants, one Captain Dick, a military officer, came into the town and forbade the use of the room. On which I had discourse with him; but he said he did not want it consecrated, and that it was built to dance in and accommodate genteel company. I told him I was sorry that any one who professed the Christian name should prefer vanity to seriousness and religion; and that I had been through much of Scotland and England, and scarcely met with the like; and was sorry that on my going out of Scotland, where we had met with great civility, I should have such an account to give respecting his conduct. And in another opportunity after meeting, I told him that it was the sentiment of the ancient reformers, that as many paces as a man took in a dance, so many paces he took towards hell, remarking that he might think this harsh, but it was their sentiment. He said, he then had taken many steps towards hell. He was a vain man, but I spoke pretty closely to him.

"After dinner we proceeded to Perth, and on first-day afternoon had a large, crowded meeting in the council, or court-house, which was in a good degree favoured. When I saw the crowd and considered my own feebleness, my mind was much sunk; but I was graciously helped, and hope no dishonour arose to the good cause.

"Second-day, reached Edinburgh in the evening much wearied. If the Lord see meet to employ me now among Friends, or grant a release to return home, I shall esteem it a fa-

vour, for it remains a great trial to tread the path in which I have been so long exercised. I have at times been too resolute to turn aside, for which I have suffered; but rich in mercy is the great 'I AM,' with whom we have to do; or my portion would have been among the miserable. It requires great watchfulness, humility and abasedness, to keep duly under the subjecting power and at all times faithful. I often fail and am brought weeping to the cross, and to beg the great Master's mercy. He hath indeed been long suffering, but I often fear I shall never learn wisdom. May my friends be helped to pray for my preservation and steady perseverance in the straight and mortifying path.

"First-day, tenth month 8th; Had a large satisfactory meeting in the town-hall at Jedburgh, and had very different treatment from what dear Samuel Bownas met with when he visited that place. Several magistrates attended the meeting, and one of the bailies sent for me in the evening, and I went and spent some time at his house. He and his wife seemed to have a regard for Friends.

"Third-day, we heard of Ann Jessup and her companion Hannah Stephenson, having appointed a meeting at Solport, to which we went. The meeting was low, and these two Friends wholly silent. We dined and proceeded to Sikeside, and had a meeting at Kirk Levington, which was wholly silent. A young man afterwards remarked, that they had not been used to silent meetings, a person then present preaching at all their meetings. We were glad we kept our places.

"Seventh-day, rising early we had a religious opportunity in a family, and then went to Kirkbride. By the time we got there we were wet. The meeting was small, and religion here is very low. Some few of the neighbours not professing with us came in, and one afterwards said, "if they had had a candle and could see the inside of those called Quakers, they could not have more plainly told their state." We dined at J. S——'s, but he was too busy, as he thought, to get to meeting. We then proceeded to Wigton, and on entering the town, there was a great uproar, and the streets were much crowded with people, who had been spectators to the wicked and inhuman practice of baiting a bull. The poor creature seemed much abused, which sorrowfully affected my mind, in considering how opposite such cruelty is to the disposition which the gospel of Christ inculcates.

"Fourth-day, went to Gilfoot, and attended the monthly meeting. The season of retirement and public worship was one of much poverty and deep exercise; but the Lord favoured with some strength towards the close.

I had to remark the difference between such who were commissioned of man, and had their tuition and education for the trade of preaching, as it is termed, and those commissioned of God; the one could, and it was feared too often did, move in his own will; the other must wait for the great Master to put forth, of whom it is said, 'he putteth forth his own sheep, and goeth before them;' pointing out that it was not the expression of words, but words seasoned by the grace of God, that could profit the people. I understood after the meeting, that a priest was there, who sat quiet and well. The meeting for discipline was an exercising time. Many observations were made, to stir up Friends to honesty in religious care, but to little effect. It appeared that the discipline was very little supported; but I did believe there was great cause for attention to it, were a proper concern exercised.

"I attended fourteen meetings in Cumberland in company with our dear friend Ann Jessup, and her valuable companion H. Stephenson, but was not easy without returning into some parts of Scotland. I parted from them on sixth-day with reluctance, but they were sensible it was in best counsel, which was some strength to my mind. Isaac Taylor and myself went to Carlisle, and attended the monthly meeting there. Truth opened counsel in the meeting for worship, and many observations were made in the meeting for business, to stir up Friends to a proper search. I had to remark the low state of our religious Society in Cumberland, and that if the discipline, which was established in the wisdom of truth, was neglected, and those who were remiss in attendance of religious meetings, or in other branches of our testimonies, were overlooked, that death and barrenness, which now sorrowfully prevailed, would increase. I also told them, that if they had honestly discharged their duty, and there was no cause for religious care, they were better off than Friends in other places, who were much exercised in their meetings for discipline. They seemed more open to receive counsel than two other meetings we had attended.

"I left Carlisle in the evening, and on first-day, in company with our friend David Ducat of Carlisle, and my kind young friend Isaac Taylor, had two large meetings in the town-hall at Hawick, a flourishing manufacturing town in Scotland. They were open and satisfactory. Being invited to take tea with Thomas Usher, an attorney, we had some seasonable conversation with him and others on several branches of our religious testimonies, particularly respecting tithes, to their satisfaction. Retiring to our quarters, my

mind was much exercised respecting the line I was to pursue, and continued so much of the night.

"Second-day, after breakfast, when ready to mount, I felt most easy to proceed towards Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c., and set out. Passing through Selkirk, my mind grew very uneasy, yet I went on for about four miles, when we stopped to refresh ourselves and horses. I had some seasonable conversation with the family to mutual satisfaction; the man of the house censuring their ministers for being more concerned for the fleece than for the flock. Many things were opened to them, and we parted in love. My mind continuing much exercised, I returned to Selkirk; and the town-hall being granted, we had a very crowded meeting. Though many were very raw and ignorant of true religion, yet numbers were tenderly affected.

"Third-day, visited the English school. The master, who had been at meeting last evening, received me very courteously, and expressed that he had attended the meeting under prejudice, but found he was mistaken in his apprehensions respecting us, and was glad he was at the meeting. He made inquiry respecting several things, particularly baptism and the supper, so called; and we parted in love.

"The weather this month has been mild and favourable, which is a mercy, as much oats and barley is not yet reaped. I am favoured with better health than usual, and able to endure fatigue beyond expectation; riding sometimes nearly forty miles in a day, on horseback.

"Seventh-day, twelfth month 30th; Returned to Wigton, in Cumberland, having been absent in this last journey to Scotland, forty-six days; in which time we were at upwards of fifty meetings—six at Glasgow, at different times, several of which were much crowded and open; also at Port Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Dumbarton, &c., generally two meetings in a place. The people in the south of Scotland being much divided respecting what they call religion, were not at first so open as in the more northern parts; but the first meeting softening them, the second was generally large and favoured; and we left them in love and favourably impressed, some acknowledging they had been misinformed respecting us and our principles. The magistrates were generally respectful, particularly at Dumbarton, where, I believe in much sincerity, we were offered the freedom of their town. But they were informed that we came not to seek honour of men, but in love to visit the people, and to be found in the discharge of a religious duty. They said we deserved



respect, and that this was the only testimony they could give. We acknowledged their civility, but told them that their granting the town-hall to accommodate a meeting, and attending it themselves, was a sufficient testimony of their respect. The deputy sheriff insisted that we should spend the evening at his house; which we did, and were treated with as much openness and freedom from unnecessary compliment, as though we had been at a Friend's house. Many acknowledge the principle, but are not brought to a willingness to submit to the cross.

"At Moffat, the chief bailie, David Gregg, refused the town-hall, and was very wide in conduct and disposition from the provost and sheriff at Dumbarton, and from those in almost every place in Scotland. We could scarcely obtain liberty to speak to this man, he soon turning his back upon us. Neither could we obtain the school room, which was also under his direction. But at length we obtained a carpenter's shop, and had a crowded meeting. Some serious people attended, but generally they were a very raw ignorant company. John Johnson, a magistrate, attended the meeting, and afterwards sat awhile with us at the inn, and expressed his concern at the bailie's conduct.

"At Gillfoot, on our return from Scotland, we attended the monthly meeting. We had but a poor, cold meeting, few there being deeply concerned for themselves, and so not rightly exercised for the cause and testimony of Truth. Many valiants were formerly raised up among these hills, who were engaged to proclaim the day of the Lord, and were instrumental in gathering many to Christ. We passed that morning through Udale and near Langlands, mentioned by dear George Fox.

"Second month 7th, 1787, at Eglesfield, Cumberland. I have been two months in this county among Friends, in great stripping and leanness, especially for some weeks past. I compare myself to one whose gift is sealed up, and left without succour, but I strive to keep quiet and patient. Friends are kind, and wish me to consider it as a time of rest; which I should do, could I experience the great Master's presence near, and the sustaining bread dispensed. I look homewards, but light does not spring.

"Third month 30th; Attended the quarterly meeting at Carlisle, where I met with my dear friend George Dillwyn. I have been long in this county, and ceased from appointing meetings, though I have had but little real rest. This is what we cannot come at when we please. It has been a stripping and cloudy season with me, and I have had to search and review my steps. Omissions more than com-

missions, are marked against me, for which I have great occasion to be deeply humbled. During the last six weeks I have attended many meetings in the west part of this county, in seaports and other towns, large and satisfactory, being united with our dear friends John Hall, Jane Pearson and Barbara Drewry, three valuable ministers. An open door is left. This week I have attended six meetings belonging to Northumberland; and expect to go into Scotland again. This may appear singular to many of my dear friends, but the reduced state to which I have been brought, has wrought a willingness to go anywhere, or to be any how employed, for the light of the great Master's countenance, and a return of life. The prospect is humbling, but I am not my own, and I seek not honour from man; many trials have attended me among that people; and it is not desirable to the creaturely part to enter there again.

"Fourth month 2nd; This morning George Dillwyn parted with me, he proceeding towards Kendall; and after dinner David Ducat and myself left Carlisle also, and proceeded to Longtown, where we had a large meeting, held in the inn."

Thence to Langholm, Annan, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Gatehouse.

"Some Englishmen have at Gatehouse a large cotton factory, worked by water, the wheel being fifty-two feet in diameter, and six feet wide. Several hundred people are employed.

"Third-day, 17th; This morning we went for Wigton, and obtained the court house. The Lord was gracious, and owned the meeting with his good presence, to my humbling admiration. Blessed be his name!

"Seventh-day, we turned for Newton Stewart, in order to obtain a meeting among the miners again, and arrived at Crea-bridge-end.

"First-day, about noon, David Ducat and myself sat down, and the landlord, his wife and daughter, and another person came and sat with us in a religious opportunity. In the afternoon we went to Blackrock, and had a meeting in the school house. Second-day, had a wet ride to Glenluce; the meeting was much crowded, and through the Lord's goodness and help, was a favoured opportunity. An aged man at the conclusion acknowledged in a solid manner, that 'the Spirit had helped.'

"Fifth-day, at Port Patrick. Many gospel truths were delivered. Those who attended behaved well, and divers wished they could recompense us, being sensible our motive was their good. We took horse and proceeded to Stranrann; where, with some exertion we obtained the town-hall. The magistrates and a

large number of people met, and the Lord condescended to favour, so that it was a profitable meeting. A man aged about seventy-one, requested after meeting some opportunity with us. He came to our inn, and we found him a serious person. Having once had an opportunity to see Robert Barclay's Apology, he acknowledged that the doctrine contained therein was consistent with his judgment, and expressed his great satisfaction with the meeting. The next day he dined with us and parted in tenderness, seeming convinced of the truth.

"I proceeded with my companion, David Ducat, along the west coast of Scotland, to many large towns and populous places, until the 15th of fifth month, having attended in six weeks and two days, sixty-three meetings, mostly large, the Lord in abundant condescension and mercy having made way beyond expectation, and opened the minds of the people, magistrates, ministers, &c.; though it is a part where the people are much divided and embittered, one sect against another; there being many 'lo heres' and 'lo theres,' labouring to draw disciples after them. What they call preaching, is chiefly railing one against another; which made our way in some places more difficult; but the first opportunity set the people to thinking, and caused a second opportunity to be more solid, open and satisfactory, they being evidently convinced that our motives were disinterested, and that our labour was to turn the mind from man and all human trust, to God. Thus we left every place with the good wishes of the people.

"At Irwin, several Presbyterian ministers, who met there on account of a Presbytery, attended the meetings, and the Lord in his mercy and goodness was pleased to favour, so that the gospel was preached in the authority thereof, to the awakening of divers minds. We spent some time after dinner, with these Presbyterians, being sixteen persons, fourteen of whom I took to be ministers, to mutual satisfaction. They inquired respecting divers matters, which were in simplicity answered. I showed them my certificate, which was read, and they commended our order and care over our members. On parting, as they had wine before them, I was free to revive the care of holy Paul, who kept his body under, lest, while preaching to others, he himself should become a cast away; and I told them that this care was needful for all who professed to be gospel ministers. They acknowledged it, and we parted with their good wishes. Two young men came into our inn and desired an opportunity of conversing with us; but we found they had been led away

with the airy notions of a people called Buchanites.

"At Kilmarnock we had a meeting in the grammar school, which was very large, the room being exceedingly crowded, and many without. The Lord condescended to favour, and the free grace of God offered unto all, was testified of, and the way of life and salvation opened, which seemed to have place with many.

"At Renfrew we applied as usual to the magistrates, but could not obtain the town-hall, nor did they seem open to our having a meeting in the place. The provost being a young man, it appeared to be more out of fear than moroseness. However, we obtained a large school room and had a full meeting. The people behaved well beyond expectation, and my companion had a clear good time, pointing out the mistake of many, in imagining that faith is imputed to them for righteousness, without a ceasing from sin and self-righteousness, and coming to learn of Christ and to be subject to his rule.

"I was often very solicitous during this journey, to be permitted to attend the yearly meeting in London; and at length I did break loose from Hamilton, near Glasgow, and reached London the 23d of the fifth month. The yearly meeting for ministers and elders, began on seventh-day, the 26th, a large number of solid Friends attending. Eight of us Americans remaining here," viz: George Dillwyn, William Mathews, John Pemberton, Zachariah Dicks, Rebecca Jones, Patience Brayton, Rebecca Wright and Ann Jessup, "attended this yearly meeting, which was the largest I have known here, and the largest body of plain and solid Friends, men and women, that I think I have ever seen together. There was a very hopeful appearance of beloved youth, clothed with innocence, and under the baptizing power of Truth. May the Lord preserve them in his pure fear, and cause them to grow 'as calves of the stall.' A concern for the support of the discipline and gospel order increases, and there is a prospect that the number of quarterly meetings will be lessened by several counties uniting, so as to increase their strength. The women's yearly meeting has been the means of many solid women attending from various parts, and of bringing them more under the weight of the service. There was much harmony in this yearly meeting. The strength of the worldly wise was much brought under, so that there was little display.

"To go back to the north is to me no pleasing prospect. I spread my case before Friends at the yearly meeting for ministers and elders, and laid myself open to counsel.



Much sympathy was expressed, and the result was, to leave me to the Lord and the guidance of his good Spirit. I hastened from Scotland in order to throw myself open to Friends, and it would have been pleasing to me, as a man, had they told me I had been long enough from home. I expect to attend the general meeting at Colchester, and if after that I do not feel a release from the north, I must submit. My dearly beloved wife appears full of expectation of soon seeing me; but crosses and disappointments are our lot in this probationary state; and may she be sustained in patience and humble acquiescence, for herein alone is true peace experienced.

"Sixth-day, sixth month 8th; Attended the meeting at Grace-church street, held mostly in silence. I had a little matter at the close, being the first testimony I have delivered in a public meeting since I came this time to London.

"Seventh-day, took coach and arrived at Colchester about two o'clock; and about five o'clock the meeting for ministers and elders for Essex quarterly meeting began. Our friends Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, from Shropshire, and George Follows and wife, from Warwickshire, attended it. I lodged at my old acquaintance John Kendall's.

"Second-day was the quarterly meeting; a profitable season. The business was conducted commendably, and many useful remarks were made through the influence of gospel love and concern, to stir up Friends to an honest discharge of religious duty.

"Second-day, 18th; To Woodbridge, and attended the quarterly meeting. The Lord opened counsel, in the reading of the queries and answers, and my companion, Zachariah Dicks, had to bear testimony against divers things which appear inconsistent for the professors of Truth to be found in, as falling capes, powdered hair and wigs, &c. On the use of powder, I had here, as well as at Colchester, to remark that when I was in the Orkney islands last summer, many families had not meal for themselves and children, for many days, and some for weeks; and that the waste thus made would feed many—that although some might reason that what they used was but little, yet when all that was so used was summed up, it would supply the wants of many.

"Fifth-day, rising early, we took chaise and went to Leiston, where we had a meeting, many of the inhabitants of the village coming in. The meeting was favoured, and Friends being desired to continue their seats after others separated, we had an opportunity with them, to excite to a diligent care in attending their meetings, and to circumspection

in all respects consistent with our holy profession. We dined at the widow Jessup's, at the Abbey, whose ruins we viewed; and after some religious communication with some young people, we proceeded to Beccles.

"Sixth-day, notice being given, many gay people attended, and some play-actors, who were to exhibit their evil and vanity in the evening. A close testimony went forth against such scenes of dissipation. The people behaved well, and the Lord in mercy owned us in our exercise. Friends keeping their seats after others left the meeting, my mind was drawn towards a state that had long lived in a neglect of religious duty, and in a disregard to the Lord's call and visitation; and yet at times felt desires enkindled for a return, but concluded it was too late, and therefore might continue to indulge in wrong courses. I pointed out this to be the suggestion of the enemy, and pressed this state to look to Him who is mighty to save, and whose mercies are yet continued, believing that by humbling the heart and knowing the gift of sincere repentance, remission of sins might be experienced. Friends were incited to diligence in the attendance of meetings, and circumspection in all parts of their conduct, that they might be lights in their neighbourhood, holding forth an inviting language to serious inquirers. Soon after the conclusion of the meeting, our kind friend, Edmund Peckover of Norwich, came with his chaise to conduct us thither.

First-day, attended two meetings at Yarmouth. The minds of Friends being much outward, and too much accustomed to words, the meeting was mostly spent in silence. My companion, Zachariah Dicks, had nothing to offer; I had some remarks to make to excite Friends to look to the Lord, and wait upon Him, for supplies of wisdom and strength.

"Second-day; The quarterly meeting at Norwich, which was favoured. Third-day, attended two public meetings for worship. In the morning our aged worthy friend Ruth Follows, had deep searching service. In the afternoon many not of our religious Society attended, and my friend Z. Dicks, had a good time in searching labour. Fourth-day, the remaining business of the quarterly meeting was entered upon. It was an instructive time, and Friends were open to receive help. Some close remarks were made respecting the cause of the obstructions to the growth of truth.

"Sixth-day; this morning early, we had a religious opportunity at Edmund Peckover's, and then set out with him for Edmundsbury, where we arrived about four o'clock. A meeting was held in the evening, some of the principal inhabitants attending, with a Presbytc-

rian minister, and divers of that people. It continued in silence about two hours; then both Z. Dicks and myself had something to offer, part of which pointed out the necessity of waiting for the influence of the spirit, to minister profitably, and that it was such ministry, proceeding from disinterested motives, and real desire for the people's good, that could reach the witness and build up in the pure faith which works by love. It was an exercising meeting, but I hope ended well.

"Seventh-day, arrived in London in the afternoon, and spent the evening with our exercised friends Patience Brayton and Rebecca Wright. There is no Friend here, I believe, on a religious visit, who has left greater impressions than Patience Brayton has done, and a sweet savour in all places. Though she may not be of the wise, as to this world, she is greatly honoured of her Master, and has been deeply led into the state of meetings and particulars. It is the Lord's doings and marvellous in our eyes."

Whilst in London, he wrote a letter to his niece, Hannah Morton, of Philadelphia, from which the following is extracted.

"London, seventh month 7th, 1787.

"Beloved niece,

"Thy lines came speedily to hand by our friends John Storer and Thomas Colley, who landed safe, and favoured with health, and soon after posted to their respective habitations. It was comfortable to find they were strengthened inwardly and outwardly to fulfil their religious duty, and to return with the evidence of peace. This is what I have with diligence laboured for, but when I may be released, I know not. I much long for the time. The dispensations thou hast experienced are proving; I wish they may be sanctified to thee. It is a favour to be brought to see the emptiness and vanity of the world, and its glitter, and to have the mind turned to aspire after that which is permanent. I desire thy preservation in humbly seeking after and following the counsel and direction of the Prince of peace, that by following on to know the Lord, thou mayest experience thy heart enlarged and thy mind strengthened, and become a burden-bearer and partaker in the arduous labour of the day. The harvest is great, and the strength of the burden-bearers at times ready to fail; but the number of the faithful may multiply, if the divine call is regarded. As thou art favoured with talents, may they be rendered truly useful, by seeking unto the Lord, who can strengthen to every good word and work, and render them double. Our time

here is short, and wise are such who work while it is yet day, taking up the cross, and being willing to become fools for Christ's sake. There are indeed many of our relatives and dear friends removed since I left home; and we are journeying also to the same period. May we so run as to obtain. Thy present situation requires great circumspection, and I desire thee to be guarded, that if any solicitation offer, to change thy situation in life, thou mayst seek counsel and attend to the secret intimations of truth, which may be thy preservation.

"I am with near affection,  
thy loving uncle,  
JOHN PEMBERTON."

"Seventh month 18th; I have been waiting to take my leave of our dear friends about to embark, expecting to-morrow to bid them farewell. I laboured for liberty to depart with them, but could not with peace; and the thought of steering north again, when the season is so far advanced, is deeply proving. But to force myself, contrary to conviction, is not safe, nor would my return be comfortable to my dear friends, unless in the counsel of pure wisdom. The Lord hath hitherto marvellously helped; blessed be His name.

"Spent the after part of the day with my dear friends Rebecca Wright, &c., who were at my quarters; and Rebecca Wright said she had clearly seen the propriety of my return into the north.

"Sixth-day, I took my leave of my dear country folks and divers other Friends, and taking coach for Nottingham, rode all night, and arrived safely there about seven o'clock in the evening of seventh day.

"First-day, attended two meetings at Nottingham, both dull and exercising; and my mind being low, I was not faithful in attending to a gentle motion to appoint a meeting for the evening; which brought condemnation and distress for some days.

"Second-day, reached Ackworth in the evening, and on third-day morning went into the several schools, where much decorum is observed. The children appeared improving in the several branches of learning. There are one hundred and eighty-three boys and one hundred and fourteen girls. They are instructed to observe a time of solid waiting before and after meals, when a great solemnity attended. The house is exceedingly well calculated for the purpose, and stands in a fine open fertile country. So many children being trained up in a sober religious education, as well as with suitable learning, seems likely to prove a blessing to religious society,



as well as to themselves as individuals, and I hope will afford solid satisfaction to those who have the care of this institution.

"Fifth-day, the children were examined, and two public meetings for worship held. Lord Sidney was at the meeting this day and yesterday, and his wife at the second meeting, as well as many others not making profession with us. It was a solid meeting, and our friend John Storer was favoured in his public testimony.

"Sixth-day, in company with Solomon Chapman, proceeded to Undercliffe, and seventh-day to Settle, where I arrived much wearied. I received a letter from my valued friend, Patience Brayton, and a small addition by dear Rebecca Jones, which were very consolatory. Five dear friends, viz: William Mathews, Zachariah Dicks, Patience Brayton, Rebecca Wright and Ann Jessup, embarked on fifth-day evening from Gravesend, in the ship *Pigou*, bound for Philadelphia. May the Lord guide them in peace and safety to their native shore.

"First-day, attended the meeting at Settle, which was a low suffering time to me: it being their preparative meeting, the queries were read, and divers observations made thereon, to excite Friends to an attention to duty. A public meeting in the afternoon was rendered, through best help, in a good degree satisfactory.

"Fourth-day, proceeded through rain to Penrith, attended their monthly meeting, and on fifth-day went to Carlisle. Sixth-day I spent at Carlisle, preparing for my journey, and towards evening went to the jail, and had some counsel to impart to the felons, &c."

At the above mentioned monthly meeting at Penrith, he laid before Friends a proposal for Thomas Wilkinson, of Yanwath, in the neighbourhood of that town, to accompany him in his contemplated arduous journey in Scotland, having no other companion than David Ducat, who was considerably advanced in years. The meeting agreed to the proposal, and Thomas Wilkinson soon after joined him at Conheath, on the sea-shore, arriving just in time to sit down with them in meeting. As Thomas Wilkinson kept a diary of this journey, which in some particulars is more full than that of his meek spirited and diffident companion, we shall diversify the narrative by extracts from it, adding what may appear important from John Pemberton's own account.

Eighth month 7th; John Pemberton says: "My mind being very heavy all this forenoon and drawn to the village called Bridge-end, near Dumfries, we concluded to return; and

on our way we rode about six miles or more, with one Stuart, a sensible, thoughtful man, who yielded to the truths we conversed upon, respecting our religious principles, and of calling the days of the week and the months according to Scripture, saying that he had never before considered the propriety of it, but acknowledged that it was most consistent.

"Sixth-day, 10th; The provost of Dumfries having yesterday granted the town-hall, a meeting was held this morning; in which my companion, David Ducat, had lively service, though it did not please some formal, earthly, bigoted spirits, old in profession, but not acquainted with the virtue, life and power of truth."

From Dumfries they proceeded to Ruthwell parish, and had a meeting; in which John Pemberton says: "Much counsel in gospel love flowed to the people;" thence to Mousewold parish, where they were refused a barn to hold a meeting in, but at length procuring another, the owner of the first, after the meeting, came and expressed regret for having, through prejudice, denied it; after this they went to Bank-end, where, he says, they could get no one to take them in, and consequently had to go back to Ruthwell to lodge; but returning the next day, they held a meeting, which "was much crowded, and favoured with the flowings of gospel love, which so opened the hearts of the people, that they were desirous of our stay, and offered to provide us with lodging.

"Fifth-day, went to Kiltown, but could not get entertainment, the inn being taken up with visitors come to bathe in the salt water. As it rained very hard we were obliged to go to the house of the tide surveyor, where we were kindly received, and he granted his barn; where, notwithstanding the rain, we had a pretty large meeting. Before the meeting began, our friend Thomas Wilkinson, of Yanwath, Westmoreland, came to us and brought me letters, with comfortable news of the welfare of my dear wife."

First-day, had a meeting in the barn of a respectable widow at Lantonside; "where," says Thomas Wilkinson, "perhaps between two and three hundred people collected, and behaved with becoming stillness. Silence, which to them might be a new thing, appeared neither tiresome nor difficult, and the meeting seemed to be a much favoured one." John Pemberton says of it, that "the Lord favoured, and divers expressed their satisfaction, and that if we continued in these parts, we should gather all the country; little considering that two or three meetings held wholly in silence, would weary them." Thomas Wil-

kinson adds; "Another meeting was held in the evening; after which John Pemberton took me with him to visit a person of some distinction, who lived near, having a religious concern to speak to him; but he avoided giving an opportunity, and went off; his wife, however, seemed respectful.

"20th; Passed on through Dumfries, and had a meeting in the evening in the parish of Glossburn; but it was with the utmost difficulty that any place could be had to meet in; and after some hours of fruitless application, all that could be obtained was an old barn, of which part of the roof had fallen in. It was trying to the natural disposition, not only to go from door to door soliciting accommodation, but afterwards to sit down amidst broken timber and the ruins of a mouldering building, as spectacles to a wondering people. But after humbly waiting for some time, encouragement and peace seemed to spring up amidst these disheartening circumstances. Jacob worshipped the Almighty while leaning on his staff, and I believe worshipped him as acceptably as did Solomon amid the splendour of his temple at Jerusalem. My aged friends both appeared in testimony, and John Pemberton seemed to be particularly favoured.

"From Glossburn, on the 21st, we proceeded to Sanquhar, where the people appeared to be settled in a suspicious ignorance, and where, notwithstanding the mild exertions of John Pemberton, we were refused the town-hall, the school house, &c.; and it was with some difficulty we even obtained a barn of our landlord, though himself had come of Friends' families. John Pemberton felt sensibly such unkindness, but his love to the people was still greater than his discouragements. We gave notice of a meeting, which was attended by a tolerable number; and wishing to soften the minds of the people, John Pemberton appointed another next day. The people were still shy and unfriendly, though one young man of the medical profession, showed some kindness.

"23d; Went to New Cumnock, where again we took much pains to obtain a place to hold a meeting in, but all seemed shut against us. John Pemberton observed that he had never known it so difficult before. We then went to a school a little way from the town; the master said he would grant the use of the house, but should like to have the minister's consent; to him we applied, and found him rather a venerable looking old man. John Pemberton informed him, that from a sense of duty and a love to mankind, he had left his native country of America, and was come to see the people of this land, and that if he pleased to consent to the schoolmaster's grant-

ing his school house, we proposed to have a religious meeting there in the evening. He replied, 'The people here are well informed, and we have no need of you.' John Pemberton said he had met with very kind and liberal conduct from many persons of his profession in different parts of Scotland, mentioning the names of several; that he, at this advanced age, had come some thousands of miles to see the people, and that he hoped he would consent to the request. He then asked, 'What do you think of the sacrament? What do you think of baptism?' John Pemberton replied, 'We think, with the Scriptures, that it is not the putting away the filth of the body, but the answer of a good conscience, that is essential; and we are not concerned to turn men from form to form, but to turn them to God.' He answered, 'It will not do; it will not do: I have read your Barclay, and do not like him;' with other remarks, that were such a violation of good manners, that I forbear to insert them. After some more fruitless efforts, I returned to the schoolmaster, and sitting down by him, began to converse on other subjects, when he presently said we should have the school house; and being told the time we proposed to hold the meeting, he directed his scholars to spread information through their families. A tolerable number assembled, who behaved well, and the meeting was in degree satisfactory. A young man, the old minister's son, and the schoolmaster, came afterwards and spent the evening with us.

"Went to Old Cumnock. Similar difficulties continued in procuring a place to meet in. At length some liberal minded women accommodated us with a pretty large house, where we had a crowded and satisfactory meeting; in which John Pemberton was favoured in proclaiming many gospel truths. He was often concerned to explain, that true religion and substantial happiness consist not in speculative opinions, but in purity, and in living under the cross of Christ, in knowing our peace made with God, and feeling his love prevailing in our hearts; and he generally enforced these truths by pertinent texts of Scripture. It sometimes happened that we met with individuals, who started objections to the principles of Christianity; on these occasions, John Pemberton with serious firmness, assigned the reasons of his belief, in the appearance in the flesh, of our Saviour upon earth, and what he then did and suffered for mankind, and his spiritual appearance in the soul; both which are not only to be sincerely believed, but his refining power is to be felt and co-operated with, that the corruptions of our nature may be done away, and that we may be made



followers of the holy pattern that was set before us, when 'the Word became flesh, and dwelt amongst us;' and finally be made fit inhabitants for that pure and heavenly kingdom, where no evil can be admitted, but the presence of the Father and of the Son will be enjoyed for ever.

"25th; Proceeded through Kilmarnock to Kilmaurs, where we found it easy to obtain convenience for holding a meeting, perhaps owing to John Pemberton's acquaintance with Alexander Munro, who had served as a major in the British army during the war. He procured the council house for us; where, on the 26th, we had two meetings, Alexander Munro, his wife and family attending. We spent the evening agreeably with him and his family. John Pemberton's conversation was truly edifying, opening our principles and the order subsisting in our Society, which were much approved.

"28th; Passed through Glasgow to Kilpatrick. Here we found a great change in the minds of the people: we easily obtained a commodious room; the people seemed cordially disposed; flocked round us, invited us to their houses, and treated us with much kindness and respect. A meeting was held on the 29th, which several hundreds attended and generally behaved soberly. It seemed to me the most favoured meeting we had held since I joined them. The next day John Pemberton proposed holding one in the evening at Dunglass, a village a little further. Here we met with nothing but openness, civility and kindness. A large body of people assembled in the evening, and were still and attentive; many of them sat as solidly as if they had professed with us. Both our friends were much favoured in public labour, John Pemberton remarkably so. Towards the close of his testimony he drew an affecting description of his own situation, and his motives for leaving his own country, saying that his beloved wife, his native country and dear connexions, were as near to him as those of other men to them; but the love of mankind and his sense of duty to the Almighty, prevailed over all. He described this island as a highly favoured land, whose received mercies call loudly for our gratitude; for while surrounding nations had been visited with the sword, with pestilence, with earthquakes, inundations and other calamities, this had been spared. After meeting the people crowded round us; many were desirous of conversing with us, requesting John Pemberton's company; with which he complied, opening our principles among them, and exhorting them to a sober and godly life.

"We entered the Highlands on the 31st,

after travelling through a mountainous and thinly peopled country, where we met with many of the poor inhabitants coming down to the lowlands against harvest. We reached Inverary, from Carindow, at the head of Loch Fyne, on the 1st of the ninth month, and were received with great openness. On first-day, the 2nd, many of the Highlanders came from the mountains to their place of worship at Inverary. There are, as I was told, two sermons commonly preached on first-days, the one in English, the other in Erse or Gaelic, which is the language of the Highlanders. While walking round, I was pleased and affected at the solid deportment of the Gaelic assembly, which had collected to the amount of several hundreds, and stood generally silent without doors, till the English sermon was finished. We had our meeting appointed in a large room at the inn, at the time the last might be supposed to conclude; the room was soon filled, and many hundreds stood without. The duchess of Argyle, with her son and daughters, and several other persons of distinction attended; the duchess sat very solidly, and her mind seemed to be thoughtfully exercised. John Pemberton appeared with power and authority, both in testimony and prayer; and though what he had to offer was in no way flattering to elevated stations, when the meeting closed, the duchess came up and shook hands with him, expressing her satisfaction, and making some friendly inquiries. Another meeting was appointed at five o'clock in the afternoon, in a shed belonging to the duke. I think nearly a thousand attended, and behaved with becoming stillness."

John Pemberton remarks, that "it was a pretty open time; some expressed their satisfaction, and one man said he never knew his Saviour until this day. The necessity of a regard to the grace of God that brings reproof for sin, being the mercy and favour of the Almighty, was pointed out, and that such who disregard its instructions, are slighting the means offered for salvation, and thus rejecting their Saviour. The people attended mostly in the Highland dress, and many appeared with innocent countenances. Taking a walk, after meeting, in the grounds of the duke, I met with him and his three children, and two other persons. He entered into familiar conversation, and spoke respectfully of our friends, adding, that he had heard so well of the meeting, he was sorry he was not with us. I gave him William Penn's 'Rise and Progress,' to present to his wife. He said he had read the small piece I had sent him, (Randall's Account.) I told him I had also sent him a piece respecting the slave trade, and wished him to join his influence for the suppression

of so iniquitous a traffic. He acknowledged it to be a bad trade."

Thomas Wilkinson's account proceeds :

"3d; John Pemberton felt concerned to have another meeting, which, in order to accommodate the poor labouring people, was appointed at six o'clock. The duke and duchess, with their family and visitors, attended, and sat solidly amongst us. I thought the meeting was very satisfactory." John Pemberton says, "The Lord in mercy favoured the opportunity; for which may our minds bow in reverence." "David Ducat appeared," adds Thomas Wilkinson, "with a convincing testimony, and John Pemberton with great life and power. The witness in several seemed to be reached; the duchess in particular appearing to be much affected.

"4th; Passed on to Lochgillphead; had an evening meeting there, and another at eleven o'clock next day. After meeting we set off for Ormsay, and had a sample, for perhaps ten miles, of ancient Highland road, which admits the travelling of but one person at a time; we however arrived safely, and were received with true hospitality.

"6th; Had a meeting in one of the barns of our kind host, captain Mac Laughlane, of which he and his servants spread information round the neighbourhood; but as in these parts not many understand English, no great numbers attended. After meeting John Pemberton collected the captain's sisters, four agreeable young women, and after a little space of silence, had some affectionate exhortation for them. On the 7th, captain Mac Laughlane's younger brother, also an officer, accompanied us some miles on foot; and we had a meeting at Tarbet, by Loch Fyne, in the evening.

"8th; Went to Campbell-town, where the provost granted the town-hall, and we gave notice of a meeting to be held the next day. When it drew near the time, we received a few lines from the provost, expressing his fears that the crowd that might be expected would endanger the floor. We had not time to provide another place, so we concluded to offer ourselves at the public market-cross; it was a tall stone, surrounded with steps; we went and sat down thereon in silence by ourselves. In a little time the people began to gather round us, looking on one another and on us, perhaps wondering what it meant, as I believe no meeting was ever before held by any of our Society in these parts; yet no scoffing or insult was offered us, nor any light behaviour observable. Our minds were turned inward, and I believe, experienced something of the promise made to those whose hearts are

stayed on the Lord, and who trust in him. Though it was long before anything was said, refreshment and peace were experienced. John Pemberton then in a lively manner exhorted the people to become acquainted with their Maker, and be at peace with him. The day was very hot, and John Pemberton was ready to faint, from being exposed bare-headed to the sun. Another meeting was appointed for the afternoon, and a green that lay before the 'kirk' was recommended as a suitable place. I went to place some chairs, and the crowd that surrounded and followed me was very great. I believe that in a few minutes after my friends took their seats, nearly fifteen hundred assembled. Many were on the walls and on the neighbouring trees; a general stillness prevailed, and it was not long before way opened with John Pemberton for religious communication. Though I am fearful that what was delivered could not be distinctly heard by the most distant of the assembly, yet no disorder ensued; and I trust we were thankful to the Father of mercies and Fountain of good, for preservation and peace amidst such a host of strangers."

12th; John Pemberton remarks: "Divers came to the inn, and we parted solidly, having their wishes for our preservation. After dinner, finding our way open to the southward, we proceeded to Southend, near the Mull of Kintyre; and there not being accommodation for us at the small inn, we were kindly received by the minister, David Campbell, an aged man, and blind. He expressed much regard for our religious Society, believing them to come nearer to the primitive Christians than any people on earth. We lodged at his house, being introduced to him by his son-in-law, major Archibald Campbell, of Campbell-town, who met us on the road. He had been in America during the troubles, and had a favourable opinion of Friends."

13th and 14th; They had two meetings there and one at Nockney hall, in a mill. They lodged on the 15th at the house of a poor farmer, whose family was religiously disposed, and entertained them kindly. It was the practice of this family to assemble together, both morning and evening, at which times they sang a psalm, read a chapter in the New Testament, and afterwards kneeled down to prayers. When these were concluded, on this occasion, the master of the family said, that if our friends had anything to communicate, they were ready to hear it; on which John Pemberton remarked, "that he was concerned to caution them, lest such religious practices, if unattended by correspondent feelings, might degenerate into a



form." On the 17th they had a meeting at Tynelane, and on the 18th another at Southend, John Pemberton not having been able to feel his mind quite clear of that parish. In the evening, being at David Campbell's, his daughter said to John Pemberton, "You see, Mr. Pemberton, father has given you his 'kirk' and attended you several times; suppose you go to church on Sunday, and hear father: we have some elegant preachers in the Highlands." To which John Pemberton gravely replied, "We have a testimony to bear against a hired ministry." Thomas Wilkinson remarks, that when they came to take leave of this hospitable family, it was "with some tenderness on both sides. Margaret Campbell, the daughter, observed that it was hard to have such guests, and never to see them more."

21st; Thomas Wilkinson's account proceeds: "Rode to Lochgillhead. About noon a terrible hurricane arose; two vessels from Loch Fyne were riding at anchor in sight; one of them broke loose, struck on a sand bank and filled. The seamen belonging to the other, except a little boy, were on shore. To go to their own vessel seemed impracticable: they often attempted to fetch the men from the other, but the waves as often heaved the boat on shore again. Many people were on the beach; and the lamentations of the women were pitiable. We exerted ourselves; and after dragging the boat along the shore to another point, the seamen were able to bring off the hands from the nearest vessel: all our concern was now for the boy. I proposed dragging the boat along the shore, perhaps almost a mile, to a situation whence it might be driven by the waves to the other vessel; the seamen however did not adopt the proposal, and the dark shades of the tempestuous night closed on the poor boy. The reflections arising from this circumstance spread a sadness over our minds, and when day broke in the morning it was perceived that the vessel had gone down.

"22nd; Proceeded to Goatfield, and were kindly entertained by Joseph Latham, superintendent of the Argyle iron works. We had two meetings next day at this place. On the 24th we proceeded to Aroquhar, where on the 25th we had a meeting, a solid and favoured opportunity; and after dinner we travelled a few miles to Luss, where we had a meeting in the evening, attended by a considerable number of people.

"26th; We had now rode an hundred miles on our return towards England, partly on account of David Ducat's poor state of health; he, however, now seemed recruiting; and

John Pemberton's prospects opening northward, we had a meeting in the evening at Tarbet, by Loch Lomond; which was at first much unsettled by the disorderly conduct of a person in liquor; but having placed him in a chair, and taken my seat by him, he became still, and the meeting issued favourably.

"27th; Proceeded to Tynedrome, and had a meeting there; a good degree of solemnity was experienced in the time of silence. I thought it one of the most satisfactory meetings we had had; and I believe we rejoiced in humble thankfulness that our heavenly Father had refreshed us together with his good presence, and filled our hearts with his love and the love of our fellow creatures, in such a poor solitary part of the earth.

"28th; Passed on to Dalmally, a pleasant and populous vale in Glenorchy." Here they had a meeting, and John Pemberton remarks: "The Lord was graciously pleased to favour, so that the gospel was preached under its enlivening influence. The people behaved well, and the minister of the parish, Joseph McIntire, was very respectful, and invited us to his house. He made inquiry respecting some of our principles, which we explained to his satisfaction. He was of a very open disposition, and liberal in his sentiments respecting the universality of God's love. He, with his wife and several of his children attended the meeting, and sat very solidly. In conversation he lamented the lightness that he had observed in England in time of public worship; which is too often the case. He inquired of me respecting the practice of asking a blessing before meat. I told him our views, which both himself and his wife acknowledged to be right, and he confessed that too little thought often attended when *grace*, so called, was said." Thomas Wilkinson remarks, respecting this minister's wife, that she "was a plain woman, and when we were on the subjects of an hired ministry, war, &c., notwithstanding the profession of her husband, and that she had a son or sons in the army, she was unequivocally of our opinion, and spoke her sentiments without reserve.

"29th; Set off for Bunawe at five o'clock in the morning; passed on to Lorn Furnace, and took up our lodging at the house of John Satterthwaite, who, with his wife, were the only members of our Society in the Highlands of Scotland. The next morning many came several miles to the meeting; lakes and arms of the sea run up here among the mountains in various directions, which the people were seen crossing in boats from different quarters. A considerable number assembled and behaved with remarkable solidity; and though it seemed scarcely reasonable to sup-

pose that any of them had been at a meeting before, yet they sat as still and orderly as if they had been trained up amongst us. It is often no easy matter to make strangers feel the propriety of waiting in silence before the Lord. As the outward order of society sometimes suggests hints that lead towards Divine truths, it is remarkable that the various professors of Christianity have not more frequently discovered, that the servant who waits in silent attention on his Master, is the most likely to discover his will. Thus it appears to me that the most acceptable homage to the all-seeing, all-knowing Master and Sovereign of the universe, is a waiting in humble reverent silence before him: and when we meet for the purpose of worshipping him, instead of rushing into his presence with speeches of our own contriving, the fruits of our own self-sufficiency, that it is more pleasing in his sight to wait in all humility and singleness of heart, to feel his love operate in our minds and his good Spirit refresh our hearts. Thus would his worship, whether in vocal homage, or silent adoration, be an offering of his own preparing, and acceptable in his sight; and while such a disposition prevailed, even if he saw meet, for the trial of our constancy, to withhold his sensible presence from us, I have no doubt that our patient dedication of heart would be well pleasing to him.

"Tenth month 1st; We set off for Fort William, and crossed some lakes and arms of the sea. Here the females are employed in the most laborious exercises; we were rowed over lakes and arms of the sea by women, who, when we and our horses were on board, would plunge into the water, push off the boat, and then spring with cheerfulness to their oars. We had proceeded about ten or fifteen miles, when John Pemberton consulted us about returning back a few miles. He said he had felt a concern to visit a place we had passed, yet, wishing to get on, had not discovered it to us; but that it now felt so heavy, he hardly seemed able to proceed. We returned; and towards evening finding ourselves among poor huts, without inn or place of accommodation where we could lodge, we observed Loch Nell house at a distance, towards which we rode. After alighting, being shown to where the venerable owner, the widow of Sir Duncan Campbell, stood overlooking some workmen, John Pemberton told her he had 'a favour to ask of her;' and on her inquiring what, he replied, 'only a night's lodging;' to which she answered courteously, 'you are very welcome to that.' She entertained us with great kindness, and soon discovered to us that she was a niece of May Drummond's, and had seen much of Friends.

We had a satisfactory meeting in one of her offices in the morning, herself, family and servants attending. Immediately afterwards I set off for Cragnook, to make preparation there for a meeting in the evening, and easily obtained all the accommodation that could be had; but it was a poor place. I rode among the little huts for many miles, but many could give me no answer at all, and some shook their heads, and could just pronounce, 'no English.' A few persons gathered in the evening, and after meeting we returned to Loch Nell. It was dark; we had a little arm of the sea to cross, and the tide was in; but protecting Goodness seemed to attend; for though it was deep, we rode through in safety, and arrived about eleven o'clock at night.

"3d; Passed on to Portnacrash, where we had a meeting in the evening." John Pemberton says on this occasion, "It was not pleasing to be prevented from pursuing our journey; but a fear attended my mind that I should not be easy if I left the place, though in deep poverty. The meeting was attended by divers of the principal people hereaway, and the Lord in mercy condescended to favour, so that it yielded satisfaction to many, which was freely expressed."

Thomas Wilkinson says:

"4th; We entered Lochaber, and proceeded to Fort William.

"5th; Had a meeting at eleven o'clock, which a considerable number of people attended. David Ducat appeared largely in testimony, and in a line so singular, that I was somewhat apprehensive of the consequences. We were now among the clans of Cameron and M'Donald, which rose in the rebellion of 1745. The conduct of such as rose up against their lawful sovereign was fully displayed, and it was remarked, that outward allegiance might be observed by those who are rebels at heart; but that this sort of conduct could not impose on the King of Heaven. There were some present who had been in the rebellion; however, the meeting was quiet, and afterwards, John Pemberton was remarkably favoured in testimony. I never remember his thus appearing with greater life and power.

"The evidence of truth prevailed over error and prejudice; for some who entered the meeting scoffingly, soon became serious, expressed their satisfaction afterwards, and showed us much kindness and attention. The governor, who had attended the meeting, engaged us to breakfast with him next morning in the fort."

John Pemberton remarks: "Near Ballahulish," where they breakfasted on their way to the fort, "is Glencove, where about seventy persons, of the M'Donald clan, were murdered



by order of King William. The officers who commanded, were playing at cards with some of the party, before they committed this horrid crime. One child, being at some distance, escaped, and was grandfather to the mistress of the inn at Fort William, who, with her husband, Donald Cameron, was very respectful to us while at their house, and parted affectionately, he saying he had not had so much satisfaction with any guests since he kept an inn. In the morning we breakfasted with the commander of the fort, Captain Cochran, who, as we had spoken to him the evening before, summoned the soldiery to attend a meeting this morning in the barracks, which through mercy was also favoured. This Capt. Cochran was wounded at the battle of Bunker's hill, and has now one ball remaining in his shoulder, and another in his thigh. He told me he had on a short waistcoat, which had fourteen shots through it. One lodged in his body, but was extracted. I reminded him that it was a miraculous escape, and should be remembered. He acknowledged that he should be very ungrateful, were he to forget the mercy. He seemed reached by the visit, wished us well, and wrote by us to the governor of Fort Augustus, whither we were going, to recommend us. We reached Fort Augustus in the evening, and soon after, myself and Thomas Wilkinson waited on the governor, Alexander Trapaud, who received us kindly, and said he would order a place for us to hold a meeting in. His wife is a descendant of the Barclay family, by a Cameron; and five or six of the descendants of Robert Barclay were at the meeting at Fort William."

Thomas Wilkinson adds: "The weather had been uncommonly fine during our journey through the Highlands, yet we beheld large quantities of snow in the cliffs of Ben Nevis, so that I presume on these mountains it never entirely dissolves. We also saw this day, many poor huts, entirely built of and covered with sods. Oh! ye that solace yourselves in your costly apartments, while you tread the softest carpets, or press your beds of down, remember the poor Highlander, who sits on the earth, or stretches his weary limbs on the hard heath gathered from the mountains. On first-day, when their minister had finished, the governor gave information to the people of our intended meeting, and sent us word immediately. On our arrival we found a large and orderly congregation; amongst whom several gospel truths were published. John Pemberton appointed another meeting in the evening, and intimation being given to the officers that the company of the soldiers would be acceptable, they gave directions that they should attend. The soldiers

had received orders to march next morning, in order to embark for the West Indies. John Pemberton was much enlarged in testimony amongst them; the season seemed like a farewell; he signified that he had often felt a near regard for soldiers, and intimated the uncertainty of life to all men, more particularly to those in their situation; and he affectionately recommended them to have the fear of God, and the thoughts of their latter end, daily before their eyes.

"8th; We passed through Strath Errick, which is the Frazers' country, and arrived at Inverness in the evening. John Pemberton had been at Inverness two years before, and from what he suffered there, he owned, that as a man he had rather have rode five hundred miles another way, than visit it again; yet the drawings of duty seemed to lead thither, and to these he gave up. A large and respectable company collected the next day, and behaved solidly." John Pemberton remarks, "The meeting was owned by the Master's countenance and presence, and the people were dealt plainly with. We appointed another meeting at six o'clock in the evening, which was more crowded, and was a satisfactory opportunity."

Thomas Wilkinson adds, "I believe that in the evening my friend possessed himself in peace, which was a lesson of encouragement and instruction; for though the way of our duty is sometimes covered as with tempests and with clouds, yet, if we advance with all humility as to ourselves, and with confidence towards God, the light of his favour will often disperse the darkness, and we shall journey forward in peace.

"We were about to take leave of the Highlands, which is perhaps as rugged a country as is inhabited by man, but where we might acknowledge we were favoured, both outwardly and inwardly. The hospitality and kindness of the inhabitants more than counterbalanced the unpromising aspect of the country: their respectful attention, their open and susceptible minds, ready to receive religious communications, together with the gracious ownings of His presence, whose cause we were endeavouring to promote, were sources of comfort to us, that cheered our passage through these comparatively solitary regions.

"11th; The day was very stormy. An affecting account came in the evening of six men being drowned in ferrying over a river, the passage of which we must have attempted, if we had gone forward.

"12th; Passed to Elgin, where we had a meeting; after which we proceeded to Cullen; and on the 13th rode through Banff to Macduff, where John Pemberton had held a meet-

ing before, but had left the place uneasy. We met with considerable openness, and appointed a meeting; a number of solid sober minded people attended, and the meeting was satisfactory. In coming along, John Pemberton had observed White-hills, a fishing village, which he was desirous to visit; so I returned a few miles to procure accommodation for a meeting, and to give notice. I was received at first agreeably by the people to whom I was recommended; but on mentioning my profession and errand, they showed considerable dislike; the mistress of the house observed with some warmth, that they would have nothing to do with either Quakers, clergy, or bishops, or any such people. However, after some further conversation and explanation, way opened. The prejudices we had to combat as we passed along, were among the difficulties of this journey; and it was sometimes even difficult to preserve becoming seriousness, on hearing the people relate the strange and unaccountable ideas they had formed of our Society. Whatever use might arise from the labours of my friends in promoting a reformation of life among the people, and in making them more acquainted with the means of salvation, I believe this journey might have use in removing a load of prejudice from their minds, and opening a door to future labour, if called for by the Master of the harvest. I returned to my companions at Maeduff, where we had the most crowded meeting in the evening I remember to have seen in Scotland; the people were remarkably still, and John Pemberton was livingly opened in testimony.

"14th; At ten o'clock a meeting was held at White-hills, in a new unfinished house, which was entirely filled; some sat on beams above, and many were without. David Ducat appeared in an informing testimony, as did John Pemberton, who was remarkably favoured. Another was appointed in the afternoon. Five serious young people came from Banff on purpose to attend the meeting, and staid the second, which was crowded, but orderly. It was agreeable to find an alteration take place in some minds. Our landlady, who was so odd in her remarks yesterday, now treated us with much kindness, and in taking leave of us, expressed her earnest desires for our welfare.

"15th; Proceeded to Old Meldrum, where we were once more refreshed with the sight and society of our Friends.

"16th; Rode to Aberdeen. Ancient Robert Hervy, nearly eighty years of age, walked eighteen miles through the rain to the half-year's meeting: he seemed to possess an innocent green old age.

"18th; On this day was their half-year's

meeting. Much business came before them, and it was satisfactory to see the honest care of Friends. In the evening, at John Pemberton's request, several Friends of the half-year's meeting had a solid conference. He informed them that without a full sense of his services being completed in the north, he had come above a hundred and twenty miles to that meeting. He still found a concern lie with weight on his mind to visit the northernmost part of Scotland; but to return at this advanced season of the year into such a country, seemed at the hazard of life. He wished Friends to feel with him, and communicate their sense freely, for it was a matter of great weight. Friends, from outward appearances, mostly discouraged the undertaking, for all the passages through the northern country were frequently blocked up with snow for many weeks together; yet they left him to Divine direction and the feelings of his own mind, expressing much sympathy with him, and being sincerely desirous of our preservation. Though it was to myself a serious thing to be confined for months together in the impassable vallies of Caithness, yet I felt resigned to go north or south."

The weather being very wet, they staid in and about Aberdeen a few days to rest. On the 23d they left that city, attended the meeting next day at Killmuck, and on the 25th arrived at Old Meldrum again. On the 26th the weather became exceedingly cold, with a severe frost, and John Pemberton began to feel some symptoms of indisposition. Though he had felt resigned to proceed northward, yet he now found some relief from the undertaking for the present, and they set their faces again towards the south.

On the 29th, Thomas Wilkinson says, "We passed Urie to Stonehaven. Something of a sorrowful feeling accompanies the survey of places once the residence of wisdom, piety and virtue; especially when no traces are found of the former inhabitants. Such was the reflection in passing Urie; and we were not much comforted by what we found at Stonehaven, but our sorrow was more mingled with commiseration. We visited the poor scattered remains of our Society there, seven in number. We found them weighed down by the pressure of poverty; their children had left them and the Society together; and there remained scarcely a comfort of life to cheer their old age. John Pemberton entered feelingly into their situation, expressed his solicitude for their eternal welfare, and administered to their outward necessities. Ah! ye that dwell in remote and lonely situations, let me recommend to you the dwelling near that



Power that will preserve and support you, and be the means of your present and everlasting comfort. Ye too, to whose lot is committed the care of rising families; endeavour to cultivate in the tender minds of your children the precious seed sown there by the hand of Divine Goodness. You will not, perhaps, then be deserted in your old age; neither would the places, where righteousness has flourished, so soon become barren and desolate."

John Pemberton says with respect to this remnant at Stonehaven; "We found them aged and very infirm, and not able to meet together; three of them were so deaf that we could not make them hear; one was blind, and all were poor, inwardly and outwardly." He adds; "On third-day we proceeded through rain and fog to Inverbervie, and feeling some draught for a meeting, concluded to stay there. The meeting was held in the town-house, which was filled. It was a favoured opportunity. The priest was present. Something was said respecting ministry, though I was then ignorant of any professing to be ministers being present, except my companion and myself."

On the 1st of the eleventh month they entered Montrose, where they held two meetings, and then passing through Brechin, Johnshaven, a village on the sea-coast, St. Siris and Dundee, at all which places they had meetings, they reached St. Andrews on the 7th. They had a meeting with the inhabitants that evening and another the next day, respecting which latter, Thomas Wilkinson says; "A great number of persons were at the meeting, and I trust it was attended with increased solemnity. My friends were enabled to labour in the life, among an attentive and solid people. Though we were now among colleges, professors, and the learned, yet we found much openness as well as kindness. John Pemberton had found his mind particularly drawn to this place; we approached it with some degree of awe; yet our visits to few places were more agreeable and satisfactory. St. Andrews is a place with its buildings in ruins: other places in Scotland have had their cathedrals of considerable splendour, particularly Elgin and Arbroath, which are now demolished and deserted. Splendid edifices for public worship seem to be more likely to excite admiration in the minds of the audience for the ingenuity of the artist, than to dispose the people to that humble frame of mind, which becomes them when assembled before the Lord. Christianity enjoins an inward and spiritual worship; and ought not its accommodations to partake of its own sim-

licity? Perhaps it is the vanity of man that pretends to assist the cause of heaven, in building palaces for men to humble themselves in; perhaps, too, it is his pride that pulls them down with such fury as was used to the places I have mentioned. The ostentation that built, and the religious fury that demolished, might be equally remote from true and unaffected piety.

"9th; Leaving St. Andrews my companions rode to Cupar. I went a few miles another way, to a place called Leuchars, to make preparation for a meeting on first-day; but I found it difficult to obtain a place. Among others I applied at a school; but the master, with looks of bitterness that I cannot easily forget, shut the door in my face without giving any reply, while I was explaining my errand. I was not, however, discouraged from further applications, and went to the castle. The master was not at home, but his wife cheerfully granted me a large barn. I then spread information, and leaving the place, joined my companions at Cupar, where we had a meeting in the evening.

"10th; Rested. Being the fourth day of resting since leaving England.

"11th; Set off for Leuchars. As we approached the place, we saw a large crowd assembled about the barn, to all appearance a mob. As we entered, they seemed a rude tumultuous set of people, amongst whom, however, we were mercifully supported. Their disorderly behaviour suddenly subsided, they became settled and still, and it proved a very solid and satisfactory meeting; for, as if in an instant, the minds of the people seemed prepared to receive the gospel truths that were largely spread amongst them.

"12th; We went to Pittenweem. The magistrates were very shy of granting us the town-hall; I believe that I waited five or six times on them before it was obtained. We had two meetings there on the 13th, and way so opened, that we met with some remarkable instances of kindness."

John Pemberton observes, "The meetings were large, many of the principal inhabitants were present, and the Lord in mercy favoured.

"14th; Moved on to Anstruther, and obtained their Town-hall, where we had a large, but rather unsettled meeting, chiefly from a general thoughtlessness about religion. We had another in the evening; full as many attended, and their behaviour was perhaps rather improved; though they still appeared to have much to learn of religious seriousness.

"15th; We went to Crail, where the people, we were informed, were dark and bigoted. We easily, however, found entrance among them, and had a meeting in their town-hall

at twelve o'clock, which was very full. The people seemed rude and undisciplined; but after they got settled, behaved tolerably, and another meeting was appointed at six o'clock. The assembly in the evening, with some small exception, was one restless crowd, which it was difficult to impress with any ideas of seriousness or order. John Pemberton informed them, he had held meetings with the blacks from Africa, and the Indian natives of America, men accounted heathens and savages, but had never seen any thing like such behaviour in them. The people were at one time so unsettled, that when he rose to deliver what came before him, he was obliged to sit down again. However, at more quiet intervals, he was enabled to discharge his duty among them.

"16th; We were now drawing near Edinburgh, and John Pemberton finding himself almost worn out with exercise of body and mind, proposed our going thither to rest for a few days. We passed through several towns and villages which he had mostly visited before; and arriving at Edinburgh in the evening, were kindly received by our friend George Miller, at whose house we rested about ten days. But though we ceased from travelling, the service of John Pemberton was not suspended. His love to Friends, and care for the good order of the Society, were manifested during our stay. We attended the monthly meeting of Edinburgh, in which his labours were serviceable."

In reviewing the late journey, John Pemberton remarks in a letter to his brother, "It is fifteen weeks since we entered Scotland, in which time we have attended one hundred and thirteen public meetings. The weather for six weeks has been very wet; I believe that during five weeks my great coat was not for six days fully dry; yet I have been preserved from taking much cold, which is a great mercy. But I wanted to be a few days at a Friend's house, for I have little satisfaction at taverns, and until we came here we had but four days cessation from meetings or riding, in the fifteen weeks, which is trying to nature; yet the Lord in mercy hath upheld, and made way for us in every place. Since we left Aberdeen, we have been mostly among fishermen and those who reside on the sea-coast. The meetings have been large, but many of the people more raw and undisciplined than among the Highlands. I have now been nearly round Scotland; yet there is work enough for a year or two more; but if it be the Lord's will to release me, I shall consider it a mercy.

"26th; Thomas Wilkinson proceeds. Had two meetings at Musselburgh; but little openness appeared in the people, and perhaps they

were seasons rather of exercise than of refreshment.

"27th; Went to Preston Pans. A considerable number of people assembled; and another meeting was appointed at eleven o'clock next day. But few attended, and the conduct of some was painful; yet gospel labour was bestowed, and John Pemberton closed the meeting in fervent, living prayer. We had intended after this to leave the place, but John Pemberton still felt a compassionate regard for the people, and found his mind oppressed when about to leave them; so we gave notice of another meeting in the evening, which was more fully attended, and accompanied by more becoming behaviour, though without doors there was much rudeness."

We may now resume John Pemberton's own account of the remainder of his journey. On the 29th they arrived again in Edinburgh, and attended the mid-week meeting, John Pemberton's mind being in a low proved state, desiring to be released from this arduous field of labour in which he had been so long engaged, yet not daring to withdraw himself without an evidence of the approbation of the great Master.

"On sixth day," says he, "my companions desiring to proceed for England, I set out with them, though my mind was loaded, and I could not see my way thither; and it growing more heavy the further I went, returned the next day, having rode to Selkirk and back unprofitably. At Selkirk I parted with my kind friend Thomas Wilkinson, he proceeding homeward, and myself with David Ducat returning to Edinburgh.

"Fifth-day morning, had a long cold passage across the Firth, and it was eleven o'clock at night, before our horses were landed."

They visited Levin, Dysert, St. Andrews, and a few other places, having several meetings; then returned to Edinburgh; and afterwards finding a liberty to leave Scotland, passed through Kelso and Carlisle, and arrived at Wigton on the 26th of twelfth month. The next day was the quarterly meeting for Cumberland; "which," says John Pemberton, "I hope was to edification." He continued during the winter visiting meetings in Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire, at some of which he mentions having the company of Martha Routh, William Jepson and Thomas Colley.

About this time he received a letter from his valued friend and fellow-labourer in the gospel, Samuel Neale, who was then in a de-



clining state of health. After mentioning his bodily afflictions, he instructively remarks :

"I find the 'Ancient of days' near me at times, and when this is the case, I feel neither sickness nor pain. I have much pleasure in reading and looking into the steppings of the flock and companions of Christ in the morning of our day [as a religious Society.] Alas! what did they go through and suffer. I often wish that the present generation would look into the experience and sufferings of those who loved not their lives unto death, who were champions in the Christian warfare, and turned not their backs in the day of battle, who bore the burthen and heat of the day, and smoothed our path in the wilderness of this world."

John Pemberton was much interested in the subject of the abolition of the slave-trade, which was now taking deep root in the minds of serious and enlightened people in England, chiefly owing to the exertions which had been made by members of our religious Society to spread correct information and encourage a sound tone of sentiment on that affecting subject. Lindley Murray, who then resided at York, wrote to him about this time, that "the cause of the poor blacks gains ground in this nation. Several great men have earnestly espoused it, and a respectable member of the house of commons, [William Wilberforce,] has given notice of his intention to bring in a bill for the prohibition of the trade. I understand that he was joined by Fox, and that he is a particular friend of the minister, Pitt. The intent of the bill is to make it felony for any British subject to take a negro from Africa without his consent." His frequent correspondent, George Dillwyn, who was then in London, also alluded to the subject, referring, however, to what was then taking place in their own land, in the following terms: "I note among other articles of intelligence, that the convention have proposed to preclude the new congress from interfering with the slave-trade for twenty-one years, after all their pretended respect to the *natural and unalienable rights of mankind*, and so much light being thrown upon the subject of slavery. How can such a provision be considered otherwise than as a designed sanction to every crime which that trade involves, and a setting at naught *the Power* to which, in their late contest with Great Britain, they so solemnly appealed for the sincerity of their motives? As a part of the people who are to be bound by the new system, I hope Friends will find it their duty to enter a timely and full protest; for, though they may not succeed to their wish, it is of importance to be clear, and if

they have not omitted their duty, the retrospect may afford satisfaction." John Pemberton remarks: "I think it is wisdom in Friends, to avoid unixing with the fluctuating state of affairs and the political debates of the people; yet, when such glaring contradictions appear to their former declarations respecting freedom, it may be proper *deeply to consider what Truth might lead to*, in showing our disapprobation of such unjust conclusions."

About the 1st of the fifth month, 1788, taking a southerly course, he went to Stockport, and attended the burial of the wife of George Jones: "they had," he says, "been married but about eighteen months; many of the town's people came in; and though their expectation was too much outward, the meeting was in measure favoured. Then I proceeded towards London, and lodged at Chapel-a-Frith."

Thence passing through Stoney Middleton, situated in a wild and beautiful part of the mountainous country of Derbyshire, and through the forest, from Mansfield to Nottingham, he reached London on sixth-day, the 9th of fifth month.

"Second-day was the yearly meeting of ministers and elders, in which Rebecca Jones expressed to Friends how she had been employed since the last yearly meeting, and that though she did not yet see the time of her embarking, she expected her visit was nearly closed. A solid covering attended the meeting, and she had, in a close manner, to give counsel, reciting the words of the apostle respecting such who were once quickened, had tasted of the heavenly gift and partaken of the powers of the world to come; that if these fall away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they have crucified to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame; but she added, that though impossible with men, all things were possible with God.

"In the afternoon the business of the yearly meeting was entered upon, after some profitable labour from John Storer and Samuel Neale. This meeting continued until the 20th; it was large, and attended by many solid Friends from various parts, both male and female, and a very hopeful appearance of the beloved youth. There is an increasing zeal and concern for the support and well conducting of the discipline of the church; which, however, wants care in many places. There are many who love ease and are earthly minded. Some are groaning under a sense of weakness and a wrong spirit bearing sway in some meetings, and would be glad of

help: but others do not desire to be aroused, or turned out of their old way. A suitable minute was made to authorize meetings to deal with and disown such as are concerned in the disreputable species of gaming, called stock-jobbing, which has brought many families to poverty, and much disrepute upon Friends, through the conduct of some professing with us. Many observations were also made on the evil of drawing and redrawing bills, which practice had occasioned much reproach."

After the yearly meeting, in company with some Friends, he passed into the counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, attending the quarterly meetings at Ipswich and Norwich, and having appointed meetings at a number of other places in those parts. At Holt, he says they attended the meeting on sixth-day, which was a favoured opportunity; and remarks, that although but two men and no women belonged to this meeting, yet they regularly met twice in the week for the purpose of Divine worship. After this, he says: "We proceeded to Wells, and a meeting having been appointed at six o'clock, it was filled with many sober people; but their minds being much outward, it was held a considerable time in silence. At length John Abbott had a little seasonable matter, and afterwards I had something to offer, and the latter part of the meeting was favoured."

Thence he passed through Lynn Regis, Lincoln, Broughton, Gainsborough, &c., to Beltoft, which he describes as "a poor and almost forsaken meeting." Afterwards he went to York to attend the quarterly meeting for that county; thence through Darlington, Durham, &c., to Kendal, where he attended the quarterly meeting for Westmoreland, and had the satisfaction of meeting with his beloved friend and fellow-labourer, James Thornton, who had just landed from America on a religious visit to some parts of Great Britain. From this time they travelled much together, having near unity and sympathy for each other. From Kendal they went to the general meeting at Preston Patrick, thence to Lancaster quarterly meeting, whence passing to Settle, they travelled through Yorkshire, having a number of meetings at divers places, and arrived on the 2nd of eighth month at the house of Thomas Colley at Sheffield. This dear Friend had been now some months returned home from an arduous journey in the service of the gospel in America. At this place John Pemberton writes as follows:

"Eighth month 4th; We were last week at Ackworth, and united with a committee appointed to inspect the Institution. Upon the

whole, it is wisely conducted. The girls' schools are in excellent order, there being one hundred and six girls, under the care of religious and well qualified teachers. All the departments under the matron's care, are neat and clean and in regular order, as is also the farm; though it requires great labour and attention to keep things so. The prospect is pleasing, of so many youth likely to be trained up in discipline and with a sense of religion impressed on their minds, as well as to be instructed in outward learning.

"Ninth month 1st, at Ives, in Huntingdonshire. I have hitherto been mercifully preserved under conflicts of various kinds, often wading under much discouragement, weakness and poverty, and, since the last yearly meeting, much bodily weakness. I have now been obliged to lay by for ten days at Oakham in Rutlandshire, whence I moved hither, to the house of John Abbott, who went with me the first time, to the Orkneys. I am now much better, the cough is almost gone, and the fever much moderated; though I am still very feeble. While I was encountering many outward hardships and difficulties among rocks and mountains, and islands, the Lord mercifully preserved in health, and sustained the mind to persevere and press through; but now in passing along with less of outward hardships and difficulties, I am more feeble in body, and also in mind; but I labour to keep in the patience, and have many friends who deeply sympathize with me.

"Dear Rebecca Jones embarked on the 13th ult. on her return, and it was satisfactory to find she was favoured with much peace, and an evidence that she embarked at the right time. She had been wonderfully upheld, preserved and furnished, through her journey; and knowing whence come wisdom and strength to labour rightly, was kept humble, and ascribed the praise to the Lord, unto whom it belongs. She loves to see the Lord's children walking in the truth, and the professors of the light walking in the light. I often sympathize with the burthen bearers, and wish them strengthened and preserved from dismay: it is a great favour for each to mind his own calling, and to labour to fulfil his respective duty. If such who have been called are not faithful, the loss will be their own. Had I been more attentive, more faithful and diligent, the crown would have been more weighty. I have nothing to boast of, but am often humbled under a sense of my frequent failures; but the Lord hath been, and is, very merciful.

"I am sorry to find that a vain parade has been countenanced and promoted in my native city. Excess in vanity is very prevalent in



this highly favoured island. As favours from on high are multiplied, so are the minds of the people captivated, indulging in abundant vanity, folly and wickedness. Boxing upon stages, whereby several have been killed, is one among the scenes of brutality, which of late have been much promoted, to the reproach of the abettors, and dishonour of the name they hold."

After his recovery from this indisposition, he visited several towns in the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge. At Littleport he remarks that there was but one family of Friends, though formerly there were many; and adds:

"It appears that there was great conviction very early in these counties, and many meetings settled that are now extinct. Some meeting houses have been sold, and some closed; and others appear likely to be so, unless the Lord see meet to bring in others by the powerful influences of his love.

"Ninth month 17th, I set out with my friend John Abbott, and attended the quarterly meetings of Warwick and Leicester, and came to Mansfield on the 27th, to attend the quarterly meeting for Nottinghamshire.

"29th; I have now been at three quarterly meetings, wholly silent with respect to ministerial labour, except yesterday afternoon; sitting under deep suffering. The meeting for discipline was profitable."

Soon afterwards he attended the quarterly meeting for Northamptonshire, held at Wellesborough, at which he says he was silent in the public meeting, but had some labour in the meeting for business. After this he visited several meetings in his way towards London, where he arrived on the 12th of tenth month, and continued in that city and the neighbourhood for several weeks. On the 20th he attended the adjourned quarterly meeting, "in which," he says, "much time was spent to little profit, many being apt to speak without sufficient weight; and a spirit is evident that would lessen the weight of women's meetings, through jealousy. It was an exercising meeting; but our dear friend George Dillwyn had a seasonable time at the close, much to the purpose, so that it ended in a solid frame.

About this time he began to think that he might soon be released from this field of labour, and went on board a ship for the purpose of feeling after the propriety of taking passage in her homewards. He returned, however, "not quite easy" to take such a step at present, and received a letter from his fellow countryman, James Thornton, expressive

of an opinion that he would scarcely get away before the next yearly meeting, and encouraging him to persevere in faithfulness, by this reanimating sentiment: "None that I know of have more real helps, in a united sympathy and unity of the living members of the church, than thou hast." John Pemberton remarks on this subject a few weeks afterwards:

"The sympathy expressed by Friends for me is very grateful, and I desire I may be favoured so to steer my course as not to forfeit their unity."

On the 27th of eleventh month, he remarks, in a letter to his brother James, in allusion to his dear friends at home:

"If Friends can be brought to deny themselves of importing spirituous liquors, or dealing therein, except as medicine, it will be a great thing; but I expect it must be a work of time and patience. I felt, more than thirty years ago, a restraint in my own mind respecting the importation, which was one motive to my declining a trade to the West India Islands."

On the 29th he left London on his way to the west of England, and arrived at Bristol on the 2nd of twelfth month. Here he again met his friend James Thornton, and remained about a month.

"On second-day," he says, "I attended a meeting of ministers and elders for the monthly meeting of Bristol, in which some useful labour was exercised. Having had some engagement on my mind for a day or two towards the prisoners in the jail at Bristol, on returning from this meeting I gave a hint of it to James Thornton, and he was willing to join me. So taking John Lury, we went into the jail, and had the women felons first, being seventeen, and generally young, some to appearance about fourteen and sixteen years of age. But it was sorrowful to find, that although the gospel spring was experienced, and they were closely spoken to, it had little effect upon some; others however were more affected. We then had the men felons, about twenty, and these also mostly young, some to appearance not more than fifteen or sixteen years of age, all in irons. It was a very affecting sight. Counsel, through the efficacy of Divine love, flowed towards these, and some were affected and tendered. The opportunity was satisfactory."

After visiting Bath and some other places, he says, "We went to Marlborough, and had a meeting, which was open, though the professors here are very wide from the path of self-denial.

"Sixth-day, had an open favoured meeting

at Newberry, many of the town's people coming in. There are but two families in this large place who go under our name, and but one person of these two families was at the meeting. Formerly there were many Friends here, and two meeting houses; but they became divided in early time by Story and Wilkinson, and a spirit opposed to discipline getting up, a blast ensued; and there is now scarcely one in the place worthy of the name. First-day, attended two meetings at Reading, and the next day reached London.

"First month 6th, 1789; Attended the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders at Aylesbury. It was small, and no women Friends were there, none of that sex being under the nomination of elders in this quarter. Friends were stirred up in regard to it, and advised to appoint women Friends to this service. Next day was the quarterly meeting for business, opened by a meeting for worship. The nature and advantage of humble inward retirement and waiting upon Almighty God, were pointed out. The business was as well conducted as could be expected, considering their weak state, and the replies to the queries were solidly considered. In the evening we had a public meeting for the inhabitants, which was pretty open, large and satisfactory.

"Fifth-day, feeling my mind drawn towards the prisoners confined in the jail at Aylesbury, I communicated it to some Friends, and my companion J. Row, and myself, with three other Friends, went thither, and had an opportunity first with the felons, about sixteen men, mostly young; then with the debtors, nine in number; and lastly with those in the house of correction; forty-eight in all, in this jail; it was very affecting to behold so many brought into difficulty and disgrace, for want of attention to the Divine fear. I thought they took the visit kindly, and some seemed tendered by the counsel delivered and the concern manifested towards them."

John Pemberton spent several weeks in London and the places adjacent, attending meetings chiefly as they came in course, and occasionally in company with his dear friend James Thornton. On the 3d of second month he writes thus, in reference to some places visited in the country: "I have been this autumn and winter at some very weak meetings. The discipline in many places is chiefly attended to by such as are brought in by conviction and conversion; many have departed from the profession by being laden with wealth, gotten through the eager pursuit of it by their parents; yet there is a hopeful appearance of youth, and a choice body of Friends when collected at the yearly meeting from the various parts.

"Second month 28th; Having been thoughtful respecting the prisoners in the jail at Chelmsford, I set out this morning, accompanied by Dr. Sims, and had ready admittance. There were eight cells with one person in each, called penitential cells; the ceilings high, and conveniences for washing, lodging, &c., in each; a method I much approve, as it seems most likely to produce reflection. It is certain there is opportunity for it. Several men and women were under sentence of transportation. In one apartment there appeared to be about fifty felons, mostly young men, and divers under age; with whom I had eleven opportunities. My mind was much affected, and it was no agreeable task to be among such a company of depraved spirits.

"I left London with James Thornton on the 11th ultimo, on a visit to the county of Essex. We have attended three monthly and most of the particular meetings, some of which I had not been at since being in Europe this time. James is favoured with strength to labour fervently; the effect must be left."

He continued for a considerable part of the spring of this year in Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, attending various meetings without much occurring worthy of remark. On the 25th of third month he attended the quarterly meeting for Norfolk and Norwich; "in which," he says, "James Thornton had close labour; and though the meeting for discipline was an instructive opportunity, yet it was a season of close exercise, and held until late in the evening. I have been silent at, I think, eleven meetings following each other." On the 2nd of fourth month he returned to London, and next day attended the meeting for sufferings. Between this and the time of the yearly meeting, he was occupied in the neighbourhood of London, and at some meetings in the midland counties, occasionally accompanied by James Thornton. "The yearly meeting," he remarks, "was large and solid; and although there were in some of the sittings too many speakers, and some particular matters took up much time, yet the cause and testimony gain ground; a concern is increasing for the support of our Christian discipline; and those who were opposers through earthly wisdom, are fewer. Dear George Dillwyn is preserved in faith and patience, and very lively in his religious labours. He, like myself, has had to live as from day to day. Our dear friend, James Thornton, informed Friends that he felt the same draught to attend his mind, to return to his family, as he felt to leave them, and a certificate was signed. Unexpectedly to myself, I found, as I apprehended, a liberty to inform Friends that I had a hope of being set at liberty during the summer, to



return home. The meeting was solid, and an endorsement was made on a certificate formerly granted."

He concluded to take passage for his native country in company with his beloved fellow-labourer, James Thornton; and on the 23d of the seventh month they sailed from Gravesend in the ship *Apollo*, after a solemn parting opportunity with about fifty Friends, who came from London and Rochester to take leave of them. The following remarks occur respecting his homeward journey.

"Eighth month 2nd, we were alarmed three several days by the discontent among the seamen; they apprehending that they were not treated kindly by the captain. He was young, and it must be acknowledged that he did not act with all the prudence which could be wished. The men seemed determined to stand by each other; but being reasoned with, on the last day of the three, they softened and returned to their work, and the captain again permitted them their allowance of meat.

"21st; A contest occurred this morning between two persons, and they were going to fight; but I stepped in and prevented it. The great dissipation, wantonness and folly that have prevailed among our passengers have been grievous to me. God does not appear to be in their thoughts, but eating, drinking, and rising up to play are too prevalent among them.

"Ninth month 6th, 1789; This is my birthday, being sixty-two years of age, and having attained to more years than I or my friends had any expectation of, having been of a weakly frame, and often very ill. May the Lord's mercy and gracious visitation continue to me, a poor unworthy creature. I acknowledge that it is of his mercy I am not consumed, my omissions and failings having been many. But great is the long suffering of a gracious God. If my time is lengthened out, may it be spent more attentively and obediently to the Divine counsel, that after the many trials, temptations and difficulties of life, I may, through his mercy, and not through any merit of my own, be received into the Divine favour. In reviewing my past life, I have many things to be grieved for, but nothing to boast of or glory in; and if at any time I have been rendered of any use, it is through the Lord's help, and to him be the glory and praise.

"8th; In the evening a fresh affray occurred between the captain and two of the men. He seemed very rash, but was prevented from doing any considerable harm, only bruising the speaking trumpet, which he had made use of to beat the man at the helm. The light, airy, vain and unprofitable conversation, and

frequent quarrels of many on board, have made it a time of trial to me.

"9th; the captain supposes we are about seven miles to the south, and about six hundred and sixty miles to the eastward of Cape Henlopen. The wind continues favourable, though light.

"22nd; About three o'clock P. M., we sounded, and found bottom at about thirty fathoms; and the next day we saw the False Cape in the morning, and afterwards sailed between the two capes and came to anchor to wait for the tide.

"Seventh-day, the 26th, about two o'clock J. Gulson and myself went ashore at Wilmington, and John Dickinson sent his carriage with us to Chester. The next-day, I reached Philadelphia, and found my dear wife pretty well, and many rejoiced at my return in safety. I attended the meeting for ministers and elders, which was large; and the following week the yearly meeting, which was large and favoured."

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### *Third and last visit to Europe, and death.*

FROM the time of his return home from his arduous labour in Great Britain, John Pemberton remained under an impression, that something more would be required of him at a future day, in that quarter of the world. For a time his diffident mind shrunk from yielding to the renewal of so trying a service, among a people of strange language, and little acquainted with the spirituality of true religion and the nature of the doctrine of the cross. The truly baptized servant cannot but feel the weight of such a service to be great, and nature may sometimes shrink from the baptisms for the dead; the yearnings of soul for the growth of the good seed of the kingdom, in those hearts where it has in degree taken root and sprung up; and from the "deaths oft," into which the mind may be plunged, for its own refinement and preparation from time to time, for the work whereunto the great Master may see meet to send. At length he gave up to the requirings of duty and spread his concern before the church.

The following extract from a letter written by his brother James to a dear friend in England, describing the exercise of his mind at this time, and his earnest desire to proceed in his religious engagements with the full unity of his friends, will be read with interest. It was written after the decease of John Pemberton.

"The return to his relatives and friends after a long absence on his former European

visit, was very gratifying; though this pleasure was abated by the early discovery that he came to us under a burthened mind, from an apprehension that his duty was not fully performed; which occasioned so great distress and conflict, as sometimes to affect his bodily health. But at intervals he was enabled to attend to various religious services at home, and to perform visits to the meetings of Friends in some parts of this state and that of New-Jersey; in which journeys he sought out obscure scattered families, in a manner similar to that which engaged him when on your side. Nevertheless, these engagements did not remove the weight of his exercise, from which he could obtain no relief, without imparting to his brethren of the monthly and quarterly meetings the situation of his mind. Here he met with sympathy and free consent to pursue his prospect of duty; and spreading it before the superior meeting, it engaged deliberate and deep attention; but though the rectitude of his concern was confessed without objection, a hesitation being expressed by a few in respect to its full maturity, he chose rather to bear his own burthen, than to move forward in so important an undertaking, without the clearest evidence of the full unity of his brethren. Thus a postponement took place, under which he laboured with exemplary resignation, acknowledged by all who had opportunities of being witnesses thereof; and by many, that no instance so instructive, had occurred to their notice. It was now hoped by his relatives and intimate friends, that his unreserved dedication would have produced a satisfactory sense of having done all in his power, and his free offering would be so accepted, that he might rest under such a persuasion; which appeared to yield some relief. But it proved temporary only; and at length after nearly two years detention, and passing through much exercise, he renewed his application to the monthly and quarterly meetings, and obtaining certificates of the full unity of his brethren, he again spread his concern before the general meeting of ministers and elders; where it appeared that his burthen had so weightily fallen on his brethren, that with unanimous consent he was now set at full liberty. My brother patiently waited to be ascertained of the right time of moving, and two ships offering, one bound for Liverpool, the other for Amsterdam, he visited them both, and found his mind most disposed to engage with the captain of the latter."

It appears from a paper bearing date in the second month of this year 1794, and headed, "Memorandum in case of death, on leaving my native land," that he was not without a

sense that his return home from his contemplated journey, was very uncertain. In this paper, after speaking of the time, when in early life, he was "caught in the holy net," while travelling with his friend John Churchman, and mentioning his subsequent "arduous trying time of duty for several years" in Great Britain and Ireland on his second journey, he mentions with diffidence his labours, and concludes with the following remarks, showing the humble state of his mind.

"When I view my steps in life, and reflect how greatly deficient I have been, I am humbled, and have great cause to admire the compassion and long suffering kindness of a gracious God; and I may with abasement acknowledge that it will be of his mere mercy, if I am saved. If I have been helped at times to be found faithful, it has been, and is, through the efficacy of grace, and therefore no room to boast. My failure in duty and in watchfulness has been great; though, through the religious care of pious parents when young, and an early sense of the divine fear, I have been mercifully preserved from the gross evils of the world to this day; which is a great mercy and favour. But I have often passed under many hidden conflicts for disobedience and failure in duty; and at times have been ready to despair, and had to acknowledge that the Lord is righteous, whatever might be my portion; but after days of sorrow, and nights of deep exercise, he has been graciously pleased to renew light and favour, beyond my deserts. Under a sense of which, I desire to be found more attentive, diligent and faithful, during the residue of my days, esteeming the light of the Lord's countenance, and the evidence of his peace, beyond all terrestrial enjoyments."

On the 27th of the fifth month he took leave of his beloved wife and family, after a solemn parting opportunity with several of his relatives, and the next day sailed from Newcastle in the ship *Adrian*.

On the 10th of sixth month he says, "I have been very thoughtful and solicitous to experience, if the Lord sees meet, the seasoning grace and virtue of truth, to revive my drooping mind; and have cause to be thankful that I feel pretty quiet.

"First-day, 15th, it was proposed to have a meeting with the men, but it did not meet with the captain's approbation, so my companion and myself spent some time in retirement.

"23d; My mind was often this day, as at other times, turned towards the great Pilot, craving preservation, clearness of sight, and



perfect resignation ; and my heart was softened by the virtue of truth, of which it is a favour to experience the least degree.

"27th; This day in latitude fifty-nine degrees ten minutes, with a brisk wind. The twilight in these northern parts is great, and for several of the last few days, very little darkness.

"28th; I have at times felt my mind deeply proved. May the Lord in his great mercy sustain and preserve, under every dispensation. He sees my dippings and knows my thoughts. Sounded this evening, letting out one hundred and twenty fathoms of line, but found no bottom.

"First-day, 29th; A religious opportunity with the ship's company being solidly proposed to the captain, he could not well get over it, and consenting thereto, most of the seamen came into the cabin and sat in a very quiet and becoming manner; counsel was opened to them, and they parted solidly.

"Third-day; to-day we had a sitting in retirement to feel after the renewal of strength and patience. We saw a large Dutch ship in the evening, but she did not give opportunity to hail her.

"Fourth-day, about forty English miles from Shetland, but little prospect of landing short of Amsterdam. My mind received some comfort this morning, in being exercised towards God, for which I am made thankful.

"Sixth-day, having lately read Sarah Grubb's journal, and some parts several times over, the lively sense she was favoured with, and the deep experience she gained, through faithfulness to the gifts dispensed, is very instructive; and I wish it may tend to increase my dedication. She had her provings many ways, but was favoured to close in peace and full assurance; a great and singular favour. May I, may all the visited, be strengthened to hold out in faith and patience to the end. My fears are often great, but hitherto the Lord hath been gracious and merciful. My companion and myself feeling our minds favoured with solemnity, had to recount the gracious dealing of the Almighty with us and the children of men, and to view the qualifications and services of many brethren and sisters who are gone to rest, and the various dispensations of the Almighty, and how those who fulfilled their duty in their day were accepted. These at times saw a more glorious day of light and truth, which in its appointed season would spread. It is faithfulness to the discoveries of the Light, that settles, strengthens, establishes and qualifies to fulfil the work of the day.

"First-day, seventh month 6th; The cap-

tain consenting, most of the seamen met with us in the cabin, and a solemnity soon covered us, seldom experienced in larger assemblies. Counsel in the love of the gospel flowed freely, and appeared to be received acceptably. A degree of the seasoning virtue attended, and when the little meeting broke up, they came in an orderly manner and shook hands, departing seriously.

"Third-day, spent some time in retirement, in which my mind was instructed in the remembrance of the blessed experience of the holy apostle, when he could say, 'I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.' This is a state which all ought to labour after, but which requires great abasement and watchfulness to attain to. May it become more my experience; then will the Lord's wisdom, power and strength be more fully revealed, and he will become my joy and salvation.

"Fourth-day, took a pilot on board, being about sixteen miles from the Texel, and about four o'clock saw land. We have cause to be thankful that we have been so far preserved. Although my mind has been often proved with great leanness and poverty, yet I have been favoured with a calm. Oh, may the Lord vouchsafe to open my way and give me faith to pursue it.

"Fifth-day, 10th; We landed and lodged at a place called the Helder. After taking refreshment we walked through several streets and stopped to speak with some; but found none to speak English, except the landlord at the inn, the man at the post office, and an aged captain. We could not find any religious seeking persons, though many of the women seemed of good countenance.

"Sixth-day, met with a German soldier who understood a little English. Some observations were made to him, and he seemed serious. Afterwards we met a Jew who spoke English. He told us that there were not many who paid much attention to the fear of God in that place. He invited us to his house, and I had some observations to make to him, which so far claimed his attention, that he followed us to our inn and remained near an hour, until he saw us off, parting respectfully. I had also remarks to make to the landlord, respecting spending precious time at cards, and giving men drink when they appeared to have too much before. I am willing to hope that some impression was fastened on his mind.

"We left the Helder about eleven o'clock and passed over a sandy way, in a jolting, clumsy wagon, and then proceeded by boat

to Alkmaer. We walked through many streets of this city, and were gazed upon by the people; who, however, were respectful. Next morning, taking a carriage, we rode about fifteen miles to Purmerent, and there took boat and landed at the great city of Amsterdam about twelve o'clock, where we were kindly received by our friend John Vanderwerf. On our way we had passed many good grazing farms, pleasant villages and neat houses, yet a low flat country; and the nearer we approached Amsterdam, the lower the ground, so that many houses are very little above the surface of the water.

"First-day, seventh month 13th; Attended two meetings in Amsterdam, both solid; and the spring of the gospel was opened in each. My mind was made thankful for the help vouchsafed, and John Vanderwerf thought himself helped in interpreting.

"Second-day, towards evening we had a religious opportunity in the family of Frederick Mentz, one of the Friends here. Gospel love and counsel reached towards them, particularly to a daughter under great bodily infirmity.

"Fourth-day; this morning an exercise that has for several days attended my mind, being renewedly felt, an opening seemed to present, to pen a few lines addressed to the inhabitants of this great city, and it remains under consideration how to dispose thereof. This being the day on which Friends of this place formerly held their mid-week meeting, I was last evening free to propose one; which began about four o'clock this afternoon, and was attended not only by the few under our name, but by several others, who behaved well, and the gospel spring was in measure opened. I esteem it a mercy that amidst discouragement I should be so supported.

"Sixth-day, the address to the inhabitants of Amsterdam being copied, was dated this day, the 18th, and delivered to John Vanderwerf to turn into the Dutch language.

"First-day, attended the two meetings, at each of which divers of the inhabitants and strangers were present. To me they were exercising, yet the gospel spring was measurably opened, and the people were sober and attentive. I had the few Friends together afterwards, both young and aged; felt much sympathy for them, and laboured to impress their minds, that the aged might live near the Lord, and be daily exercised to be replenished by him, that they might be as lights to this city, and preachers of righteousness in life and conversation; and that the youth might regard the Divine call, and embrace the truth in the love of it.

"Fourth-day, the address being printed, as follows, part were distributed.

*"Tender counsel and advice to the inhabitants of Amsterdam, by one who desireth their present and eternal welfare.*

"The Scriptures of truth inform, and it is also confirmed by daily experience, that 'It is appointed unto men once to die;' and the professors of Christianity assent to this truth, that after death comes the judgment, and as our works have been here, so will our reward be hereafter. There is in each of us an immortal part, which will be either happy or miserable when time to us here shall be no more. And it is also very evident from many Scripture testimonies, that God wills the happiness of all mankind; for, speaking by the mouth of his prophet, he saith, 'As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live;' and immediately after, he makes use of this moving language: 'Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways, for why will ye die, O! house of Israel?' And in another place, he saith: 'Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth.' Our blessed Lord, in the days of his flesh, when on a certain time he drew nigh unto the great city, Jerusalem, wept over it, and in the bowels of heavenly compassion, thus laments; 'O! Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.' Now as it is apparent from the foregoing testimonies, that God created mankind to be happy, he has in mercy written his law in their hearts, and placed a measure of his good Spirit in their inward parts, which testifies against all evil, and brings reproof and condemnation when his holy law is transgressed. And it is man's duty and greatest interest to regard this law, which is light, and square his actions conformably to its dictates; for in obedience there is consolation and peace.

"Being now advanced in life, I have had opportunity of observing and also lamenting the mistake of many, whose time and attention are taken up in an eager pursuit of the false and delusive pleasures of this transitory life, and an over anxious desire after the gains and profits of this perishing world; in which they are so much involved as to neglect their duty to God and their own souls. For the injunction formerly given, remains obligatory on us: 'Hear, O! Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul,



and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.' Whatsoever the mind of man is most intent and fixed on, becomes his god, or idol. Therefore my desire is, that the inhabitants of this great city may seriously reflect and consider what their minds are most intent upon, whether it is to serve and please God, their great Creator, and the dispenser of all their blessings, and at whose disposal their lives and substance are, or to serve and please themselves. For the Scripture saith, 'Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?' And as the judgments of the Lord are now abroad in the earth, and great calamity and distress prevail and are brought near, and on your borders; it is incumbent on all to be thoughtful and serious, turning their minds inward, to inquire after the cause and end thereof; endeavouring thereby to learn righteousness; regarding the example of the people of Nineveh, who, at the preaching of Jonah, humbled themselves, and thereby obtained the compassionate notice of the Almighty; so that the threatened destruction was withheld. I have felt my mind much exercised and concerned for the welfare of the inhabitants of this place, during the few days that my lot has been cast among them, and do fervently desire that the remarks and counsel I have penned, in gospel love, which breathes 'peace on earth, and good will to man,' may be read with attention, and blessed to them. So wisheth, so prayeth your Christian friend,

"JOHN PEMBERTON,

"From Philadelphia, in North America.

"Amsterdam, Seventh month 18th, 1794."

"Our meeting this afternoon was small, but favoured and comfortable; and my mind was in measure bowed in reverent thankfulness for the help hitherto vouchsafed.

"We visited the founding hospital, also an academy, in excellent order; and in the afternoon went to the house of the Hopes'; great in this world's goods. In the counting-house there appeared to be more than twenty clerks. A sensible young man, one of the partners, came to us, with whom we had considerable conversation. Endeavours were used to inculcate an impression of the danger of the surfeiting cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of riches choking the heavenly seed; I wished him to guard against this, lest it divert from the pursuit of better treasure, intimating that peace with God was the best treasure, and that on a dying bed the greatest worldly treasures would not purchase it. We parted

affectionately, leaving him a copy of the tender advice to the inhabitants of this city.

"Sixth-day, called at several houses where schools are kept, and at the Menonists' orphan house. As we passed along the streets we distributed copies of the printed piece, which were kindly accepted. One man to whom a copy was given, followed and overtook us, after we had passed him a quarter of a mile, or more; his mind seemed affected, and he signified his desire of having more, which were given him for distribution. This work is mortifying to the natural part; yet if truth and righteousness are promoted, no matter how foolish the creature may appear.

"Seventh-day; went this morning, not out of curiosity, to visit the hospital and the house to accommodate aged persons. I could not, for want of an interpreter, convey much to them, yet my mind being affected, they seemed to notice the solidity attending. In the afternoon I went to the jail where prisoners for debt are confined, and had to communicate such counsel as at that time revived, which was received kindly by most, though two or three appeared vain. One man said he had been there fourteen years. These visits are affecting to my mind, and not agreeable to the natural will.

"First-day, 27th; attended the two public meetings for worship at Amsterdam. To that in the morning there was a great resort, many strangers being in the city. As they generally came out of curiosity, and were unaccustomed to silence, they were coming in and going out, most of the meeting; but a solemnity prevailed for a considerable time, which was comfortable. I ventured to stand up after a long space of silence, but the unsettled state of the people rendered it difficult to speak; though some seemed solid and gave attention. The afternoon meeting was held in silence, except that near the close I had a little to communicate respecting the blessed effects of true faith.

"Fourth-day, the meeting was attended by some sober people besides the few Friends, and was a favoured opportunity, the gospel spring being opened, and the people behaving with solidity. After the meeting we went on board a vessel in which we had taken passage for Zwol, and proceeded on our way with a light breeze. This morning I had a seasonable opportunity with Lewis Boswel. The words of Christ sprang in my mind, which he uttered to the young man who queried, What good thing he should do to inherit eternal life. Though he had kept divers of the commandments, yet he lacked in a very important matter; and though he turned away sorrowful, yet Jesus looked upon him and

loved him. From whence I had much to remark to this goodly young man, whose mind seemed much impressed. I left Amsterdam in peace.

"Sixth-day; we landed at Zwol this morning about six o'clock, and went to a good inn. After breakfast we walked through several streets of this city, and entering a place where there were soldiers, we found one who could speak a little English, having been in America in the time of the troubles, sixteen years past. I made some observations to the soldiers, which seemed to have some place, and left one of the printed advices with them. We afterwards visited John Erskine, a man in years, but with a lively sense and clear judgment of the solemn truths of the gospel. He has led a retired life for about twelve years; is no pharisee, but sees his dependence and acknowledges that without Christ he can do nothing. He believes that there is a church among the different divisions in Christendom, but that they are, as it were, here one and there another; and laments the condition of France, that even the rulers publicly disown God and Christ, and have become Atheists. He, however, had faith to believe that they might be permitted as a rod to chastise the wicked, that when that was effected the rod might be destroyed, and that the present troubles would in the end produce a great change, and be as a forerunner of better times.

"Seventh-day, walked about Zwol to show ourselves to the inhabitants, who appeared respectful. In the afternoon we visited the house of correction, where were about twenty-five men. Some counsel was given, which appeared to be kindly received. One man said he was an Englishman, and had been there fifteen years, having been condemned to a confinement of thirty-one years. He seemed affected and shed tears. We afterwards visited the women's apartment, where were about sixteen, some aged and some young, to whom also counsel was given, which appeared to be accepted in love, and one that spoke on behalf of the rest acknowledged to the truths delivered.

"An affecting sight presented to-day; five carriages, with four horses in each, with much baggage, and people that appeared to be persons of property, among them a count and an abbess, with their servants, fleeing from Antwerp for fear of the French, who are making considerable advances. This is one of the consequences of war, which brings misery every way; and happy are they who are redeemed from its spirit, and are under the dominion of Christ.

"First-day, eighth month 3d; Drummond Scott, a schoolmaster, who had acted as in-

terpreter, came to our quarters, and our little band, being four in number with him, spent nearly two hours in silence, and closed in supplication. About four o'clock we visited Colonel McClough, who had been in the army about forty years. Having presented him with a copy of the printed advice, he read a part, and then desiring the family to be called, read the whole of it to them, who were solidly attentive. I have laboured after patience in my stay here, and this interview affords comfort.

"Second-day, I visited the barracks and communicated through such interpreters as could be met with, to divers little companies of soldiers, some advice to impress their minds with the Divine fear; to which some gave attention. We took tea with Colonel McClough, and visited a Latin schoolmaster, an aged man, who told us he had read Barclay's Apology, and approved of it. I gave him B. Holmes's Serious Call, in Latin, and we parted friendly. Some of these visits were mortifying to the natural part; but I wish to leave this place, if possible, in peace. We have had opportunity to distribute small books, &c., and had we the Dutch tongue, our visit might be rendered more satisfactory to ourselves and beneficial to others; however, we do as well as we can, and must leave the event.

"Third-day, we visited a young man who has been minister of the Protestant French congregation in Zwol, but is now prohibited from teaching in public, as he could not take the oath enjoined by the States. We found both him and his wife very amiable and tender spirited people, he being an enlightened man, and his mind seasoned by the truth. He expressed much love for Friends, and having some time ago read Barclay's Apology, he much approved of it. His living, we understand, was one thousand guilders a year, which is now taken from him for his conscientious refusal of the oath. We parted from them in much affection, and I had to recommend their seeking to have their minds clothed with wisdom from above, rightly to enable them to train their six lovely children; the necessity of which was acknowledged. We went afterwards to the parade, and many soldiers being gathered, I had to communicate some advice, which one of them, a solid man, gave them in their own language. They behaved well, and the opportunity was as satisfactory as could be expected. I understand since, that these poor men are to march hence to-morrow.

"I now proposed to leave Zwol, yet something still detains, the cause of which I do not fully see; and must, therefore, exercise patience.



"It proved a wet afternoon, at times raining very hard; so that it was well we were restrained from departing, particularly as in the evening we had a further interview with Peter Chevalier, the minister of the French congregation, and his amiable wife. I showed him the certificates granted me by my friends; after supper a solemnity covered our minds, and dwelling under it some time, I had to open my mouth and express the necessity and advantage of frequent retirement, to wait for the renewal of strength and the participation of that heavenly bread, which keepeth the soul alive. Their minds seemed tendered, and we parted in much affection. John Erskine came to take leave of us, and appeared under much concern for our safety and preservation, urging the danger of travelling under the present circumstances.

"Fourth-day, we left Zwol in the morning, and proceeded in a heavy clumsy vehicle, through a country mostly very poor, with a sandy road, heavy dull horses, and a self-willed driver, to Almeloe, about twenty-five miles distant, and concluded to stay there all night, as our charioteer refused to proceed further.

"Sixth-day morning proceeded to Lingen. I was much exercised in approaching this place, which is in the king of Prussia's dominions, and hoped not to be detained. But feeling some exercise of mind I attended to it, and seeing a goodly looking man, queried of him if he could speak English. He could not, but took me to his house, where one spoke French, and I found him to be the principal of a school patronized by King George III., and a chief magistrate in the town. We spent several hours with him agreeably, and some remarks were made, which he received in love. I presented him with Robert Barclay's Apology, in German, and some other pieces; and afterwards visited the German Lutheran minister, spent about an hour with him, and he acknowledged to the propriety of some gospel truths and remarks made to him. I parted from him, as from the other, with their desires for our prosperity and safety; and then visited an aged man, who could speak a few words of English, and who had had a stroke of the palsy. He was too full of worldly matters, from which I endeavoured to direct his attention, and to show him the propriety and necessity for him and myself to leave lower concerns, and labour to become prepared for a better world. He acknowledged the remarks were just, wished us preservation, and I left some pieces with him.

"Seventh-day; slept little last night, and did not feel at liberty to leave this place.

To-day we paid visits to some learned men, spending about two hours with professor Mieling, with whom we had much conversation on religious subjects. He showed tokens of regard; his aged mother acknowledged to the truths communicated, and two young women present behaved well. We also visited a very rich man, named G. A. Zeigler. To this house our interpreter was averse to going, representing the family unfavourably; however, we had as much satisfaction as in most of the visits we have paid; the man having more sensibility respecting religious matters than I expected, and a niece was tender. They expressed gladness at our freedom, and many desires for our preservation. We gave him William Penn's 'Rise and Progress' and the 'Tender Counsel,' and left some pieces also at other places. The reception we met with, and the labour which opened, showed the propriety of our having staid here; this being a place of much outward learning, but where Friends' principles are little known.

"Second-day, visited the college, where we were received kindly, and afterwards spent some time with Abraham Campstedé, a professor of languages. I had to remark to him, that as I understood he was a man of parts and learning, I wished him not to lean upon them, but to seek to be endued with the wisdom that comes from heaven, which is pure. He acknowledged the propriety of the remarks, and we left with him William Penn's 'Rise and Progress,' in German.

"We visited J. Wilremar, a young minister; my mind was covered with gospel love, and I made many remarks to him respecting the ministry, and the necessity of waiting to experience the mind seasoned with the virtue of truth, in order rightly to minister to others, and also the necessity of regarding the counsel of Paul, 'to be an example to the believers in word, in conversation,' &c.; to all which he assented, his mind being touched. On parting he seemed very affectionate, and could scarcely let my hand go, expressing many good wishes for my preservation. Much labour has been bestowed in Lingen, and I have undergone great exercise of mind; more so from the want of an interpreter with a mind seasoned by the truth. The one we had, who was a physician, was kind, but superficial, and sometimes mixed a little of his own, not being careful always to deliver exactly what I said; so that I was often weary of him, but knew not how to do well without him.

"Third-day, we set out for Osnaburg soon after five o'clock, travelled about three miles an hour, and arrived in the evening, having spent about an hour at a town called Western Capteln, where we found one person who

could speak English, with whom we had some conversation, and left a copy of the 'Tender Counsel.'

"Fourth-day I spent under much exercise of mind. We made diligent inquiry, but could not find those friendly people of whom Sarah Grubb makes mention at Osnaburg. We had thoughts of moving towards Pymont, but the way did not clearly open. My spirits were much down, but I laboured to keep from sinking below hope. The Lord hath mercifully sustained hitherto, blessed be his holy name. But these journeys among a people of strange language, without a steady interpreter, and with close trials within, require faith, patience and stability.

"Fifth-day, my companions having made diligent inquiry, found an ancient man of about eighty-two years, who appears to be one of the people Sarah Grubb alludes to, and he agreed to give notice to some others.

"Sixth-day, attended agreeably to appointment, but waited nearly an hour before they all came, being only five besides myself and companions; having a schoolmaster for interpreter. It appeared discouraging; however, I desired them to settle into silence, which seems difficult for the Dutch and Germans, as they are accustomed to much talk. After a painful exercising time, in which it was difficult to get the mind truly stayed, I uttered some remarks to show the necessity of ceasing from the activity of the creature, and having the mind exercised towards God, looking to him to prepare the offering that will find acceptance: and I had to revive the gracious promises made to those who seek aright. Another religious opportunity was proposed to be held on first-day, to which I yielded; but I left them heavy and sorrowful, in considering that they profess to separate on religious grounds from the assemblies of others, and yet appear to have little depth of religious experience; the pure life was not in dominion. Our long detention in towns, and at public houses where there is a great resort, is a subject of admiration and of inquiry with some, why we remain so long in a place; they not knowing the conflicts of spirit which attend, and the deep baptisms which travellers for the good of souls have to experience. Our stay at Osnaburg has been painful, and the prospect of advantage less than at most places; but I labour for resignation and patience.

"Seventh-day, had a very agreeable interview with the minister Martin, a sensible, feeling, religious man. We united in sentiment and spirit; many gospel truths being opened, and some branches of our testimonies, the propriety of which he agreed to. We parted under the seasoning virtue of

Truth; and this visit gave me more satisfaction than any thing which has occurred since our arrival at this place. I visited also our interpreter, and my mind was opened to impart counsel to his daughter, about eighteen years of age, which appeared to have place in her mind. This evening we were visited by Martin and his brother Dr. Klucker, a solid man, head master of the Latin school in this place, and learned in several languages. We gave him B. Holmes's 'Serious Call,' in Latin, and the 'Short Account,' in French, and found that he possessed Barclay's Apology, in German. These opportunities revived my drooping mind, and gave hopes that our stay is in Divine appointment, however proving to ourselves.

"First-day; this morning I had a request from the abbess of the nunnery, to pay her a visit, and two o'clock was appointed. I went with an awe over my mind, not knowing what might be the issue; however, we were received by her with solidity and respect, and we spent nearly an hour acceptably with her. She acknowledged the truth and propriety of sundry observations made, and we parted affectionately. I was in measure made thankful for this visit and the seasoning virtue that attended it; and particularly that the cause was not injured, nor gospel truths withheld. In the morning we had a quiet sitting in our chamber, myself, companion, the interpreter, and another individual; the Lord favoured, and it was a refreshing opportunity. At dinner, there being a full company at table, my mind was exercised in solemn prayer; but being in my own tongue, few could fully comprehend what was delivered. An aged man, however, who sat near me, said 'Amen,' at the close, and I had peace in this dedication. About four o'clock we went to this ancient man's house, and our company at this religious opportunity were eleven men and two women. A considerable time was spent in silence, when the gospel spring arose and our interpreter did better than heretofore. Much was communicated, and divers present were tenderly impressed, particularly one man. We parted affectionately, with tears on both sides, my desires being for their welfare. There is much innocence about the aged man and one or two others; but the experience of the generality in the ground of true religion is small, and there is a need of delighting more in silence. After parting with these, we proceeded to the house of J. F. Klucker, where we spent an hour and a half with him and his friend, the minister Martin. Our conversation was in his library, which contains a large number of books; and he said he had the Bible in twenty different languages. I



mentioned the necessity for a Christian to learn true wisdom, adding, that we were weak creatures, and without watchfulness the mind was apt, by too much learning, to be lifted up above the simplicity of the gospel. Whereas, the greater the gifts and qualifications, the greater was the call for humility. This was assented to, and we parted solidly and with their desires for my being blessed and preserved. This closed our day's labour, and my mind was humbly thankful for the portion of wisdom and strength mercifully vouchsafed to a feeble instrument. I have had much conflict in this place, yet by labouring for quietude and patience, the end so far has been more satisfactory than I hoped for: may honour, majesty and praise be ascribed to the Lord, to whom alone it belongs; and the creature be abased; for it is through his help that I have been upheld hitherto. My path is a very humbling, mortifying one. I may truly say in this journey, 'I die daily;' and fresh and deep baptisms constantly attend. May the Lord strengthen inwardly and outwardly, until he is pleased to say, it is enough. 'He leads the blind in a way they know not, in paths they have not seen;' and I only live from day to day. May patience have its perfect work, and the Lord's time not be thought long. If I am favoured to hold out to the end, and close in peace, I am not very anxious where the body is laid, but I find watchfulness needful every hour. May the Lord keep us under the fresh anointing, and increase our faith and dedication, so that, maintaining a hunger and thirst after the bread of life, we may be kept savoury.

"On second-day, finding my mind still exercised for the small select number of persons above mentioned, we visited eight families of them, and found comfort in several. Hearing of a religious people about five miles distant, at a small village named Buern, we went thither on third-day, and were gladly received. They soon collected, and we were mercifully favoured with an open meeting, there being twenty-two present, including two children. The minds of divers were contrited. They had in times past withdrawn from the parish worship, and met together to edify each other; but being persecuted, and one of them, a woman, beaten, they had but very seldom met of late. We had much satisfaction in visiting these people, and thence proceeded to Western Captn, that place still resting on my mind, and had an evening meeting with about fifty or sixty people, which was also a favoured opportunity. We visited also several Lutheran ministers. I have sometimes admired that opposition has not been made, as I have been very plain respect-

ing the qualification of right ministry, and the necessity of a regard to Paul's counsel to Timothy. As some of these visits have been mercifully owned with the tendering influence of the pure Spirit, and afforded a degree of peace, I am willing to hope our detention has been in Divine appointment.

"Seventh-day, my mind was under a weight of exercise; perhaps in sympathy in some measure, with the precious seed under oppression. In the evening I went to the Lutheran orphan house to visit the children, and communicated a little matter to them and their overseer. Visited also a youth, who, by a fall, has, it is supposed, split his thigh bone. He was tender, and expressed thankfulness for the visit.

"First-day, the 24th; We met together this morning as usual, our interpreter sitting with us; and soon afterwards Henry Lange, Frederick Seeborn and Herman Schutimir, came in. They are serious men, and appear and act as Friends. They attended the meeting in the afternoon, along with others; which was to me an exercising time.

"Second-day we proceeded to Buer, but there appeared very little openness towards proposing a meeting with the people; so after a stay of a few hours we continued our journey to Bunde. The Friends from Pymont continued with us. I walked into several parts of the town of Bunde; the people seemed friendly, but my mind was much stripped and exercised, as it hath been for several days past.

"Third-day, visited the minister of Bunde, and his wife, she having expressed a desire to see us. She appears a solid woman, and he a thoughtful man. At table I found my mind exercised in supplication, and through the Lord's mercy the seasoning grace attended. We spent several hours at this house; and the gravity, the fewness of words, and the weight which attended our conversation, made our stay with them very satisfactory. We called at several other houses and communicated counsel, which appeared to be received in love, and with an acknowledgment to the truths spoken. This seemed to make way to appoint a meeting. It was attended by a large number, mostly young, and was more favoured than I looked for.

"Fourth-day, after making some visits we took wagon and proceeded to Herwerden, formerly the residence of the princess Elizabeth, whom William Penn visited. After dinner we were called on by a serious man, who had been brought up a Romanist, but has for some years declined attending their worship, and for about twelve months past has met with a few seeking people near Bielefeld. He

seems to be in earnest in a pursuit after saving knowledge. He told us of a young woman accounted rich, and gaily dressed, who has experienced a great change. She saw Sarah Grubb and S. Dillwyn passing along the street, and their dress being different from what she had before observed, led her to inquire who and what they were; and her mind became so affected, that she in time took up the cross, changed her own dress, and has become a solid, valuable young woman. She and another zealous young woman have kept up a religious meeting, some others joining them; and she sometimes speaks a few words in their meetings. He also related the case of a youth who lived as a clerk to a merchant at Bremen; who being uneasy with his situation, wrote to his parents and had their consent and that of his employer, to return to Bielefeld; and his clothing, which was fashionable, coming by the stage from Bremen, his mother on first-day proposed his dressing, in order to go to their place of worship; but he told her, that those idols he would give up, and would not wear them again. He is now a serious religious youth; and hearing of us, has set out for Pymont, in hopes to see us. These instances show that something is at work in the minds of the people. May the Lord carry on his work and perfect it to his praise.

“Fifth-day, we set out on foot to visit some religious people under the name of Quakers, about four miles and a half distant. It was a hilly road, yet we reached the place less fatigued than I expected. The two men, who are brothers, were from home when we arrived; but the women speedily collected, and we had a religious opportunity with them, being six in number. It was a tendering time, the minds of all being comfortably affected, and they being glad of the opportunity. The meeting was held in a little room, where they commonly meet on a first-day and sit in silence. We remained with them about two hours, and then taking leave and going a short distance, one of the men came home; so we returned and had a short opportunity with him; then came back to Herwerden, through rain most of the way. After drying our clothing, we attended a meeting which had been proposed yesterday. There were about thirteen present, and it proved more satisfactory than could be expected. But it is not the first time that religious opportunities have suffered for want of punctuality in meeting at the hour. Some time before the meeting we were visited by the other of the two brothers, and also a man from the Hanoverian territory, who is under the denomination of a Friend. They had been to Bielefeld to see

the friendly people there, and came to Herwerden in hopes of seeing me and my companion. They were encouraged to faithfulness. The two brothers have for conscience sake suffered much, both in person and property, from the priest and otherwise, but have been supported under suffering. One had been a prisoner nine months; and the other had been divers times thrust into jail; once while building a house, and in time of harvest, when he had many at work who wanted his direction. Much innocence and simplicity seem to attend them and their connections, and they appear better grounded in religion than any we have yet been among.

“Sixth-day, we took a wagon, and proceeded to a village called Ueln, and had a comfortable opportunity with a religious seeking traveller there, a tender spirited woman, whose heart was overcome at seeing us. The husband at first refused to receive us, but she entreating him, he consented; and though he seemed cool, yet after a little time he became more open. I was very poorly, having taken cold by being wet yesterday, but through the Lord’s mercy was much better in the morning.

“Seventh-day, the man was more open, and consented that we might have a meeting at his house, which was more than I expected. I had also an opportunity with the woman, and encouraged her to persevere in faithfulness, looking unto the Lord for wisdom and counsel. She appears to have been under much exercise of mind, and has had trials and sufferings; and seems in earnest to build on the right foundation. Before leaving the house, I had something to say to her husband; whose mind was reached, and we parted affectionately. We had also a religious opportunity at the house of an aged woman; her son and another man being present, and it was a season of favour. The man, who, I suppose, was a neighbour, seemed affected, and desired the Lord to bless us. We hired a wagon, and set out for Bielefeld, and after about five hours arrived there in safety. I find that in many of the towns in Germany, under different princes, there is a seeking people; but the fear of the priests, and of their neighbours, has such place in their minds, that they are afraid to show themselves, or make open confession.

“First-day, eighth month 31st; This morning three men and one woman from the country, and a few others, besides the hopeful young man so remarkably changed, sat with us in a room at the inn. It was a low exercising meeting. Another was agreed to be held in the afternoon, and those from the country engaged to spread notice. About two o’clock Lewis Seeböhm, another friend of Pymont,



came in with letters. About four o'clock we sat down, expecting some from the country. Our company, however, was only two women and one man from the country, and two men of the town, besides the youth above mentioned, the two Friends from Pymont, and ourselves. It was a more open time than that in the morning; tenderness prevailed, and encouragement flowed to a tribulated exercised state. A conference being held respecting another meeting, one of the men present offered a room at his house, it being suggested that the people did not choose to assemble at a public house. This fear of being seen greatly prevails among awakened minds in this land.

"Second-day; Very unwell this day; however, I walked to the place where a meeting was to be held; though not the house proposed yesterday, the landlord forbidding his tenant to permit it. Another was therefore fixed upon, about a mile from our inn. I went in great weakness, both of body and mind. There were upwards of thirty people. We spent nearly an hour and a half in silence; my mind was preserved quiet, and a solemnity prevailed; the people generally being very still. The spring of the ministry afterwards opened, and the minds of many were much affected. At the close of the meeting some counsel was given, not to be easily moved from their steadfastness, either by the fear of man, or the many voices in the world, some crying, 'Lo, here is Christ,' and some, 'Lo, he is there.' Such as were truly sincere were encouraged to meet together, and not to be ashamed of sitting in silence; and although their number might be small, to remember the Lord's promise was to the two or three who met in his name. We parted with them in tenderness. Some of these people seem sincerely disposed to make progress in true religion and godliness, and to build upon the everlasting foundation; and some are under a very precious visitation, and are desirous of being preserved under the humbling virtue of truth. They are seeking the way to Zion, but are as sheep without a shepherd. These were directed to the great Shepherd, Feeder, and Teacher of his people.

"Third-day; I had much fever last night, resting poorly, and was unwell all this day; but sat a meeting which was appointed at our inn, to which some came that had not been present before. I was favoured during the meeting, with strength to hold forth the doctrine of Christ. Divers minds were tendered, and I am willing to hope it was a profitable opportunity. One woman came with her son about four miles, not knowing of the appointed meeting, and brought a letter from her hus-

band, Caspar Reining, who has been with us several times, hoping that we might be furnished with counsel to his son, which would be as a seed that in time might bring forth fruit. They returned home in the rain on foot after meeting.

"Fourth-day, notwithstanding a fever continued on me, I visited the parents of the young man before mentioned, whose feet are turned into the way of righteousness. The father looked fierce, but entering into conversation with him in a soft mild manner, his countenance fell, he became familiar, and we parted affectionately. In the afternoon we visited also, the parents of the young woman now at Pymont. Her father at first refused to give us his company, but after a while he was prevailed upon to come in, and appeared much agitated; yet by introducing conversation in a familiar way, with some religious observations, his countenance in measure fell; he sat down, and I felt a degree of gospel love toward them, with some expressions of desire for myself and them, that we might improve the few days allotted us, that they may be our best days, and we may experience a preparation for our great change. We also visited one of their ministers, who has shown much prejudice against the few who go under our name, and uttered his venom even from the pulpit. However, to us he appeared open, and desired for us a blessing at parting. In the evening several of the friendly people came to visit us, and C. Reining seemed under much exercise and concern about reviving a meeting for Divine worship in silence; though he did not expect many of the people hereaway to unite therein, the fear of man being so great. He and others present were recommended to labour to be retired in their spirits and wait for the opening of Truth, and for wisdom and strength to proceed, so that when they engaged therein they might be steady.

"Fifth-day, I had a fever all last night, and my companion sat up with me. However, I was favoured to get into a perspiration, kept my bed all day, and the fever subsided pretty much towards evening.

"Seventh-day, the chill and fever was renewed, and I was very unwell all the afternoon. It continued till midnight, with a great thirst, yet through the adorable mercy of a gracious God, I felt more of the incomes of his love and life-giving presence than I have experienced for a long time; so that I was enabled to make melody in my heart, and recount his fatherly care and tender dealings with me from the days of my infancy. Prayer and praises were living in my heart, and I had to bless his holy name. This comfortable visitation of his love and mercy continued

some hours, and I was ready to conclude I might be soon released from the trials and afflictions of this life.

“First-day, ninth month 7th; This morning I felt exceedingly feeble, yet went down to the meeting. Several attended who had not been at meeting since our coming. There was a quiet and solemnity in the time of silence, which continued when I was called forth to minister; and I hope it was an instructive opportunity.

“Second-day, in the afternoon, I paid visits to two families, in each of which we were favoured with counsel and instruction, and they manifested their affection at parting. These were people esteemed rich, and who have good stirring in their minds, but are not yet brought to a willingness, without reserve, to confess Christ before men; and thus some of them are standing in the way of honest inquirers in a lower station; these saying, What does such a man say to this doctrine? After supper several came to the inn, and we had a religious opportunity, the Lord condescending to open counsel, which reached the witness in their hearts. As L. Seebohm lodged at the house of one of them, he heard him in conversation saying, ‘this doctrine of the cross is the same which Sarah Grubb preached to me;’ but they entered into arguments to evade the force of the testimony. Divers of these people have separated from the public worship, under an apprehension that they have seen further; they read much, and being men of good parts, comprehend much in the head, and can reason and argue, but will not as yet bow to the lowly appearance of Christ, nor submit to confess him openly, by a subjection of the will, and obedience to the truth. I was much spent with these visits, and the labour in them, and had a fever all night; yet was favoured with peace; a full recompense.

“Third-day, very heavy rain the whole day. In the afternoon a friendly good spirited woman came about four miles to see us. She had been at several meetings, and said that the first time she saw us she felt great love, and would have been willing to entertain us and do her utmost for us, had we needed her help. She said, the people had strange notions respecting us. William Neighmire, the youth before mentioned, also came to visit us. His father had told him that he would have no more to say to him; but he meekly asked him what he would have him to do, and speaking mildly to him, his spirit was brought down. William’s faith and patience are much proved, but he appears fixed, with the Lord’s assistance, to pursue the path of peace. Some others came to visit us. There are many awakened minds, and if they had a few solid

Friends with them, a church might be gathered. However, the Lord is sufficient for his own work, and as the harvest is great, is able to raise up and qualify instruments for his service.

“Fourth-day, we were visited by a man about eighty-four years of age, who lives about five miles from Bielefeld, and who for thirty years has been, by the people, called a Quaker. He told us he was a worshipper of God in spirit, and that he was visited when a child, but had not been faithful, which was his sorrow now in old age. But I found he held erroneous notions, and was very full of words. Silence was recommended to him, and as he acknowledged a failure in duty, he was advised to be inwardly concerned to seek after Divine favour, that he might be prepared to meet his Judge; and cautioned not to trust in part of the work of redemption being experienced after the death of the body. He parted affectionately. I afterwards ventured out, and we visited the merchant mentioned by Sarah Grubb, having a comfortable religious opportunity with him. He acknowledged to the truth of what was communicated, and expressed thankfulness for the visit.”

John Pemberton mentions seven other visits paid in various families of serious people that day, several of which were occasions of tenderness and contrite feeling to those visited. After this he appears to have felt clear of Bielefeld.

“Fifth-day, we proceeded to Lemgo, the roads being miry, from the abundance of rain. Travelling in Germany is very tedious, the carriages being very heavy and clumsy, and the horses accustomed to go at a walking pace. The common rate is three miles an hour.

“Sixth-day, set out from Lemgo about nine o’clock, after having visited an aged man, a weaver by trade, who goes under the name of a Quaker. He seems a serious man, lives much retired, and hospitably entertains travellers who call upon him. We had a comfortable sitting with him, in which counsel was opened. We arrived at Pymont about three o’clock, and were visited by several of those called Friends here, and among them the young woman of Bielefeld, Charlotte Vallaer. I seemed to dread coming to Pymont, and now feel much stripped.

“Seventh-day, feverish and poorly, and kept much retired; yet some of the friendly people coming in, we had in the afternoon a comfortable sitting; but my mind was principally directed towards two young persons under the humbling power of truth.

“First-day, ninth month 14th; Attended



two meetings held in a large room appropriated thereto before these people became much acquainted with Friends. Although under the ministry given there was much contrition, yet I feared there were too many contented with the outside of things, and not sufficiently exercised to press forward.

"Second-day; this morning, with ten of the more solid part of the Friends, I took an opportunity with a man of plain appearance, and generally taken to be one of the Friends, respecting whom I had been uneasy since the interview with him at Herwerden. He now discovered himself more fully, as not being one in faith with Friends. His going about from place to place, and living on the labours of others, is of bad example and savour, and he has endeavoured to sow confusion among honest inquirers, and been the means of scattering and dividing. He was dealt plainly with, and desired, as he was in the prime of life, to apply himself to labour for his support. Friends were cautioned not to give countenance to him, nor in future to entertain him, as this implied more unity than they had with him; and might mislead the tender youth. Soon after this conference he went off.

"Fifth-day; in the evening I visited the agent of the Prince Waldeck, to acknowledge the kindness of the prince to our Friends in his state.

"Sixth-day; this afternoon was what the Friends here, call a quarterly meeting; to which, at times, some from distant places have assembled. This opportunity appeared like a meeting of conference: they had to consider the propriety of opening a school for the instruction of Friends' children, and a Friend present offered to undertake it for a while. I had some remarks to make, which arose in the spring of the gospel.

"First-day, ninth month 21st; Attended the two meetings, both exercising opportunities. After that in the afternoon, the members continued together, and had a satisfactory conference; in which they united in the propriety of again addressing Friends in England, that they might come more immediately under their notice and care. Several of these Friends spoke solidly and feelingly, that they had long been under an exercise on this account, and they were glad a way now opened for it.

"Seventh-day; for a month past, few days have been free from rain. This damp affects my frame much. My mind for several days, has been much with my dear friends in America, as the yearly meeting is approaching. May the Lord's good presence be with them, and furnish with wisdom and strength, so

that all things may be done to his glory in the transactions of the church; that he may crown the assemblies with his life-giving presence, that the body may be edified, the weak strengthened, and the advices issued may be under the seasoning grace and virtue of Truth; for it is his own works that praise him.

"The country about Pyrmont is pleasant; the hills generally covered with wood; oak, beech, birch and alder; and the bottoms are good meadow ground; yet the land in Germany that I have seen, is generally a poor soil. The roads are the most crooked and difficult for a stranger, of any country I ever was in. I think that as to the generality of what I have travelled, one third of the distance might be saved by making them more straight. Scarcely any pains are taken with them, and on these wide commons there are, except in a very few places, no direction posts. But what served their forefathers, they make serve them.

"First-day, 28th; Still at Pyrmont, and attended the two meetings; also a conference with Friends in the evening, in which they opened divers matters which were subjects of trial to their minds; and through gracious help, we offered the best advice we could. They are tender, and desire to do right.

"Fourth-day, attended the mid-week meeting at Pyrmont, which was laborious, yet ended satisfactorily. Next day, having been invited by the chief magistrate, we spent about three hours with him and his family; and expressing a desire to see the children, the wife readily collected them. They sat down, and something was given to speak to them. Much respect was shown us, and considerable discourse we had; but he was too full of talk. We parted affectionately.

"Sixth-day, a meeting being appointed at a village about two miles distant, I walked thither. It was a very low exercising time, and a long space of silence; yet there are some seeking, well-minded people.

"Third-day, tenth month 7th; Paid a visit to a man esteemed a great lawyer, and spent about two hours with him and his wife. I showed them my certificates, and had some serious conversation respecting the motive of leaving my native country. Their minds appeared solidly impressed. This man had been, some time past, much prepossessed against Friends, and joined with others to give them trouble; but the interference of the Prince Waldeck gave a check to them, and they are now quiet. I trust this visit will prove no injury to the cause and testimony of truth. He behaved well, and we parted respectfully.

"Fourth-day, the meeting was well attended,

though some Friends had to come two miles through the rain and mire. After meeting I had about ten ounces of blood taken.

"Sixth-day; Frederick Seebom, at whose house we are entertained, has five children, and shows much religious care over them. He instructs them in reading and writing, and has daily a sitting with them in silence. I was this day at one of their little meetings, the four eldest being present. They sat very quietly, and the father's mind seemed bowed and exercised on his own and the children's behalf. This little meeting held about half an hour, and then the children were put to their books. If this were more generally the practice of parents, that rawness and undisciplined conduct, which is too apparent in many places and families, would be removed, and much profit redound to parents and children, and consequently to religious society. For the Lord would not fail to bless such care, and would grant counsel. May the world be less regarded, and the knowledge of God and his ways be more diligently sought after, that the durable riches and righteousness may be experienced and possessed.

"First-day, 12th; I was most easy to propose that the afternoon meeting should be put off till three o'clock, and the inhabitants of the town invited; and Friends agreeing thereto, we had a very crowded meeting, many not being able to get into the house. The Lord condescended to favour, and the people behaved well. Many came afterwards to take us by the hand, and appeared solid; among them two Jews, one of whom was at meeting on first-day last. After this public meeting we had a sitting with those who generally frequent the meeting, and suitable counsel, caution and instruction were opened to them. It was a contriving opportunity; but I was left poor, which may be safest for me.

"On second-day, after visiting three families at the factory, my way opened to leave Pymont for a time; and on third-day, having through the Lord's mercy, considerably recruited in my health, with an easy, quiet mind, and an humbling thankful sense that I had done what I could, I set out about ten o'clock for a town called Barrentrop, which we reached on horseback in about two hours. Hearing of some religious people, some of them were spoken to, and in the evening we were visited by two men and two women, to whom such counsel as then arose, was communicated; but the fear of man, which brings a snare, had great place in their minds. Next morning I was most easy to propose a public meeting, and visiting the minister of the place, we mentioned it to him, and asked his company. He said prudence was needful, and

that he would rest at home; but in the course of what passed at the interview, he remarked that some matters were more clearly stated and opened than he had before conceived, and he parted with us affectionately, saluting each of us. One of the seeking people who have separated from the priests, undertook to give general notice; but his landlord, an envious old man, bitter, and drinking to excess, threatened to turn him out if he did so. An aged woman therefore spread the notice, but met with abuse from some, who spat in her face; and an envious magistrate spread terror among the people. He would not be reasoned with, nor would he receive William Penn's 'Rise and Progress,' which was offered to him; but threatened me with the Stadt-house, until the Prince de la Lippe's mind should be known; and said we deserved to be taken up, for walking the streets and spreading our principles. He afterwards sent to tell me that he fined me five dollars, and forbade the meeting. However, about the time appointed we sat down, and a few sober people with us; but some rude boys rattled at the window shutters, and a man said to be the rector, and master of a free-school in the town, came with a fiddle, and played for some time. My mind, however, was kept quiet, and I found it my place to sit about two hours in silent suffering; at the close I had to make some remarks on the impropriety of such conduct with the profession of a Christian. Many people were in the barn adjoining the room we were in. I told the children that their conduct resembled that of some children formerly, who cried to the Lord's prophet, 'Go up, thou bald head, go up!' and the Lord's displeasure was manifested to these. This seemed to strike some of them with seriousness. It was a painfully exercising time, but the people departed quietly. Next morning, after paying two visits, we mounted our horses, and about ten o'clock left Barrentrop, hearing no more from the magistrate. We proceeded to Lemgo, where we were cordially received. Having taken a bad cold in a damp bed at Barrentrop, it increased, and I became ill; I sent for a physician and had much blood taken, but was confined here a week, and much oppressed in body and mind. We were visited by several of the inhabitants, and my companions had opportunities of dispersing books and opening our religious testimonies. On first-day I sat at the public table, and my mind was drawn forth in humble supplication, which Lewis Seebom interpreted. A meeting being appointed to be held in the evening, divers gave expectation of attending it; but a magistrate, of like persecuting spirit with that at Barrentrop, spread fear among the people, so that



our number was small. As it was held in my chamber, I was enabled to sit throughout. The Lord condescended to favour us, so that we had a comfortable meeting. The aged landlord and his wife attended, and sat solidly. The next morning the magistrate sent a request to see my certificates, which I had shown to sundry persons last evening, that he might satisfy the people who we were; for some had surmised here and at the other town, that we were spies sent by the French, to spy out the country. He expressed himself satisfied, but said that we must not hold meetings, and advised our leaving the place speedily. My companions, for I was too unwell to go to him myself, told him, that when we thought it right so to do, we should leave the place, and not before. He was very angry, giving very little opportunity to say anything to him, and sent word to an aged friendly man, who is one of Zion's travellers, that if he came again to visit us, he should depart from the town.

"On fourth-day I had proposed to hold another religious opportunity in my chamber, but from the fear which had spread, and little notice having been given, we had but two, the aged Friend and another man. To the latter much was said to excite to deeper consideration, and the aged Friend, to whom encouragement was administered, was much affected. He dwells, as it were, alone, among a lifeless professing people, yet is preserved in much innocence and liveliness.

"On fifth-day morning, in a very weak state of body, being wrapped up warm and placed in a carriage, I was favoured to arrive safely at Pyrmont. Although our visit to Barrentrop and Lemgo was attended with much exercise and conflict of spirit, yet we all felt that the journey was in the Lord's will. L. Seeböhm said it did him more good than much money, in hopes that it may awaken some minds to behold the evil of a persecuting spirit, and to see that those who are on a right foundation do not fear the threats of men, so as to be discouraged from performing their religious duty. I thought I saw my way as clear to these places, as any I have visited; yet I did not expect to find such a persecuting spirit. The poor man at Barrentrop, who was threatened by his landlord, afterwards visited us at Pyrmont, and informed us that his landlord had warned him out.

"Eleventh month, 8th; There are nearly twenty here who are considered as members, yet there are divers lively spirited innocent persons, not yet brought into membership, and the number who usually attend the meetings, is between forty and fifty.

"My lungs have been much hurt, and my body greatly reduced; yet the Lord, through all, hath mercifully supported my mind in much calmness and resignation, and it is my desire that these afflictions may tend to my greater purification. My steps in Germany, hitherto, have yielded me more satisfaction than any former journey; yet there are seasons of buffeting, deep wading, and close baptisms, and I am mercifully kept poor and dependent, a safe state for me. The end of my journeying in Germany is now hid from me, and as I have been mercifully preserved hitherto, to wait in patience for the true light, so I desire to be kept patient.

"As B. Holmes's 'Serious Call' is allowed by many to be as suitable as almost any tract, for the middling class of people, I have proposed to Friends in London to have a fresh translation in the German; and it is a matter of great importance to have translations made by a Friend, who being well acquainted with the principles we hold, can readily take the author's meaning, and do strict justice."

Speaking about this time of the prevalent dangerous practice of our young persons travelling on the continent of Europe, John Pemberton says: "A Friend in England makes this remark: 'What advantages in the view of thoughtful parents, can possibly compensate for the exposure of their children to the dangers which surround them in these tours for *improvement*?' " And he adds his own belief that, "nine out of ten become vitiated, and deny their religious education.

"30th; Still at Pyrmont, and very tender, having been slow in recovering, yet have attended all their meetings as they came in course, except two; and this day, appointed a public meeting, which was large and solid, and rendered satisfactory through the goodness of a gracious God.

"Twelfth month, 14th; The last week has been a deeply exercising time to my mind. This afternoon was a public meeting, and I laboured according to ability given; but the people are superficial, and know little of vital Christianity, resting in a form, and depending on the priests, outward ceremonies, and will-worship.

"18th; This afternoon the chief magistrate visited us, and spent about four hours with us. He is a worldly-wise, and eloquent man. Much conversation passed respecting gospel ministry; and although, to support the priests, he for a time, argued that such who attend on the altar, should live of the altar, and others should labour in order to support them, yet in the end he seemed to acknowledge it would be better otherwise. My companions represented how much good he might do, if he sought for

divine wisdom, and was guided thereby, in judging of matters, regarding the tender scruples of conscientious persons. His mind appeared reached, and he said that if the present priest should be removed, some agreement might be made before another was established, to prevent some difficulties which now subsisted. He parted from us respectfully, inviting us to visit him at his own house.

“First-day, 21st; The meetings this day, as well as on fourth-day, have been exercising opportunities. I was favoured with letters from my dear brother and wife, mentioning the removal of many inhabitants of Baltimore, and some few in Philadelphia, to their everlasting home, by the yellow fever; also an epistle from the meeting for sufferings in London to Friends at Pymont.

“28th; All last week I was very unwell with an inflammatory fever, and am again reduced to a weak state. At meeting this morning I was led in a close searching line, to stir up and awaken the attention of the professors of truth here, many of whom are much at ease.

“First-day, first month 4th, 1795; Yesterday I was very unwell, as I had been all the week, and spent the night heavily, which appeared as though it might have been my last. In the afternoon of this day a chilliness came over me, with symptoms of a closing time being near; under which, through the Lord’s mercy, my mind was preserved calm and resigned.

“First month 11th; All the past week I have continued in a tried situation, and have become very weak, yet favoured with patience and resignation.

“18th; Reduced to a very weak state. This evening I had a solid conference with two persons, who have shown a self-confident, ranting spirit. They were brought down, and acknowledged their error. My companion was helped to set the testimony over such exalted self-righteous spirits, which despise dominion, and are not willing to be subject to the discipline and good order, in wisdom established among Friends, but call it the prescription of men.

“The frost continues severe, and by the advance of the French into Holland, the intercourse by post is stopped.”

The above is the last entry in his diary. The following account of his illness and peaceful close, is taken from a manuscript in the hand-writing of his friend, William Dillwyn :

“On the 23d of the first month, he appeared in the morning to be much better. In the afternoon of that day some Friends came in to

see him. Very soon afterwards he was suddenly seized with a chill and fever, which obliged him to go to bed. His illness continued the succeeding night, accompanied with vomitings, and such pain in the breast and side, that his surviving until the morning, appeared doubtful. On the 24th he continued very ill. The physician came in the morning, and regularly repeated his visits twice a day afterwards. On his expressing a wish that the medicine prescribed might answer the purpose intended, John Pemberton answered, ‘My hope is in the Lord.’

“The 25th, he appeared to be no better, though very quiet and resigned; never uttering an impatient word, although in much pain. The 26th, he seemed in the morning to be a little better; but towards evening his pain increased. His physician now intimated a doubt of his recovery. In the evening, understanding that his friends were under difficulty from the arrival of some hundreds of soldiers, French emigrants, to be billeted on the inhabitants of Pymont, after a little pause he said, ‘Friends are often brought to the strait and narrow gate, and therefore it is necessary to act in the counsel of best wisdom; and if any thing is imposed on them by the laws of the country, or the authority of the magistrate, to suffer it in the meek and patient spirit of Jesus.’

“On the 28th, in the morning, he had a little sleep. In the evening a hiccough came on, which increased the apprehensions of danger. Before noon, being raised up, and his companion sitting behind to support him, another of his friends being also present, he expressed himself to this import: ‘Friends who live in the truth, and are concerned to fulfil their religious duty, have often deep proving seasons to pass through, before they come to a clear discerning of the Divine will, with respect to leaving their own habitations; and when they come at that, and travel abroad in the service of the gospel, they have also many and deep baptisms to pass through: but on looking over my steppings along in this land, I have had to believe that I have laboured faithfully to discharge my duty, and have peace therein; although in the present sickness I have felt more poverty of spirit than in those heretofore;’ with more weighty observations not well recollected. The Friend mentioning his firm belief that his coming among them was in best wisdom, and that his religious labours had been useful and acceptable to the sincere hearted, and attended with a blessing, he replied, ‘I have nothing to boast of.’ In the evening a young woman came in, whom he desired to sit down, and after a pause, he said in the words of the apostle, ‘Let brotherly



love continue;' adding, 'This is not only necessary for the men, but for the women also; and without this we are but poor creatures.' Afterwards he delivered some tender counsel respecting the little Society at Pymont, for which he seemed to be much concerned. He intimated also that the event of his present illness was hid from him; but instructed his companion, if he should be now taken away, to write to his beloved wife and to his kinsman in London, remembering his dear love to them, and informing them of the particulars of his decease.

"The 29th, on his awaking in the morning, the physician said he thought his disorder not worse; but his natural strength being much exhausted, and the hiccough continuing, he had but a poor day, and little sleep. In the course of it, he said, 'It seems to draw nearer and nearer to the solemn close.' On the 30th the disorder much increased; in the afternoon, he said, 'I have not been so tried in any sickness in all my life, although I never experienced so much of the love of God, in any of my journeys heretofore, as I have in this.'

"On the 31st, about three o'clock in the morning he was a little relieved from the oppression and difficulty of breathing which he had laboured under; and said, 'It is a great favour to know that my Redeemer lives; and because he lives, I live also;' expressing also, to his companion, and the friend who had mostly assisted him, his sense of their kindness, and of the care with which he had been nursed, and also his wishes for their growth and increase in all that is good. That friend remarking how pleasing and encouraging it was to see him so much resigned, he answered nearly as follows: 'Ah, we may see miracles are not ceased! Great and marvellous are His works. He is mighty to save, and able to deliver to the very uttermost, all those who trust in Him. His ways are ways of wonder, and past finding out.' Between nine and ten o'clock, the physician, after feeling his pulse, intimated his opinion that he would not continue much longer. Asking what the doctor said, and being informed, he said calmly, 'We must be resigned. We must be resigned.' This answer, and the composed manner in which it was delivered, affected the physician so much, that he expressed his surprise and pleasure at seeing him, in such circumstances, so resigned; on which he said, 'This is what we all are taught to labour for.' After this he said much on the different spirits which were endeavouring to persecute and lay waste the Lord's church, adding, 'My heart is heavy on account of these things;' and again, 'The spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God: We should perfect

holiness in the fear of God.' After some other expressions, evincing the awful collected frame of his spirit, he added, 'But I do not want to launch into many words, but to bring into a sameness of soul.' About noon, he said triumphantly, 'I am departing for heaven; from you all, to the kingdom of God and of Christ.' His mind now seemed to be wrapped up in divine love, continuing to speak of God, of Christ, and of his kingdom; and the last words which could be distinctly understood, uttered about two o'clock in a melodious voice, were, 'I can sing the songs of Zion, and of Israel.' After this, he continued to breathe easier and easier, until about fifty minutes after six o'clock in the evening, when his gentle spirit was released from its earthly tabernacle.

"On the 3d of the second month, his body was solemnly interred near the centre of the burying ground of the Society in Pymont, in the plain simple manner directed in a paper written by himself in the preceding eleventh month, addressed to his companion, and endorsed, 'to be opened after my decease;' the spectators of this, to them, new scene, manifesting their satisfaction on the solemn occasion."

Thus peacefully, though in a foreign land, was gathered to eternal rest, the spirit of one who had long borne about in the body, the marks of the Lord Jesus, and who had waded in deep and oft repeated baptisms for the welfare of the church of Christ. He was a man of great meekness and gentleness, but firm in maintaining the faith once delivered to the saints. He was remarkable for the low estimate in which he held his own Christian attainments, preferring others to himself, and ever seeking the unity of the true members of the church in his religious engagements. To such a degree indeed, did he value this unity, that on one occasion, finding that some had imbibed uneasiness respecting his services in the ministry, he travelled several hundred miles and presented himself before these his brethren, requesting a full and open development of their feelings, in order to a removal of the ground of jealousy.

One who knew him well, and accompanied him in one of his journeys in Scotland, speaks of him in the following terms: "My heart feels a tender sense of his sincere benevolence and worth, that I know not how to express. He was indeed a disinterested man. The desire of wealth and distinction, and the general pursuits of other men, seemed hardly to make a part of his motives. The glory of God and the good of his fellow-creatures, seemed to be the pure spring of his actions. I have been

told that on the day of his marriage, a time when most men are so taken up with their own happiness, as to forget that there is misery elsewhere, he ordered provisions to be sent to all the prisoners in Philadelphia. I have also been informed, that frequently on market days, he would himself go and lay out his money for the like purposes. Yet, humble in all his expectations, and diffident of his own attainments, I remember when we were once conversing seriously on the subject of futurity, he observed, 'When the Almighty sees meet to release me, I should be thankful to be at rest.' The true Christian is ever lowly in his pretensions, and more concerned for the work than the reward, in resignation leaving all to the righteous Judge of heaven and earth.

"In his disposition he was modest; yet when his duty led him among the great and distinguished, his manner was plain, solid and dignified. To the different ranks of sober people, he was open and communicative. He was likewise an uncommon observer of what passed before him on the stage of life, not only beholding with ready attention the conduct of mankind where he came, with a judgment of its tendency, but also having a knowledge of the various regulations of general society and of the useful avocations of life. In the public prisons, those receptacles of human wretchedness, the sweet influence of his Christian charity was diffused, not only in donations to relieve the misery of hunger and want, but in expressions of kind concern for that part which never dies. His reverence for the Divine Being was very great, and he felt little less than anguish of heart, if at any time he heard the holy name profaned. His reproof on these occasions was indeed serious, and his expostulations were earnest; evincing a conscientious love and duty to the Almighty and an interest for the eternal well-being of those who were transgressing his law; and he seldom failed of bringing such transgressors to own the evil and express their sorrow for it.

"In his life and conversation he was a preacher of righteousness. His conversation and conduct were instructive, edifying and impressive; and, distinct from his labours as a minister, the cause of religion, sobriety and virtue, was forwarded by his company. His innocent mind, as in its sphere, seemed to delight in the company of children; yet he paid perhaps a still more marked attention to age and infirmity; and I do not remember sharper expressions of his disapprobation, than when he found the hoary head insulted, and the claims of declining years neglected.

"To the poor he addressed himself with great tenderness and condescension. It was admirable with what interest, ease and deli-

cacy, he would enter into the private concerns of poor families; with a view to do them good: he might, indeed, be said to be the poor man's confiding counsellor and friend. If the sober and industrious wanted capital to begin business, if he had it not of his own, he went to borrow for them, and entered into security for the payment. And when the solemn undertaking of his visit to Great Britain was drawing to maturity, lest any should suffer by a transaction in which he had any concern, he came to a resolution of disposing of estates, I have been told, to a considerable amount, paid off the sums for which he was engaged, and took the securities upon himself.

"When the good order of our religious Society required his assistance, either in supporting the testimony, or in dealing with delinquents, he proceeded with that religious boldness that accompanies a conscientious and disinterested mind. In what concerned its religious order and economy, he was clear in his conceptions and ready in expression; yet to the judgment of others he paid the greatest deference. If his patience was at any time suspended, it was when he thought he had fallen short in the performance of his religious duty, often saying, 'Ah! I am a poor unprofitable servant;' yet many can bear testimony, that health and strength of body, and the comforts of this life, were sacrificed to the service of his great Master."

"Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!"

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*Testimony of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, concerning JOHN PEMBERTON.*

HE was the son of our valuable and much esteemed friends, Israel and Rachel Pemberton. By an early sense of the Divine fear, joined to their parental care and pious example, he was preserved from the delusive vanities and evils into which youth, through the force of temptation and overlooking the monitions of Divine grace, are often seduced; so that under the Lord's favour and blessing, the remark of Solomon was verified in him, viz: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

He was born in this city, the 27th of the eleventh month, 1727. On coming to manhood he proceeded on a voyage to England, in the same vessel with our beloved friends John Churchman and William Brown, who were drawn in gospel love to visit the churches in that country and parts adjacent. His inducements to this voyage appear to have been business, and for the benefit of his health; but soon after his arrival in London, feeling



his mind religiously inclined to accompany John Churchman to a few meetings in the country, he was further engaged to continue with our said Friend in his travels through most parts of England, Ireland and Holland.

In the early part of this journey, at a meeting held at Penzance, in Cornwall, he said a few words in public testimony; and, as John Churchman relates, "tender and broken, accompanied with a good degree of the savour of truth." Thus, though he left home on temporal concerns, having received a Divine call, he may be said to have done, in measure, as the disciples of our blessed Lord, who left their nets and followed him. Having travelled together about three years, they parted in much love and unity.

His ministry was sound, instructive and edifying; being concerned to inculcate the necessity of great circumspection of life and purity of conversation, that thereby our religious profession might be adorned through humility and a reverent sense of the Lord's omnipotent care over us. He was very useful in our meetings for discipline, being zealously concerned for the support of our Christian testimony and the good order of the church; manifesting a tender regard to such as had missed their way and became the objects of care on that account.

He was careful in the remembrance of the apostle's exhortation, to visit the fatherless and widow in their affliction, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world; so that it may be truly said of him, he was ready to do good and to communicate, and to honour the Lord with his substance and with the fruits of his increase.

Feeling an engagement of gospel love to visit the churches in Europe, and having the concurrence of his brethren, he embarked for London, at New-York, in company with our friend William Mathews, in the twelfth month, 1782. The vessel being taken on her passage, in the English channel, near the isle of Wight, by a privateer from France, they were carried to Dunkirk; though soon after released, and arrived in England in the second month following.

He continued in England, visiting the meetings of Friends in divers parts, until the ensuing yearly meeting held in London, which he attended; from whence he proceeded to the northern counties, and embarked at Liverpool for Dublin, where he arrived in the seventh month.

In the fifth month, 1785, he returned to England, and attended the yearly meeting held at London in the sixth month following; from whence he proceeded to the western parts of that nation, and thence to Scotland, visiting

the Orkney islands and divers other places. He spent about two years in that country, where his religious labours appear to have been very acceptable, especially to the poor people inhabiting the Orknies.

After his return from thence, he remained in England, visiting the meetings in London and divers other places, till the seventh month, 1789, when he embarked on his return to this city.

After continuing mostly with his family several succeeding years, sometimes visiting meetings in the neighbourhood of this city, and those more remote in the adjacent country, a concern under which his mind had been exercised previous to his last return from Europe, from an apprehension of not being fully clear of some parts thereof, continuing and becoming increasingly weighty, he revived and spread the same before his brethren; and obtaining their concurrence to return thither, embarked in a ship bound for Amsterdam, the 28th of fifth month, 1794, arriving there the 12th of seventh month following.

Previous to his embarkation, his mind being deeply impressed with reflections on the uncertainty of life, and affected with a tendering sense of the Divine goodness and mercy extended for his preservation, he left some observations in writing, from which the following is extracted:

"When I view my steps in life, and reflect how greatly deficient I have been, am humbled, and have great cause to admire the great compassion and long-suffering kindness of a gracious God, and with abasement, acknowledge it will be of his mercy, if I am saved. If I have been helped at times to be found faithful, it has been, and is through the efficacy of grace, and therefore no room to boast. My failure in duty and watchfulness has been great. Through the religious care of pious parents when young, and an early sense of the Divine fear, I was and have been preserved from the gross evils of the world to this day, which is a great mercy and favour. But I have often passed under many hidden conflicts for disobedience and failure in duty, and at times ready to despair, and had to acknowledge the Lord is righteous, whatever might be my portion; but after days of sorrow and nights of deep exercise, he has been pleased to renew light and favour; under a sense of which I desire to be found more attentive, diligent and faithful, the residue of my days, esteeming the light of the Lord's countenance and the evidence of his peace, beyond all terrestrial enjoyments."

He remained at Amsterdam a few weeks;

in which he appears to have been engaged in religious labour towards the inhabitants of that city, to whom he addressed some "Tender caution and advice," which was printed in Low Dutch, and distributed amongst them.

Finding his mind drawn to visit the few Friends settled at Pymont, in Germany, he proceeded on the journey, and got to Hertford, in Westphalia, the 27th of eighth month. The next day, walking about five miles to see some religious people, and being caught in the rain, he took a heavy cold; the effect of which he never fully recovered. After being some time confined there, he was enabled to proceed by Ufelen, Bielefeld, Lemgo, Barrentrop, &c., to Pymont, where he arrived the 12th of ninth month, having had meetings and acceptable service at all the before mentioned places, and many others on his way from Amsterdam, particularly at Bielefeld, where he had a large public meeting, and many select opportunities, and also visited numbers of the principal inhabitants, being generally well received, and his religious labours appearing to be acceptable. A memorandum made the 6th of ninth month, when at Bielefeld, says, "The chill and fever renewed; I was very unwell all the afternoon, and it continued till midnight with a great thirst: yet, through the adorable mercy of a gracious God, I felt more of the incomes of his love and life-giving presence, than I have experienced a long time; that I was enabled to make melody in my heart, and recount his fatherly care and tender dealings with me, from the days of my infancy; and I had to bless his holy name. And this comfortable visitation of his love and mercy continued for some hours, that I was ready to conclude I might soon be released from the trials and afflictions of this life."

Between this time and the latter end of the tenth month, he had several public meetings at Pymont, Barrentrop and Lemgo, though not without some opposition at the two last places; and notwithstanding his weak state of health, he regularly attended the meetings of those professing the truth at Pymont, having also many private opportunities with them in their families; faithfully labouring for their settlement on the true foundation. His bodily weakness increasing, he was unable to travel, and was much confined to his bed; but about the middle of the first month, 1795, he was so much better as to be able to walk about his chamber, and his physician thought him almost out of danger. A few days after, he was suddenly seized with a chill and fever, which again confined him to his bed; and his illness so increased the succeeding night, that

his surviving until the morning appeared doubtful. He continued very ill for several days, yet was favoured with much calmness and resignation of mind. On the 27th he was easier, but said, "If I get through this time, it will be a hard struggle." On the 28th, being raised up by his desire, he expressed himself to this import: "Friends who live in the truth, and are concerned to fulfil their religious duty, have often deep proving seasons to pass through, before they come to a clear discerning of the Divine will, with respect to leaving their own habitations; and when they come at that, and travel abroad in the service of the gospel, they have also many and deep baptisms to pass through." The 29th, his natural strength being much exhausted, he said, "It seems to draw nearer the solemn close." On the 30th, the disorder much increased. In the afternoon he said, "I have not been so tried in any sickness in all my life; although I never experienced so much of the love of God in any of my journeys heretofore, as I have in this."

On the 31st, about three o'clock in the morning, being a little relieved from the oppression and difficulty of breathing which he had laboured under, he said, "It is a great favour to know that my Redeemer lives, and because he lives, I live also." Between nine and ten o'clock the physician intimated his opinion, that he would not continue much longer: asking what the doctor said, and being informed, he replied calmly, "we must be resigned—we must be resigned." This answer, and the composed manner in which it was delivered, affected the physician so much, that he expressed his surprise to see him, in such circumstances, so resigned: on which he said, "This is all we are taught to labour for—we should perfect holiness in the fear of God." About noon, he said, triumphantly, "I am departing for heaven, from you all; to the kingdom of God and of Christ."

His mind now seemed to be wrapped up in Divine love, continuing to speak of God, of Christ, and of his kingdom; and the last words which could be distinctly understood, uttered (about two o'clock) in a melodious voice, were, "I can sing the songs of Zion and of Israel." Near seven in the evening, he departed, being in the sixty-eighth year of his age:—a minister about forty-three years.

On the 3d of the second month, his body was solemnly interred in the burying ground of the Society professing with Friends, in Pymont, in a plain manner, which he had directed; the spectators of this, to them new scene, appearing to be much affected on the solemn occasion.



*Testimony of the monthly meeting of Friends at Pymont, in Westphalia, Germany, concerning JOHN PEMBERTON, of Philadelphia, in North America.*

SEEING it is recorded in Holy Writ, and confirmed by experience, that the "memory of the just is blessed;" and our beloved friend John Pemberton, having, on a religious visit to Friends and friendly people in this nation, finished his course, and laid down his head in peace amongst us; the consideration of his religious service, and the lively sense thereof remaining fresh and as a good savour on our minds, has engaged us to transmit a testimony concerning this our beloved friend, to posterity.

He was often led, in a manner unusual in these parts, to go into unknown houses, gather the family about him, and after an awful pause, to distribute wholesome doctrine, counsel and advice among them. This manner, as it were, like in the apostles' days, to break the bread from house to house, seemed sometimes at first to surprise the people; but when, after a short while, their minds were overshadowed by that invisible power which accompanied his words, and the witness of truth in them was reached, tears were often beheld to flow; and at parting, the unknown were observed to take their leave of him as if well acquainted, in a tender and affecting manner.

His arrival at Pymont was on the 12th of the ninth month, and his stay amongst us about four months; during which time he was mostly very poorly in health, but nevertheless almost daily occupied in the service of Truth; for as his bodily health permitted him, he not only attended punctually our public and monthly meetings, and visited Friends in their families, but had also many private opportunities and several public meetings with the town's-people, which were very numerous, and wherein he was enabled to preach the free gospel of Christ with Divine authority; so that not only sometimes the whole assembly seemed to be clothed with an awful reverence, but also the hearts of many were moved, and the witness of God in them reached, by his living testimony. At such opportunities, he seemed, to the admiration of those who knew his weak constitution, not to feel his bodily weakness at all, usually lifting up his voice as a strong youth, to testify of the great love of God towards mankind.

It was his principal concern to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God; endeavouring to show that God has given a measure of his Spirit, light or grace to all men, as a talent, which he has placed in their hearts.

His ministry was in plainness of speech, and attended with Divine authority; for his words, whether they contained exhortation, comfort, or reproof, reached the inward states of those whom it concerned; and he has often spoken, both in our meetings and at other opportunities, so exactly to the state of individuals, that there was no doubt left, but he was led by the unerring Spirit of Truth; and more especially in his particular service among us, as fellow-professors of the same principles of that unchangeable truth, for the promotion of which he spent his life.

The solemn reverence of his waiting spirit appeared so manifest in his countenance, that others who beheld him, were thereby invited to stillness; and such as had a desire of hearing words, were taught by his example to turn their minds inward, to the measure of grace in themselves; showing that it is infinitely better to keep silent before the Lord, than to utter words that are not accompanied with the life-giving and baptizing power of the Spirit; which must needs enliven them if they be truly profitable.

After his return to Pymont, he had repeatedly accessions of an inflammatory fever; and on the 23d of the eleventh month, in the evening, it seized him so suddenly with a violent chill, that he was obliged to leave the company of some friends, who were come to see him, and go to bed. Next morning the physician came to see him, and at parting, wishing him that he might get better; he replied, "my hope is in the Lord;" and he continued in a patient, resigned state of mind; although to appearance, in great pain of body. His mind seemed to be totally free from temporal concerns, and only occupied with objects relating to everlasting truth: and particularly, he seemed much concerned for the welfare of the little Society of Friends in this place, even to his very last moments.

A few days before his decease, his companion mentioned to him a strait and difficulty that Friends of Pymont were brought under, by reason of several hundreds of French emigrants who were come to take up their winter quarters, and to be billeted on the inhabitants of Pymont. After a little pause, he said in substance as follows: "Friends are often brought to the strait and narrow gate; and therefore it is necessary and incumbent for them to act in the counsel of best wisdom; and if any thing is imposed on them by the laws of the country and the authority of the magistrate, to suffer it in the meek and patient spirit of Jesus."

His disorder having much increased, he suffered exceedingly; but kept remarkably patient and resigned; and being a little re-

lieved from the great oppression and difficulty of breathing which he had laboured under, he said, "It is a great favour to know that my Redeemer lives, and because he lives, I live also." This he expressed about three o'clock in the morning of the 31st, being the day of his decease; and a little after, he said to his companion and the Friend that assisted him, "You are very kind, and I have been carefully nursed; I wish you may grow and increase in every thing that is good, and become a spiritual and holy house unto God." A while after, a friend said to him, that it was pleasing and encouraging to see him so much resigned; to which he replied nearly as follows: "Ah! we may see, miracles have not ceased; great and marvellous are his works; he is mighty to save and able to deliver to the very uttermost, all those that trust in him; his ways are ways of wonder and past finding out." And about nine o'clock, he said, "The Spirit searches all things; yea, the deep things of God." Seeming to be much exercised in his mind about the professors of Truth at Pyrmont, he said, "Some are now very full of themselves, and are persecuting the Lord's church; but it is a wrong spirit. There is a spirit that is doing the church much harm; but I am not of that spirit, and it is best to avoid that spirit which sets up for itself. They run from one evil spirit to another; and it is a deceiving spirit. My heart is heavy on account of these things." A while after this, he said again, "The Spirit searches all things,

yea, the deep things of God." And then, a little after, he expressed himself nearly as follows: "The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life, which opens the mysteries of God's kingdom; but the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God;" adding, "but I don't want to launch into many words, but to bring into a sameness of soul." About twelve o'clock he said in a triumphant manner, "I am departing for heaven, and from you all, to the kingdom of God and of Christ." After this he said, "You can prove these things, whether they are agreeable to the scriptures of God and of Christ, yea or nay." And then he expressed in a weighty manner nearly as follows: "It is not circumcision nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, which lives and abides forever." And a little after, "They who are justified, are justified by the faith of Jesus Christ." And afterwards he earnestly said, "Woe unto the world because of offences."

His mind seemed to be overcome with Divine love, and his words were of God, and of Christ and his kingdom: and the last that could be distinctly understood, which he uttered with a melodious voice, were these: "I can sing the songs of Zion and of Israel;" which is a demonstrative proof that he had not followed cunningly devised fables; but the living substance of Truth and true religion.

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## A SELECTION

FROM THE

LETTERS AND PAPERS OF THE LATE

JOHN BARCLAY.

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I thought it good to show the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought toward me. How great are his signs! and how mighty are his wonders! His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation. *Daniel* iv. 2, 3.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THIS selection from the letters and papers of the late John Barclay, has been made partly from accounts of his religious experiences and reflections, recorded chiefly in early

life, and partly from letters written to his friends, which have come within the reach of the editor. From the state in which these accounts were found, as well as from remarks made during his life-time, there is no doubt that the author intended the publication of



a compilation of them, as a narrative of his religious experiences, and as a testimony or memorial of the Lord's goodness to him: to this collection of rough materials or notes, he had prefixed a title page, of which the following is a copy: "Some Memorials of the Lord's goodness to a poor creature;" to which was subjoined the quotation from Scripture affixed to the title page of this work.

The intentions of the author in keeping a personal record of this intimate description, are more particularly set forth in his own words, as given at the commencement of the first chapter of this volume; to which the reader is referred.

The latter portion of the materials of this selection consists more generally of the letters of the author: these are mainly of a religious character, and were evidently written under a lively feeling of Christian interest on behalf of his friends, as well as of earnest concern for the best welfare and prosperity of the religious Society of Friends, of which he was a member and an acknowledged minister.

The letters which occur towards the close of this volume, from about the year 1832, often refer to circumstances and events of a period of deep trial and affliction to the Society. It is naturally to be expected that the well concerned mind would hardly fail to be deeply affected by occurrences, involving the vital welfare of the cause of Truth and the faithful maintenance of its principles. Some readers may think that it would have been preferable to have withheld letters of this description from the public eye, in the present less disturbed period: but it should be seriously considered, that it is one of the leading and most useful designs of biography, as well as of history, by means of faithful records to convey instruction and the benefit of past experience, to the present and succeeding generations. In the instance before us, we have the warnings, the exhortations, and the encouragement of a faithful follower of his Lord, whilst under the provings and sufferings of a dark and gloomy day to the militant church. Considerations of a merely personal nature must comparatively be soon lost or forgotten in the lapse of a single generation: but the duty and trust of a faithful historian or biographer should be uprightly fulfilled; and whatever may tend to the religious benefit or edification of his readers, should be honestly and discreetly portrayed.

The editor regrets that he has not been able to present the reader with more of a connected biographical sketch of the author's life, than will be found in this work,—a life which may perhaps be said to afford but little variety of incident. He believes, however, to those

whose minds delight to trace the blessed and animating effects of Divine grace in the heart, that the religious experiences of the pious and devoted Christian and fellow-professor, which are to be met with even in his private memoranda or correspondence, are often deeply instructive; and they may be felt to supply the place of biographical variety to some readers, with real interest and even more permanent satisfaction.

The following testimonial to the religious character of the author, drawn up by one of his early and most intimate friends, now living, (J. F. Marsh, of Croydon,) may, it is thought, be suitably introduced at this place:

"He was one with whom I shared no common intimacy and friendship, both at an earlier period of our lives, and subsequently: we often took sweet counsel together; and I may say, were many times permitted to sit together as 'in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.' Our acquaintance commenced in the autumn of 1816, at a time when his mind was sweetly visited by the day-spring from on high. Ah! how fresh is my remembrance of the state of his mind at that period; and how was my heart made to rejoice in the feeling of the preciousness of the love of our heavenly Father towards him, and the abundant shedding abroad thereof in his heart. In this day of the Lord's power, a willingness was wrought in him wholly to surrender himself to the Divine disposal, and to count nothing too near or too dear to part with, which was called for at his hand. Thus by meekly bowing his neck to the yoke of Christ, he found it to be made easy, and his burden light; and thus was he enabled to take up his daily cross, and follow his Lord and Master in newness of life. By yielding obedience to the tendering operations of redeeming love and mercy, he experienced an advancement in the way of holiness; and he became valiant for the cause of Truth and righteousness in the earth:—deep was his experience in the things of God.

"I write not to exalt the creature, but with desire to magnify the riches of that grace, by which he was what he was, and which on him was not bestowed in vain. As he lived, so he died, in the Lord: his memory is precious,—the savour of his life remaineth; and he being dead yet speaketh.

"And now, as I reverently believe, having fought the good fight, and kept the faith,—having come out of great tribulation and washed his robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb,—he has finished his course with joy, and is gone to inherit the crown of righteousness, laid up for all them that love the appearing of Christ."

The reader is referred to the annexed testimony of Grace-church street monthly meeting, for a further, but brief memorial of my beloved, departed brother.

A. R. BARCLAY.

Leytonstone, near London, Twelfth month, 1841.

*A Testimony from Grace-church street monthly meeting of Friends, concerning John Barclay, who died on the 11th of fifth month, 1838, and his remains were interred at Winchmore Hill, Middlesex, on the 18th of the same.*

“Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.”

THIS, our dear friend, was the son of Robert and Ann Barclay, and was born at Clapham in Surrey, in the year 1797. His parents were members of our religious Society: his mother died whilst he was very young.

From his own memorandums we find that he was early visited with the convictions of divine grace; but becoming exposed to the influence of bad example at a public school, the sinful propensities of the natural mind were strengthened; yet the strivings of the Holy Spirit were graciously continued, and he was often brought into deep humiliation and sorrow on account of his transgressions; and his tears of repentance and his prayers for preservation were poured forth in secret places. In reference to the state of his mind at this time, he says, ‘As the evil tree cannot but bring forth evil fruit, as long as it is suffered to live and thrive in the heart; so this being the case with me, the fruits did show themselves abundantly indeed. Oh! that all who have been injured by my evil example could be shown a fiftieth part of the remorse and repentance, sorrow and trouble, which has been, through unutterable mercy, experienced by me.’ He was made willing to abide under the judgments of the Lord, and was favoured to know that these chastisements from his heavenly Father’s hand were administered in love; in a sense of which, his heart was often made to overflow with thankfulness; and he was brought into a state of submission to the Lord’s will, and humble dedication to his requirings. Alluding, some years afterwards, to the circumstances of this eventful period of his life, he writes thus: ‘This I may say and leave upon record, that though many almost indescribable temptations and presentations of evil have been permitted to come about me, sometimes like a mighty flood, so that in hours of extreme weakness, I have been many and many a time ready to give up the ‘fight of faith;’ yet to this day the Lord, strong and mighty, has been pleased in his abundant compassion, to encamp around me,

and to give me songs of deliverance, songs of triumph and of praise. In His name will I set up my banner; who is a rock of defence, and sure refuge to my poor weary soul. O! young man or young woman, to whom this may come,—my friend, my brother, my sister, who art seeking the better country, and Him who is the way and the guide; oh! though thou art weary and heavy laden, take courage; there is a staff, a stay, and strength, and succour with Him, and in Him, who hath gone before, and who leadeth on his little ones gently and sweetly as they are able to follow. Take this as the counsel of one who writes from a sure and living experience, and who hath indubitably known His name, which is above every name, to be a strong tower indeed. He will be with His, even to the end of the world.’

His mind for several years after his father’s decease, was brought under much concern on the subject of business; and he felt it to be his duty to give up an offer, which was considered to be very advantageous. In a retrospective view of this step, he says in a letter, ‘I know not that I have taken any measure that now in seasons of calmness seems to afford the like peace to me.’ Alluding to this subject again, he adds, ‘The ground upon which I think it best for me to be not much engrossed with the things of this life is, that having experienced no small share of the forbearance and mercy of the Lord,—having been delivered from the pit of destruction; having sincere, hearty, and very fervent desires for my own preservation and salvation, as well as for that of my poor fellow-creatures everywhere,—I have inclined towards the belief, that the Lord will make use of me, if I am faithful to his requirings, in the way, time, and for the purposes which he sees best: under this impression it is, and not to encourage or give way to an apathy, or want of energy or exertion, that I believe it right for me to sit loose to this world and the anxieties thereof; lest I should be incapacitated for performing that service, which may be shown to be my duty. I believe it safest for me, if in any business, that it should be one of moderate profit, and not involving much attention.’

He believed himself required to observe much simplicity and moderation in providing the needful accommodations of life; and in reference to this subject, he says, ‘I am clearly of the belief, that it is my duty to live in such a humble, plain, homely, simple manner, as that neither in the furniture, food, or clothing used, any misapplication of the gifts of divine Providence may be admitted or encouraged.’

About this time, which was in the twenty-second year of his age, he writes thus: ‘O!



the love that the Lord hath shed abroad in my heart! O! the divine joy, the unspeakable peace, the blessed presence of the Most High,—how it seems to flow through me, making up for all trials, and tears of disquietude and distress! O! may this feeble testimony speak out His adorable mercy, when this poor frail flesh shall be laid low in the dust; may it induce others to fear Him that made the heavens and the earth, and to trust in Him for ever! Praises to the Lamb that liveth, yet was slain!—Amen.’

Early in the year 1820, he belived it right for him to remove from the family circle, and to reside for a time at Poole in Dorsetshire; and about the end of the same year, he was married to Georgina Hill. Their union was short, for in less than three years, his dear companion was taken from him by death, at Marazion in Cornwall; whither they had removed for the benefit of her health.

His mind had for several years been impressed with an apprehension that he should be called to the work of the ministry; and in the prospect of it, he was preserved in a waiting dependent state; and fervent was his concern to be entirely given up to serve the Lord in the way of his holy requirings. At the interment of his beloved wife, in the sixth month, 1823, he was engaged in vocal supplication; and in the autumn of that year he spoke as a minister. In allusion to this solemn and important work, after describing the fear and caution with which he had entered upon it, he says, ‘The weight and sweetness that dwelt on my mind after this surrender, cannot be set forth. O! how it rested on my spirit all the day in an unutterable manner! and yet such freedom of spirit,—so that nothing seemed a trial, or that to which I was unequal. I shall not easily forget how comfortable and at ease in my mind I felt. O! it was a heavenly feeling, and nothing short of Him that is in heaven could give it.’

He was acknowledged a minister by his Friends in Cornwall in 1825, and in the following year was married to Mary Moates, and removed to Alton. After a residence of three years at that place, he settled at Croydon; and in 1835, he removed to Stoke Newington, within the compass of this monthly meeting, where he resided during the remainder of his life. In the course of the before mentioned period, he paid several religious visits, with the unity of his friends; and in one of these journeys he travelled into Scotland as far as Aberdeen.

He had been from his youth of a tender constitution, and for the last few years of his life he had suffered much from a disease in his knee, which rendered walking or other

active exertion difficult to him. He was, however, very exemplary in his efforts to attend our religious meetings; in which the exercise of his dedicated spirit was strengthening to many. His engagements in the line of ministry amongst us were not frequent; but he was at times led to address his friends in a weighty and feeling manner; endeavouring to turn their attention from a dependence on man, and from all that is superficial in religion, to a single reliance on the great head of the church, “the Minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man.”

Our dear friend was remarkable for integrity and uprightness of heart; and in the private walks of life his conduct was strikingly circumspect, and his conversation, whilst innocently cheerful, was instructive, being seasoned with grace.

Notwithstanding he was, in the ordering of unerring wisdom, much confined at home from bodily infirmity, yet his concern for the prosperity of our Society remained unabated; and his mind was actively employed in endeavouring to promote the spiritual welfare of its members. With this object, his time was much occupied in editing a series of publications, selected from the writings of our honoured predecessors in religious profession.

In the eleventh month, 1836, he paid an acceptable visit, in the love of the Gospel, to the families of Friends at Brighton; and in the eleventh month, 1837, he felt attracted by the same precious influence, to a similar engagement in his own particular meeting of Stoke Newington. After going through nearly half the families, wherein his service was much to the comfort of his friends, finding his constitution increasingly enfeebled, he returned to the monthly meeting its minute granted him for that purpose, accompanying it with a letter, replete with the expression of religious concern, from which the following is extracted: ‘On proceeding in the weighty engagement before me, I may acknowledge that although no wonderful outpouring of divine power was my portion, I was mercifully favoured, during the few days that I entered upon the work, with such a sense that the Lord preserveth the simple and the upright, that it was as my meat and drink to be thus among my friends; hard things were made very easy, and bitter things full of sweetness; a gently flowing stream of heavenly goodness being extended in every hour of need, though in a way humiliating to the creature, and so as nothing of the flesh could glory.’

His health continuing to decline, he went to Brighton; but there his indisposition increased, and on the 8th of the fifth month, he

was, by medical advice, removed to Tunbridge Wells; after which he survived but a few days.

On the evening of the 9th, when about to retire to rest, on rising from his chair, and leaning on the couch and on the arm of his beloved wife, he supplicated thus: "O! gracious Father! if it please thee, spare us to each other a little longer, and make us more entirely devoted to thee and thy precious cause of truth in the earth; nevertheless, not our will, O Lord! but thine be done."

On the next day, which was the one immediately preceding his decease, he uttered many weighty expressions; amongst which were the following: "The truth shall prevail.—Truth shall reign over all.—None that trust in the Lord shall be confounded; but they shall be as mount Zion, which cannot be moved. You all know my desire to be preserved near the Lord—to be strengthened and upheld by the Lord; to be found in him;—this is the way of peace. I trust we shall be strengthened and animated to go through our day's work; then we shall find mercy at the hands of the Lord.—Let us look to the Lord for strength, at all times and under all circumstances."

In the latter part of this day, his voice was lifted up in a constant melody, and for many hours together, like a song of praise; during which, these words were clearly distinguished, "O Lord!—dear Lord!—come.—I bless the Lord.—I am the Lord's for ever.—Cleave to him, O! cleave to him,—love him with all your heart." The name of Jesus was often to be heard, and the word hallelujah was frequently repeated.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th of fifth month, 1838, he peacefully passed away, aged forty-one years, a minister about fifteen years; and is, we reverently trust, united to the redeemed before the throne, who sing the new song, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and wisdom, and riches, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing."

Given forth by our monthly meeting, held at White Hart court, Grace-church street, the 10th of tenth month, 1838, and signed by

*[Here follow the signatures of men and women Friends.]*

Read and approved in our quarterly meeting for London and Middlesex, held in London, this 25th day of the twelfth month, 1838, and in and on behalf thereof, signed by

GEORGE STACEY, *Clerk.*

Signed in and on behalf of the women's quarterly meeting, by

MARY FORSTER, *Clerk.*

## CHAPTER I.

"We will not hide them from their children, showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done." Psalm lxxviii. 4.

"This shall be written for the generation to come: and the people which shall be created shall praise the Lord," Psalm cii. 18.

I HAVE been long settled in the persuasion, that it may be well for many of those who desire the promotion of truth and righteousness, whether they may have moved in a private or in a public sphere, to leave behind them, when they go hence to be seen no more here on earth, some written testimony, however slight it may be, to the blessed cause. As an individual, I confess that I have derived much instruction, comfort, and strength, from the living memorials left us by many Christian brethren and sisters now removed from works to rewards; not only from their journals and from memoirs of them, but even from testimonies of monthly meetings. But especially I have to notice, that the expressions of those who have arrived near the confines of the invisible world, have sunk deep in my remembrance: nor do I know any other instrumental means, that have proved to me so searching, softening, effectual and abiding, as that last mentioned description of memorial. I believe that the profitable impressions which are made, particularly on the minds of well disposed children and young persons, remain with them for the most part through life; so that many amongst us, now grown up, can testify, that incidents and sayings, which in childhood they had heard or read, of truly excellent characters, do even at this day continue to have a beneficial effect on their minds; and even in cases where young people have wandered far from the line of duty, these things not unfrequently arise in their remembrance. I speak from some degree of experience, however small it may be, compared with that of some others; for I have been a wanderer in my time, yet can testify that even when most widely separated by wickedness from the Author of all good, the recurrence of the wisdom of the wise and of the sayings of the dying, to my thoughtless heart, has not been either unfrequent or unseasonable. But the advantages which my soul has received in recent times, are still more decided. Many may think themselves unfit to tell of the Lord's goodness to them in their early youth, as well as under trials and troubles, and great variety of circumstances, even to their old age; but such humble-hearted ones are the very persons who are perhaps most fit, or most called upon, to make mention in some form or other, of the providences and mercies and many deliverances which they have met with. Often



when I hear of the death of eminent servants of the Lord, I long that their wisdom and the weight of their long experience may not die with them; but that some memorial may have been left by them, for the instruction of those who are still travelling on their wearisome way. And surely, the very least of those who strive to follow the Lord, have had something happen, or have made some reflection worth leaving behind, for the encouragement and benefit of such as survive them. I indeed feel this practice of which I am speaking, to have been, and still to be, the source of a renewed feast to me; and I seldom recur to some of the manuscripts and scraps which I have written, without precious feelings of gratitude, and desires after a patient continuance in well doing unto the end. Some of these which have been written in the very depth of affliction, seem to stir up my faith in the Almighty power, and animate me with fresh courage to endure all things, and to suffer, even unto the death of all that within, which would have its own way and will, and not the Lord's blessed will. Indeed I have been so aware of the instruction to be derived, both from writing such small pieces, and from reading the productions of others in this way, that I dare not refuse, however little I desire it, to allow of these little scraps, the feeble tokens of divine favour, being made as public as any prudent person, after I surrender them up and go hence, may see right.\*

Fifth month,† 1814.—Some of the following reflections and remarks are taken from little books called 'Accounts of Time,' in which the hours of every day were accounted for, and the occupation which filled every individual hour of each day was put down. This was at all events an *original design*, if nothing better; but indeed it was of use, and no

doubt, was the means of bringing me into active and industrious habits, at a time when no sterling inward principle seemed to have full rule, and when I was left very much to my own direction, and at my own disposal as to my pursuits. I have often felt that it was a preservative at the time, and a stimulus to exertion. I think I may add, of this little contrivance for self-government, as well as of many others which occupied my attention about the same period, that they had their use, in awakening my mind to see the importance of bringing self and sense into subjection; and however insufficient they were of themselves to effect the same, they nevertheless urged me forward to press after the knowledge and attainment of *that*, which is now, blessed be the Lord who hath showed this to me, experimentally found to be the only sure guide and leader. As far as these little relics show, how the wrestling seed struggled within me, and how tender and gradual were the leadings of the Shepherd of Israel, how the good seed seemed at times almost crushed, and every desire after such things as were truly desirable was at seasons very feeble and faint; so far they are indeed interesting to me, and excite feelings of gratitude as often as they are examined. These 'Accounts of Time' were begun in the fourth month 1814, [*in the 17th year of his age,*] and were left off about the eighth or ninth month 1816. The reasons for preserving them, apply equally I think to those weekly reports which I was in the habit of drawing up; from which extracts will also be inserted in this book.

Eighth month 8th.—I think I may say, that in proportion as I endeavour to do well, I feel that I am enabled to do so; that there is something within me that stimulates to good, that encourages me to persevere in what is good, and which even tells me what is good. O! may I ever listen to its silent but most important intimations,—may I indeed follow that secret monitor within me, and both desire and walk worthy of its reproofs and persuasions.

Tenth month 16th.—I have within me a fountain that sends forth bitter and black waters; which instead of nourishing, tend to poison the signs of vegetation and fruitfulness that may spring up within me. Lord, make the waters of Marah sweet!

Eleventh month 20th.—I could wish to be able to discover those symptoms of religious habits within me, which appear where religion exists. I could wish that, as "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," so those outward signs could be observed, which inevitably follow a devotional spirit within. O, that those evidences of true reli-

\* Under date of 1817.

† It is proper to remark, that although the writer of the following pages had a birthright in the religious Society of Friends, yet he was not educated in the observance of those Christian testimonies to simplicity in dress, address and demeanor, into which the Spirit of truth leads. In consequence of this, the dates of his memorandums as far as the 4th of fourth month, 1817, are in the usual fashionable style of the world. After that period they conform to the usage of Friends. The Editors have thought it best to make all the dates alike, and to give this explanation. A few other slight changes have also been made. The manner of his education will also account for the exercises he underwent in relation to a change of his dress; and his memorandums on this subject evince the integrity and uprightness of a mind, deeply solicitous to make that change from purely conscientious motives, and in obedience to divine requisition.

gion were produced,—a sincere desire to promote the glory of God, and the good of man; a stimulating and energetic propensity to discourage vice and folly, though ever so disguised; and [that] my dispositions, affections, actions, words, and thoughts, might more nearly conform to the pattern which is set before me, even to Jesus Christ!

*No date, probably about the same time as the last.*—How inconsistent, how frail, how depraved, how disposed to evil, and how unable to do right of himself, and by his own strength, is that fallen creature, man! Every day I see instances around me, of inconsistency, of weakness, of blindness, as well as of absolute wickedness, though often disguised and palliated. But when I look to myself, when I examine my own heart, I find sin mixing itself with almost every thing I think, or speak, or do: not merely do I see evil thoughts lurking in my bosom, but I find them insinuating themselves into very many good motives, resolutions, and actions. How fully do I feel the force and truth of the Apostle Paul's expression, when he says, "I know, that in me, that is, *in my flesh*, dwelleth no good thing; for to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good, I find not; for the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that do I." It is not at remote intervals, that I perceive the effects of my own frailty, but at most times. Nor is the presence of sin confined to gay and giddy moments, or to hours of industry and employment, but even in my solitary and thoughtful periods; even in times when the heart should be most inclined to holiness, and devoted to the service of its Maker, even then are the intrusions of evil very frequent, the imagination often under little control, and the affections for the most part fixed on any thing but their right object.

Twelfth month 18th.—Be anxious and ever ardent in the work before you, even your own eternal happiness, and that of your fellow-creatures, to the glory of God. There is such danger, such liability, whilst in these frail bodies and in this wicked world, even to those seemingly the most confirmed among us, to slacken and decline, that on this head I cannot forbear suggesting a hint to myself, who am but just setting out on the arduous journey to Zion: I cannot help urging myself to beware of that destructive indifference and lethargy, which are and have been the ruin of thousands, in a religious sense; which would palliate the guilt and error of others, and excuse our own; which damp and chill any appearance of zeal in our neighbours, whilst they effectually, though gradually, quench any like disposition in ourselves.

*No date.*—Domestic life presents many opportunities for the exercise of virtue, as well as the more exalted stations of honour and ambition. For though its sphere is more humble, and its transactions are less splendid, yet the duties peculiarly incumbent on it, constitute the basis of all public character. Perfection in private life is by far the more arduous attainment of the two; since it involves a higher degree of virtue, to acquire the cool and silent admiration of constant and close observers, than to catch the undistinguishing applause of the vulgar. Men accustomed to the business of the world, may think it a mean occupation to be engaged in the duties of a family. It is, however, only by comparison that they are rendered, to a superficial eye, petty and insignificant. View them apart, and their necessity, their importance immediately rises. How many daily occasions there are for the exercise of patience, forbearance, benevolence, good humour, cheerfulness, candour, sincerity, compassion, self-denial! How many instances occur of satirical hints, of ill-natured witticisms, of fretfulness, impatience, strife, and envyings; besides those of disrespect, discontent, sloth, and very many other seeds of evil, the magnitude of which is perhaps small, but for the guilt of which we shall most assuredly be judged. When we consider that private life also has its trials, temptations, and troubles, it ought surely to make us vigilant, when around our own fire-side, lest we should quiet our apprehensions, and cease from our daily watchfulness.

Prove your love and affection for your family, and your friendship and attachment for all your connections, by using, not partial, hypocritical, momentary acts of kindness, but one universal, constant, animated effort,—one sincere desire of rendering others happy, united with compassion for their sufferings, charity and candour for their errors, and forgiveness for their injuries.

Especially cultivate a benevolent disposition, an inclination rather to think and speak well than ill of those around, accompanied with that candour which exposes not the errors, but rather the virtues of others to view; and which brings to light, with regret, their failings, for no other end than their suppression.

First month, 1815.—Business, in its proper sphere, is useful and beneficial, as well as absolutely necessary; but the abuse of it, or an excess in it, is pernicious in many points of view: I cannot approve, in very many respects, of the intense degree of application and attention, which seems often to be required of those that are in business.



There is one danger to which the man of business is particularly exposed, and which is the more alarming, because it is concealed,—I mean the danger of gaining a worldly spirit, and of losing that tenderness of conscience, that love of religion, which is the ground of all virtuous conduct. The person who is engaged in worldly affairs, whether the sphere of his engagements be large or small, should be most anxiously attentive to his eternal interests, that they also may be kept in a flourishing, profitable condition; if this be not the case, the saying of William Penn is true in regard to such a one; “He that loses by getting, had better lose than gain.” He should also be very jealous of his scanty leisure, that he may not omit to employ some of it in his daily duties to his Maker, and in the constant cultivation of that holy frame of mind, which, it is the slow though sure tendency of the spirit of the world, silently to counteract. For I own I tremble at the very idea of any man’s mainly pursuing his perishable interests, when perhaps in one short moment he is gone. How inconceivably terrible and exquisite must be that man’s anguish, whilst on the very brink of going he knows not whither, to think that he has given up an eternity of bliss, for the empty grasp of that which is not.

15th.—The following reflection is taken from a ‘weekly report,’ and was penned just previous to my attendance, by way of initiation into business, at my father’s banking house:

What an eventful period is this, what an epoch in my life! When I look back upon the past, when I review the calm and sequestered hours which have been so graciously granted me, and which I have so happily enjoyed, I cannot help concluding, that the same Almighty hand, which has hitherto upheld me, will be “stretched out still.” And when I cast my eye forward to the future, to that dark and dreary scene, that chaos of troubles and perplexities, which human life for the most part discloses, I remember with consolation the expressions of the Apostle, “We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.” The time that has already elapsed, seems to be a season of preparation mercifully allotted to me, in order to qualify me for the part which I am henceforth to act; and those principles, which I have stored, must now with assiduity be put in practice. The greatest discretion employed at this first setting out in life, will not be sufficient to direct and keep me in the right path, unless accompanied with distrust in myself, and a corresponding confidence in divine assistance.

29th.—The very great benefit which may be, and which I trust is, derived from the system of self-examination that I have adopted, is more and more apparent to me every week. Every week have I to reprove, to exhort, to encourage, and to recommend, as it were to call in my accounts, and to ascertain the real state of my heart; whilst every week—yes, every day, gives me abundant cause for contrition and abasement. I am thus led to a more intimate knowledge of the state of my internal affairs, and of the filth which still lurks within: whilst I am rendered less confident in my own unassisted efforts, and more desirous to be strengthened in obedience.

Same date.—Though I feel myself but a novice in serious subjects, yet further experience gives me fresh ardour and eagerness to seek after and attain to that knowledge, which alone “maketh wise unto salvation.” The more time and attention I devote to religion, the more I feel persuaded of its unspeakable importance. There is no pursuit in life, whether of philosophical, literary, commercial, or worldly nature, which can be compared with the pursuit of religion, in respect to the peace and joy, the profit and the pleasure, which it yields to the willing mind. The immediate good effects of it, are only exceeded by its ultimate consequences. In prosperity the true Christian is taught to be watchful and humble, and to consider that “the Lord hath given, and the Lord can take away.” In adversity, how happy he is, if he do but remember, that “this also is the Lord’s doing.” In all that he does, his design is ever to do good,—his motive the glory of his Maker.

Same date.—O! Lord, thou hast been pleased to bruise me with a sense of my own iniquity; thou hast in some degree opened to me my own heart: deliver me in thine own time and way, from under the burden of my transgressions: still continue to show me thy loving kindness, and to direct me onward in the path that leads to salvation. I know not, and it is better, O Lord! that I know not, in what condition or situation to-morrow’s light may find me; nor can I see before me: yet I pray thee, if I do forget or forsake thee, O! forsake me not utterly, for thy mercy’s sake.

Second month 5th.—May I not neglect or delay to take such effectual measures, as may certainly lead me to the attainment of a firm belief in the salvation brought about by the Saviour of men. May I not be satisfied with an historical acquaintance with these things, nor be content with what others may say, write, bear witness of, or believe in, respecting a Redeemer; but may I be encouraged, like Thomas the Apostle, to see and

feel for myself; and may I make an availing use of every opportunity, every appointed means to gain the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus and him crucified; that intimate knowledge and inward experience, compared with which, Paul counted all things else but as "loss" and dross. Surely, such as are "kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation," are none but those, who have submitted themselves to the government and dominion of Christ by his spirit in their hearts; and these truly know him to be their Redeemer.

12th.—O! for that prevailing seriousness, that habitual state of dependence, humility, and gratitude, as in the sight of the Supreme Being;—that disposition of mind which inclines to "pray without ceasing," "in every thing to give thanks," and to "avoid every appearance of evil." These symptoms of a soul that "walks with God," have been indeed greatly wanting. Although the outward tokens of a religious life, may have continued much the same as before; yet have I to acknowledge and lament a general tendency to indifference and coolness, with respect to religious matters, as well as a neglect and forgetfulness of Him, whose right it is supremely to reign in the hearts of his people. How often is this half and half—this lukewarm temper, which loves the Lord with divided affection, the beginning of more flagrant transgression. But may I not be discouraged; rather may I remember that He, who by his reproofing witness has discovered to me this evil, has done so that I should through his assistance subdue it; and that he will by no means withhold that strength, which will enable me to do so.

When I look back at the long course and succession of blessings which have been experienced by me,—when I review the opportunities which I have enjoyed of making the attainment of vital Christianity my constant study; and then see how very small has been my advance in religious principle and practice, I cannot help feeling extremely sensible of the long suffering and compassion of that Being, who has not merely heaped upon me, day after day, and year after year, innumerable outward blessings, but has in much mercy been pleased to rescue me from a state of hardened forgetfulness and abandonment of himself. He has opened a way to me, whereby I might escape that bondage to sin, which did at one time nearly overwhelm me, and that punishment which would otherwise have inevitably overtaken me. He still continues his forbearance and his tender mercies, though I so often decline from the path which he has plainly pointed out. How long then, O! my soul,

wilt thou despise the riches of his grace, and reject his offered and extended salvation? How long wilt thou in words acknowledge, and in very deed deny, him? How long wilt thou in praises and in prayers draw nigh unto him, whilst in the particular conduct of every day thou dost abuse his gifts, forget and forsake the giver?

19th.—O! how transient is that momentary glimmer—that faint and feeble spark, which at intervals, seems to rekindle and revive in this poor, frail tenement of mine! How soon is it quenched and smothered; how quickly does it disappear, and leave me cold and cheerless! What apathy, what indisposition and insensibility to the beauty of eternal things, does the absence of this glorious light leave in the soul, which longs for the arising of the Sun of righteousness; for the appearance of that "which shineth more and more unto the perfect day!"\*

26th.—Blessed be the Lord! I think that I am in some small degree enabled to trust and believe, that there has been some little growth and advancement in lowliness and meekness, which are the ground-work of true wisdom. How shall I sufficiently express what I feel, when I look upon myself, when I consider what and where I have been, and who He is, that has lifted me out of the mire, and rescued my soul from destruction.

## CHAPTER II.

SIXTH month, 1815.—I have attended the yearly meeting for the first time, this year, through all the sittings, and have had very much satisfaction therein; especially in observing the consistency which seems to run through the conduct of the business coming under the care of Friends. This was to me a very favoured time, and my soul was reached wonderfully by the visitations of the day-spring from on high. Though I have but little to remark, either on the subject of Friends or their discipline, I cannot help expressing how grateful I feel, for the blessing of being in some degree alive to serious impressions, and thirsting after a knowledge of Truth.

2nd.—How many are there who live in a state of sin, of blindness as to their best interests, or of drowsy indifference! The more I seek to know the Lord and to remember his mercies, the more plainly and clearly does he graciously manifest himself; and the longer I meditate on his attributes,

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\* Second month 23d, was the first monthly meeting I attended; it was at Wandsworth.



the more firm is my conviction, that the ardent and heavenly desires with which he has favoured me, will not sleep in death, but will pass, uninjured by the wreck of nature, to those hallowed and happy regions, where nothing will interrupt their enjoyment for ever!

Ninth month 5th.—Surely one would think the bitter cup, of which so many, so very many, of our fellow creatures have to drink, ought to be enough to stop the dissipation of the gay, to check the extravagance and the avarice of the rich, to make the heedless pause and the wicked to consider. For my own part, when I hear and see everywhere around me, the affliction of the destitute, the cry of penury, the groan of sickness, and every extremity of anguish and trouble, both of body and mind, I cannot but exclaim,—“What am I, that I should be blessed so abundantly above others in every sense? and what ought I not to be, who am so eminently favoured with almost every variety of earthly comfort? How shall I dare to encourage or give way to pride, envy, passion, intemperance of joy, or levity of heart, when in one short day I may be deprived of every thing in which I have outward comfort and confidence, and in one moment may be levelled in the dust from whence I came?”

22nd.—There is that to be met with and felt, in the company of and intimacy with Friends, which is better experienced than described,—a happy, serene, and calm temper, full of forbearance and love, and affection to all, and well seasoned with sober humility; such as elsewhere I have never been able to find.

Eleventh month.—“Simon, sleepest thou? Couldst not thou watch one hour? Watch ye and pray, lest ye enter into temptation.” I have been more than once strongly reminded, of this short but very impressive exhortation of our Lord to his slumbering disciple, and of the salutary exhortation that follows it. I have thought how much need there is for every one of us, often to apply the same language to ourselves. O! how very few of us ever watch even one hour! And although I am willing to believe many do remember him, on whose extended mercy they every moment depend; yet this season is, I fear, but short, and the impression but transient. I cannot therefore help expressing my desire that every one of us may be enabled to stand continually in the fear of the Lord, to bear in mind our exceeding great liability to evil, and to depend not upon our strength, but upon the power of Him, through whose strength alone we can do valiantly.

*No date; probably late in 1815.*—The first thing that I would recommend to any one se-

riously inclined, is, that he should not quench or stifle in any manner the precious spark, which the Lord in infinite compassion, has kindled within him. O! let such an one do nothing which is likely to impede the growth of this divine seed of grace within. Let not any deny to his own soul the nourishment which is to support it: for though the world esteem him very lightly, and even ridicule him, yet “if his own heart condemn him not, then has he confidence towards God.”

*No date.*—I am much displeased when I see a person accommodating his character and turn of mind to those among whom he is cast, changing his appearance according to the situation he is placed in. I see little apology for such persons in that saying of the Apostle, “I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some;” because such persons omit the latter part of that text,—“and this I do for the gospel’s sake.” In those of whom I speak, there is no intention by this variable conduct to serve others, but rather to save and deliver themselves from the scandal, odium, and reproof, likely to be cast by serious people upon levity, folly, or sin, and by the less sober upon any thing like sobriety. There is a consistency of character, which, whilst it does not bring on religion the charge of moroseness and unyielding severity, yet does not deny its great Master; and which though it does not obtrude its opinions or practice upon the notice of others, is not backward to show decidedly, to which standard it belongs, and under whose banner it ranks.

1815 or 1816.—Surely I ought to thank and praise the Lord for his abundant mercy in thinking of me; and especially in wounding my vain confidence and self-dependence: surely I am highly favoured by his numerous and heavy corrections. The worldly man, and the evil doer, and the indifferent nominal Christian, go on “fair and softly,”—they have, perhaps, few and slight troubles; but he whom the Lord visits and notices,—he whom the Lord deigns to regard and to prepare for himself, is purified in the fire of affliction, as silver seven times tried. Why then should I be troubled and disquieted? why not rather endeavour to co-operate with the Lord? since I know verily that it is for my good, to teach me from the consideration of the brevity of life, the uncertainty and instability of earthly things, the weakness and wickedness of my own heart, and the frailty of others; to teach me, I say, from these and other considerations, to press forward to the attainment of those things which will open unto me a way to peace and joy eternal, through Jesus Christ.

First month, 1816.—I am unexpectedly led

at this time into much inward exercise of mind, being earnestly desirous that I may lay hold, and keep hold of those things which pertain to life and salvation,—to run daily that race which is set before me. Those who seek the Lord to serve him, shall indeed find him and the knowledge of his will : where the desire is, there is a favourable evidence; seeing that every good gift and every perfect gift cometh down from the Author of all good. Divine grace which begets this desire, though smothered in many hearts, has freely been given, without respect of persons, to all; and is sufficient, if obeyed, to work out the salvation of all, to lead them in the way they should go, and to give them strength to walk in it : how then should we cherish this precious desire after holiness, and that little seed, which, if preserved and fostered, will grow up and become a large tree, bringing forth fruit abundantly ; and what injures, what nips the tender bud in its springing forth, but those things that are evil, or that tend to encourage evil. Oh ! how would this little spark, this divine fire, if not quenched in its arising, burn up every piece of straw and stubble within us, every thing that is not durable; and even such things as silver and gold would not escape the influence, but would be melted down, refined, and seven times purified. Now this light within may not at all times be equally discernible,—we may be deprived of the sense of it for a season; but when this is the case, we ought especially to be very vigilant and sober ; for it is in these intervals, that the enemy most generally finds the door open, and the sentinel not at his post. Let us beware lest we forget ourselves during this time of trial, when we do not sensibly experience within us the presence of Him, in whose presence there is fulness of joy. Let us then seek unto the Lord still more earnestly, and patiently wait his coming, in silent subjection of soul, desiring not our own will, way and time, but His. Surely there is cause for thankfulness in the midst of the dryest season, and even when to our own apprehension we are forgotten and forsaken by Him whom our soul desires : for we know that it is the same Lord, who gave to us the gift of his grace, that has himself permitted the sensible feeling of it to be taken away, and all for our good, though we may not think so. Let us then learn, in whatsoever state it may please infinite wisdom and goodness to place us, therewith to be content.

On the 24th of first month, my dear father, [who had been long an invalid,] got rapidly worse. I attended him nearly all the day, and but little thought of the event that followed. I sat up with him till between two and three o'clock the next morning. He died in much

composure, at about a quarter past ten on fifth-day morning, the 25th of first month. I continued with the rest of our afflicted family to mourn, and I trust humbly to submit to this severe dispensation, lifting up my soul unto Him, who alone is able to sanctify our troubles to us, day and night with tears and sighs, until the day of the burial, when we accompanied the remains of the endeared object of our gratitude, affection, and respect, to its resting-place.

Second month 4th.—I have been led to think that the only substantial source of consolation in times of trouble, is a firm and an abiding faith in our Maker and Redeemer. Whatever anguish a sincere Christian may groan under, whatever wretchedness is permitted to come upon him, yet “let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God.” David seemed to trust with great energy, when he says, “God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble ; therefore will we not fear, though the earth be removed,” &c. :—“The Lord of hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge.” Though man is born to trouble, and every one of us must sooner or later suffer ; yet a simple implicit reliance on him in whom we have believed, will be found sufficient for our consolation and support. We are allowed to mourn ;—a blessing is attached to mourning ;—the effect of godly sorrow is said to be repentance ;—Jesus himself wept ; and it is said of him, that “he was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief.” But we are reminded not to “sorrow, as those who have no hope.” Let us then, in the midst of the most acute and poignant grief, never despair ; but rather with upright Job, let us endeavour to attain to that lowly submissive frame of soul, which leads us to commit ourselves to the disposal of an Almighty Creator and merciful Father.

8th.—The deepest affliction which is caused by the privation of outward objects and things, however near and dear those objects may have been to us, cannot be compared to that utter distress, and anguish of spirit, which the pilgrim is permitted at times to undergo on his journey towards Zion. Who can have an idea of it, without having experienced this trying situation ; when man, who is by himself a poor, weak, helpless creature, dependent upon his Maker for strength, encouragement, consolation, and ability to do and to think anything aright, is thus left apparently, and exposed to the attacks of a relentless enemy, without guide or guardian, naked, hungry, blind, diseased,—where shall poor man find shelter in this stormy season of life? Oh ! “let him trust in the Lord, and stay upon his God.” In this time of desertion, when after “toiling in the midst of the sea,” being “tossed with



the waves," and "the wind contrary," he seems well nigh spent, and apparently no nearer "his desired haven;" then, if he cry unto the Lord in his trouble, He will bring him out of his distresses: He will make the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof will be still; and the troubled disciple shall see Jesus coming unto him walking on the waves, and shall hear him distinctly say, "Be of good cheer, it is I, be not afraid."

18th.—The Lord in his infinite mercy has been pleased to strike me to the earth like Saul, with a sense of my sins, and to enable me sincerely and fervently to inquire of him, "What wilt thou have me to do." I can indeed testify that his forbearance and long suffering towards me have been wonderful; and I have great cause for daily thanksgiving, that I have been taught in some small degree the knowledge of myself, and in much mercy shown the abominations and gross evils, in which my heart was enveloped: the coverings of self and sense that disguised the real state of my mind from me, have been in part removed; and I have been permitted to discover a glimpse of what I ought to be. My ardent desire therefore is, that He who has helped me thus far, would be pleased to continue to extend his paternal care over me; that he would preserve in me an invariable desire to do and abide by his will, at all times and in all things; that he would teach me the knowledge of the Truth; and that I might be so strengthened therein, as to be enabled to say in sincerity,—  
"I am thine,—do with me what thou wilt."

Third month 16th.—O! how exceedingly ought we to praise and to bless the name of the Lord for all his dispensations and gifts: my soul is at this time very much impressed with a sense of the bounty of that great Giver, who in mercy educes blessings from those things which least of all appear such. But of what avail is such a sense of the goodness of the Almighty—such a conviction that "the Lord is good to all, and that his tender mercies are over all his works,"—unless this conviction leads us to put our whole trust and reliance on Him in every circumstance and situation,—unless we are induced with still greater firmness, faith and "patience, to run the race that is set before us," to endure our appointed trials;—in short, to take up our daily cross and deny ourselves, out of pure love to Him, who first loved us, and still doth love us.

31st.—I have thought that my state of mind much resembled the luxurious growth of some stripling plant, which springs up quickly, but requires much pruning and cutting back, sometimes even to the ground, in order that its strength may be proportioned to its height, and that it may be brought into a bearing

state. Why should I not then submit to the management of the great Husbandman at all times? Though like the skilful vine-dresser, he rub off every bud that does not show fruit, though he bind me to the wall, though he cut out the canker in the bark, and pierce to the very pith; yet do I most certainly know, that he careth for me, and intends my purging unto fruitfulness and perfection.

Fourth month 3d.—I can scarcely refrain from writing a few lines, on the occasion of ———'s bearing open testimony to those principles, which I believe he very sincerely has espoused. It must indeed be a trying time with him, not only just now, but perhaps henceforth through life. The change of dress and address, though a simple small thing in itself, must doubtless be a pretty constant source of ridicule and contempt, both in his presence and behind his back. I could say much in favour of his sincerity, and I think his exercises have not been few or slight, even as far as I have seen. Though I have had but little direct communication with him on religious subjects, yet, in his deportment and conduct, in general so reasonable and upright, there has been much instruction for me. I have seen many evils and errors in him, evidently brought under correction and government, and the chords of his practice and daily conduct drawn tighter and tighter into tune; and in witnessing this process, my admiration has been not a little excited, in the full belief, that it evinces a power greater than his frailty, under the influence of which he endeavours to live: he has proved and does prove a living lesson and example to me, and I think to others. On looking again at the matter which gave me occasion for writing this, I am inclined to add, that the following considerations seem of too much importance long to defer examining; First, whether I am satisfied to continue as I am, in respect of outward profession; Second, if not, when is the right time to make any alteration; Third, what precise change is to take place, in what particulars, and on what grounds. And may He, who alone can preserve my soul from evil, be with me; that so I may not err on the right hand, or on the left.

11th.—Having a short reprieve of a week, before entering into a business which is marked out for me, [at a Solicitor's office,] I avail myself gladly of it to record my heartfelt and sincere expressions of gratitude, that amidst all my backslidings and omissions, during the period of retirement which I have had of late, there remain to me yet some small bright spots and points, at which I can with satisfaction look back. For though there have been many and great errors and failings, and at times an

almost total forgetfulness of that Being, whose wisdom made me, and whose mercy is still over me; yet am I encouraged in the belief, that at many seasons there has been a desire after, a searching for, the living God, and for the knowledge of his will, whom to know is life. I have indeed learnt by reiterated and painful experience, the constant liability to which poor man is exposed, of forgetting or forsaking the fountain of living waters, the Father of infinite mercy, who is daily striving with his self-willed creature, man. O! I have learnt, and may the lesson be indelibly impressed on my soul, that it is good for a man to watch—to watch and be sober,—to fear always,—to abide in His love who first loved us.

14th.—Uncertainty as to the time and manner of our departure hence, and certainty as to the fact itself, seem to be the limit of our knowledge in regard to this awful subject. We know indeed neither the day nor the hour when we shall be summoned, by an all-righteous Judge to render an account. Seeing then that such is our case, may we yet more and more earnestly strive after a state of preparation,—having “our loins girded about and our lights burning;” that, so whenever the awful call shall go forth, whether at midnight, in the morning, or at noonday, we may be found amongst the trusty servants, “whom the Lord, when he cometh, shall find watching.”

Fourth month.—O! how ardent at this moment is my desire and prayer to the inexhaustible Fountain of transcendent love and mercy, that it may please Him according to his marvellous compassion, so to dwell in the hearts of his poor dependent creatures, that through His sanctifying presence and power, they may be preserved from evil; and not only this, but that the minds of men may be more and more opened, enlivened, and enabled to discover the beauty and the bliss inherent in the Truth.

O! how largely I could dwell upon the wonderful goodness of that Being, whose daily communication and connexion with his creatures, by his providence and by his more immediate influence, most clearly manifests Him to be the all-seeing God. How do I long for that period, when loosed from all earthly impediments, as well from the necessities as from the frailties of the body, I may be enabled to offer pure and acceptable adoration and hallelujahs to the infinitely glorious Source of love and mercy.

16th.—Went this day for the first time on trial to — Solicitors; being at the office at nine in the morning, and leaving it at nine in the evening to return home at Clapham. Did not attend a meeting in the middle of the week on first going there; but the third week I went to Gracechurch Street Meeting, and regularly

afterwards to some one meeting, unless absolutely impracticable.

30th.—Independent of all other considerations which might induce me to court the company and intercourse of Friends, and many other reasons there are, this one would have much weight with me, namely, that into whatever Friend's family I have gone, I have not as yet failed to find them a happy set of people,—cheerful yet sober, liberal yet strict, and above all things, sincere and honest. I have not had much acquaintance with Friends; but I may truly declare, that I have seldom, if ever, gone away from a Friend's house, without carrying with me a temper and feeling of mind so peaceable, so calm, contented and cheerful, full of such warm desires of being and doing good, as are by no means easily effaced.

Fifth month 1st.—Though pressed hard for time, I am constrained to commemorate the admirable goodness of the Lord to my soul this morning, in evidently answering my petition, and affording me suitable instruction, which was received, I trust, with benefit. At Gracechurch Street Meeting this morning, being weary with my own intruding imaginations, and earnestly desiring to be rightly directed in the awfully important business which I came about, and for which I had given up much to obtain liberty of attendance,—a secret prayer seemed to arise and run through me, that, if it were best, I might through some instrumental means be informed and instructed in the great duty of public worship. No sooner had such desires presented themselves, than M. S. [Mary Savory] rose, with nearly if not exactly these words; ‘Look not unto man, whose breath is in his nostrils, O thou of little faith; but look thou unto the Lord, who is mighty to deliver, and able to save to the uttermost, them that trust in him.’ As if she had said, ‘Look not for direction in this matter to man, but to the Lord, who can best instruct and incline thee when and how to worship himself acceptably.’ This instance of condescension was, and still remains a memorable one with me, and is not less gratefully remembered on account of having experienced many especial favours of a similar nature and description; some of which indeed have been still more striking.

8th.—My birthday; [nineteen years of age.] I contrived to get one hour in the garden in the morning, though so closely tied to business. Many reflections appear to have been my companions in the midst of much business at this time; indeed my mind was greatly exercised and tried, yet also comforted, yes, unspeakably, during this season.

Hitherto the Lord hath helped me; hitherto



has he helped me exceedingly,—more than I could even have thought or asked: and I can abundantly testify to this truth, “no good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly,” or even from them that seek to do so.

27th.—I cannot but believe, that the Lord will redeem my soul from the depth of difficulty and distress, which seems to encompass it; though there seems no way, he will make one over the pit, which is dug about me by my enemy. Thanks be to the adorable fountain of all goodness, my faith is yet firm. I know in whom I have believed and trusted, and that He is still able and willing, and shortly, in his own time, will make bare His arm, which is indeed mighty to save and to rescue. I read that the prayers of some formerly did ascend even into the ears of the most High, and came before him as a memorial; now I do heartily and indubitably believe, that “He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever;” that “his arm is not shortened that he cannot save, nor his ear grown heavy, that he cannot hear” the cries of such as seek his direction.

29th.—O! Lord God of my fathers, the protector of every one that putteth his trust in thee, be pleased in thy unbounded compassion and unutterable mercy, to look upon thine afflicted servant for good. O! Lord, thou knowest my case and circumstances better than I can possibly relate; thou seest all my wants, my troubles and my fears: in thy abundant and overflowing mercy, forsake me not in this time of trial and deep exercise of spirit. O! thou art mighty to save and to deliver, help me that I perish not in this extremity; but that aided by thee, I may be enabled to do thy will whilst here, whatsoever it may be; and be prepared to glorify thee for ever hereafter.

30th.—O Lord! the Father of the fatherless, the helper of the helpless, the friend of the afflicted; who hast promised never to forsake them that seek thee, and trust in thee; receive the sigh and tear of one whose spirit crieth unto thee day and night,—yea Lord, thou knowest, through every hour of the day. I pray not that thou wouldst take me out of the world, or from that station and place in it, which in thy infinite goodness is appointed for me; but this does my spirit crave of thee with unspeakable fervency, even that in all things, at all times, and in all places, thou mayest be pleased to dwell with me, and to keep me on every hand from all evil.

Sixth month.—According to my present feelings and experience, I do verily believe that the business upon which I have entered, is such as requires much more time, close study and attention, than I can conscientiously

give up thereto; it does entail such entanglement and engrossment in the things of time, as to leave to uncertainty and almost inevitable neglect the things of eternity. I also am of the firm persuasion, that business is not of that first importance, which is so generally attached to it; but is and should be secondary and subordinate to the first and greatest object in life.

Same date.—If after all means and endeavours are made use of, we believe that any thing is right to be done, surely it is our duty to do it. We ought not to look at the effects or consequences of thus having acted, but to leave them to divine wisdom, that he may overrule or dispose of them as he sees best, whether he is pleased to give us satisfaction within and the approbation of others, or to withhold them. None can tell us of our duty with certainty in every respect; they can tell us of the great fundamental and indispensable rules of the moral law; but in such actions and steps, the omission of which is no breach of morality, others can only recommend what *they* think is right; yet this is no infallible rule for us. Now who is more likely to come to the knowledge of his duty in any particular, than he who in sincerity and simplicity is daily and hourly striving to conform himself to the will of his Maker, as far as he knows it. Such a one should not despair or grieve, if in every respect he does not immediately and clearly discover his way cast up before him; but rather should join faith to his obedience; endeavouring to be content and thankful that he is permitted to know what little he does, and is enabled to act up to that little; humbly hoping, and patiently waiting for more, if necessary.

12th.—I have often been struck with the close analogy, which many narratives in the Bible bear to the state of our own minds. The manner in which Thomas received the intelligence communicated by his fellow Apostles, of the resurrection of our Lord from the dead, has more than once impressed my mind, whilst I looked at myself and my own state. I have been led to think, that any hesitation or delay on my part to believe in and to receive the Lord of life and light, who is striving with me day by day, who is watching, waiting to be gracious, who is knocking at the door of my heart almost every hour, who is calling me, and running after me as a shepherd after his lamb that is gone astray,—is somewhat like the tardy yet deliberate conviction of Thomas, who overpowered at length by the abundant evidence which the Lord was pleased to shower upon him, was unable in the fulness of his heart to say more than “My Lord, and my God.” O! I do indeed desire,

not only to be firmly convinced of what is right, but to be willing to sacrifice every thing to the performance of the same, with courage, resolution, and constancy.

13th.—O! Lord, make me still more and more entirely devoted and dedicated, given up and surrendered unto thee: Teach me, I pray thee, still more perfectly the way that I should walk in, each step that I should every moment take whilst here; that so through thy boundless mercy I may be safe on every hand from every thing evil. O Lord! if it so please thee, I implore thee to take from me all vain confidence in myself or others,—all my own strength and wisdom; and impress upon my soul an earnest sense of my own nothingness and helplessness: that so through the low vestibule of true humility, I may be enabled to enter thy glorious temple, and therein to offer acceptable sacrifice and praise unto thee.

28th.—On considering the subject of the business proposed to me to enter upon, [that of a Solicitor,] I can acknowledge that I would this day sign the articles of clerkship, if I thought it right to do so; but I feel too much given up and dedicated in heart and mind to Him, who has all my life long blessed and helped me, for me to undertake this proposed occupation; and therefore I do trust, that though my relations may not approve the decision, they will respect the motives. It is, and has been day and night, my most ardent desire to acquaint myself thoroughly, in spite of every obstacle, with the will of the Lord concerning me; and I may safely and sincerely add, that there is and has been no fear, no grief, no joy, so impressed on my soul, as the fear of not doing, the grief at not having done, and the joy at having done, what I know or believe to be right.

Seventh month 6th.—Upon considering the Lord's extraordinary goodness to my soul, and how he has blessed me more and more, increasing my inward prosperity almost every day, and especially of late in a remarkable manner, so that though outwardly much occupied, my thoughts have been almost constantly raised and directed to Him in prayer or praise;—upon these considerations my soul has been humbled at this time, under the belief, that the Lord's hand is in an awful manner upon me, to mould me as it seems good to him: the feeling of this makes me fear and tremble before him.

10th.—The longer I am surrounded by the vanity and vice of this dissolute city, [London,] the more is my mind vexed with the daily witnessing of such things; the less also do I get reconciled to the perverted and depraved conduct and conversation, which abound so

deplorably in this place. O! what a holy and diligent watch should we maintain, who are placed in the midst of this vortex—this sink of filth and iniquity. O! Lord, thou alone canst make and keep clean our garments; thou only canst preserve in us a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within us.

25th.—The customs, fashions, vanities, and ways of the world, have very often come under my serious consideration. I have been, I may indeed say, oppressed with a sense of the mass of folly, which is sin, prevalent among the children of men. I believe the evil effects of these things are but little calculated by many reflecting minds; and that few look upon them in that serious light in which they deserve to be regarded, or esteem them worthy of reformation. It is in consequence of this lamentable remissness and weakness on the part of those, who should stand up in resolute opposition, that the torrent becomes stronger and stronger, and the resistance of the few less and less effectual. Under this impression, my soul has oftentimes mourned; and my distress has been much excited of late, whilst walking in the streets of this great city; many of whose inhabitants seem bound in fetters, and enslaved by the caprice of pride, luxury, and vanity. How frequent and fervent have been my desires, that the little band of those who professedly bear testimony against the fruits and effects of these evils, wherever and in whatsoever degree they appear, might be strengthened, by a diligent recurrence to that principle which teaches a denial of self and a renouncing of the world with the lusts and vanities thereof,—still to hold out against the enemy.

Eighth month 3d.—O that I might be helped this day to do the will of the Lord: that I might be strengthened with inward might, patiently yet firmly and constantly to persevere in what is right. Though assaulted daily by the powerful enemy, yet may I be favoured with unwearied fortitude to watch and pray, that he may not finally overcome. How liable are we every moment of each day of our lives, to fall or falter in our steppings; and how blessed are they who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation. My secret constant craving is, that in all things and at all times, I may have such an awe and fear of Him, whom all should fear, as to be preserved from evil; and that thus walking before him, I may be led into the way of peace.

I remember, when under great exercise long continued on the subject of business, and amidst many thoughts as to getting a livelihood in the world, with my very restrained views every way,—I opened a book in great



fluctuation and sore grief of mind, as it lay near me, craving that I might be secretly informed in this way, or in any way with certainty, as to the line of duty prescribed to me by heavenly wisdom; when, to my astonishment I found immediately to my hand, this passage from William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*,—"Whoever thou art that wouldest do the will of God, but faintest in thy desires from the opposition of worldly considerations, remember, I tell thee in the name of Christ, that he that prefers father or mother, sister or brother, house, &c. to the testimony of the light of Jesus in his own conscience, shall be rejected of him in the solemn and general inquest upon the world, when all shall be judged, and receive according to the deeds done, not the profession made, in this life. It was the doctrine of Jesus, that 'if thy right hand offend thee, thou must cut it off; and if thy right eye offend thee, thou must pluck it out;' that is, if the most dear, the most useful and tender comforts thou enjoyest, stand in thy soul's way, and interrupt thy obedience to the voice of God, and thy conformity to his holy will revealed in thy soul, thou art engaged, under the penalty of damnation, to part with them."—Part I. Chap. i. Sect. 21st. O! here was a revelation indeed to me, if ever there was one; for as surely as there is a secret divine power, it was manifested in my soul in the reading of this passage; and it so overcame me in gratitude to the Father of mercies, that my knees were bowed, and my heart was contrited before Him at that favourable season, and tears fell in abundance.

There has indeed been a wonderful Providence all along about me, too large to be fully set forth in order. When the time for my decision and signing of the articles of clerkship arrived, whereby I was to serve in an attorney's office for five years, with every prospect that a handsome income would succeed my application to this line of business; and when the draft of the deed was about to be sent to be engrossed, and I was to take it to the law-stationer's for that purpose;—borne down by hidden trials, my earnest fervent petition in a secret place, where I stepped aside to pour out my soul unto God, was, that if the Lord was my guide and my leader, he would make a way even now, when there appeared none, to get out of the predicament in which I was so closely confined: and speedily that day I was taken ill, and obliged to see a physician, who ordered me to Southampton as soon as I could go; which was accordingly effected in three days. I have cause to remember to this day, how closely the mighty helper was about my bed and about my path at that time; so that

my tenderness of heart, and my cries and tears in secret, were often remarkably answered, and were felt even to prevail with God. My song was also unto him in the night season; and living praises would ascend, in very small intervals of time, when the soul had a few seconds only turn to its comforter. When I returned from Southampton I resumed my station at the desk; but my eye saw clearly that that place was not my lot, though I did not even then think of giving up the profession altogether: but that was also shown me in due season, when I was able to bear it. So that there is indeed ground for me yet to trust and not be afraid, as well as for others; seeing that there is One, who can make darkness light, and crooked things strait, and hard things easy.

[He finally relinquished the pursuit of the law in the latter end of this year.]

Ninth month.—What inexhaustible goodness and loving kindness has the Lord in store for those of every age, class, and description, who strive to serve him in sincerity. O! He sheds at times his refreshing presence and protection in a remarkable manner round about his poor dependent little ones, showering down upon them the dew of his grace. I have thought indeed, that the inward consciousness of his approbation attending us, is sometimes permitted to be as strong and evident as we could desire. It has been graciously allotted me during this day or two, to experience such a degree of his favour attending me, and to feel such a measure of his divine blessing shed upon me, that I can scarcely forbear in this manner testifying to the continuance of his care for his creatures, even for those who have widely strayed from his flock, and have been long wandering in the wilderness. Yes, O yes! "His hand is stretched out still;"—praised be his name evermore!

19th.—Though I wish to be the last to find fault with the innocent and natural sprightliness and liveliness of youth, yet I cannot but excuse myself from joining in with what is commonly so termed, having often felt thereby unsettled in mind, and indisposed for reflection. I have found that by occasionally relaxing in the discipline of watchfulness, the inclination to laughter, more particularly, gained much ground upon me; and there has been no small difficulty in restraining this habit, when much indulged; so that it strikes me to be a snare. Though religion does not make a man gloomy, yet it never allows him to be off his guard; no, he must "watch and pray, lest he enter into temptation,"—taking up his daily cross to all frivolous and foolish talking and jesting, besides other more evident and open evils.

## CHAPTER III.

London, Tenth month 10th, 1816.

Dear friend, W. F.

WHILST taking up my pen to address thee, I feel very desirous not to incur the sentence denounced in Scripture, against him that "trusted in man, and made flesh his arm, and whose heart departed from the Lord:" for there is a disposition to regard the creature more than the Creator, in whom alone is everlasting strength. And yet a saying of the Apostles Peter and John, when brought before the Jewish council, has often been comfortably remembered by me, after much unreserved communication with some of my dear friends; and I trust I may safely adopt it as my own on this occasion:—"for we cannot but speak the things, which we have both seen and heard." How shall I then be silent concerning the dealings of Infinite Goodness, or how shall I forbear to testify of Him who "delighteth in mercy;" of whom it is said, and has been experienced by thousands, as well as by myself,—"he will subdue our iniquities, and will cast all our sins into the depths of the sea." Indeed I have reason to say thus, and much more; for few suspect the depth of perdition from which I have been rescued. Awfully appropriate was that language twice repeated in the little company I sat with, at our friend's house at S.—"Thou wert as a brand plucked out of the burning:" I earnestly desire that what follows may not equally apply: "yet hast thou not returned unto me, saith the Lord." How strongly have I been encouraged, my dear friend, to believe that even in these latter times the same arm of everlasting mercy is still underneath, the same crook of loving kindness is yet conspicuously stretched out to reclaim and to restore. Though I have but little time or space to spare, yet one circumstance attending my former course of life, I may not omit to mention:—I remember, my dear friend, (bear with me if thou canst,) a season when my wickedness had arrived at such a complicated and aggravated height, as to threaten, to all appearances and all probability, inevitably impending consequences; and these so encompassed me round on every side, that, though a thorough adept, I totally despaired of escaping that which was likely to follow. At this eventful crisis, when my wretchedness was more than I can describe, and almost more than I could bear, there was a secret but fervent desire raised in my very inmost soul, that if it were possible, I might be delivered from this anguish of mind and dilemma of situation, which were then owned [by me] to have been brought on by

my own sinfulness, and much less than was deserved. There was also something like a covenant [on my part,] that if I might be thus rescued, no bounds should be placed to the dedication of my future life. The sequel was as striking as the fact itself;—each black cloud of this storm, from that very day forward, rolled gradually away, and in a surprising manner withdrew and dissipated. So that in truth I have had, and still have most feelingly to adopt a language, as literally and remarkably applicable to myself, as it could perhaps have been to him that used it,—"He brought me up also out of the horrible pit, out of the miry clay:" and I think I may add, it is equally my desire and belief, that the remainder of this passage may and will be as nearly my experience;—"This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Yes, my dear friend, "I am as a wonder unto many," amongst those who knew me little more than three years ago, then living in total forgetfulness, or rather abandonment of Him, who notwithstanding, did not utterly abandon me; but, as Fenelon says, "who followed me in my ways, which were those of sin; who has run after me, as a shepherd in search of his strayed sheep." So that I cannot be silent on this subject; but am constrained to acknowledge, that in all my various difficulties, distresses, and dangers, the power and presence of One, "who is able to save to the uttermost," has been with me and around me; bringing about seeming impossibilities, making a way where no way was, and effecting deliverance "with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm."

With respect to that share of affliction which has been handed to me of late, I can truly say, it is my desire, that others in their various trials, may be equally enabled with myself to discover and acknowledge in them the hand of Him, who "is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works." When privations are permitted to attend, what a consolation, my dear friend, to find a Father of the fatherless; when about to separate from those who have from childhood shared the same mixed cup of joy and grief, what a favour to feel, that wherever scattered, still each of us is near that Fountain, to which we may all have access. When a total revolution in our outward condition takes place, when luxury, delicacy, splendour and vanity, together with all those objects endeared by fond recollection, are to be relinquished, how sweet to know "it is the Lord,—let him do what seemeth him good:" and in taking up the cross—the daily cross, denying ourselves, and following our Leader through evil report and good report, through sufferings, conflicts and probation; what a blessing will it be if we "are kept



by the power of God, through faith unto salvation."

Thy sincere friend,  
J. B.

22nd.—The further I advance in my course along this valley of mist and obscurity, the more evidently am I permitted to discover; the more frequently am I constrained to admire, the infinite condescension of the Lord. O! how sincerely can I exclaim with the Psalmist, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him." Fervent indeed have been my desires and still more and more so, as the visitations of condescending mercy have been renewedly extended,—that my whole heart may be prepared for the reception and further manifestations of this great and gracious Guest. O! may there be in my inmost thoughts and imaginations, as well as over my words and outward demeanour, such a constant watchfulness, as may evidence a holy awe and fear of giving him offence, or occasioning a separation between him and my soul.

O! thou who seest in secret, and to whom my most secret petitions are thoroughly known, and known to ascend even daily and hourly; be pleased, in thy exceeding great compassion and wonted mercy, to hand me a little help. Grant that I may be made willing to follow thee whithersoever thou leadest, and to become whatsoever thou wouldst have me to be.

25th—I have been led to think that many are ready to inquire with Pilate, "What is Truth?" but not being willing to wait long enough for an answer, or to wrestle for the blessing, have hastily gone out like him from the presence of Jesus, who is the only Way, Truth, and Life, even as it were unto the Jews, the dark and outside professors; and having consented, or been prevailed upon to join hands with those betrayers, have fallen away from, and become opposers of, the very Truth, both in themselves and others. O! that we may ever bear in mind the excellency and preciousness of the truth; and thus be made willing to encounter any thing that is, in the smallest degree, an obstruction to our reception and acknowledgment of it.

Eleventh month.—Do not look at others, whether their example seems to recommend one line of conduct or another; no not even at such as are very industrious in business, and yet accounted strictly religious characters; they are no guide for you:—stand on your own ground; nothing will justify what you are about to do, or to forbear to do, but a full conviction of duty. If you have that true peace which no man can give or take away, it matters little what others may say or think.

Remember that the honest fishermen quitted their lawful concerns, nay all, to follow Him that called them,—but it was not *till* he called; the hundred-fold reward, and the everlasting inheritance were promised, not to those who merely forsook all that they had, but to those who did so *for his name's sake*. I think it was William Penn who said, "it is not the sacrifice, however great, that recommends the heart, but the heart that gives the sacrifice, however mean, acceptance."

9th.—O! what shall I say, or what words shall I make use of, to declare fully the Lord's goodness and compassion to this poor frame of mine! Day by day, yes, all the day long, is his hand renewedly and refreshingly turned upon me, for my present and everlasting welfare. Even when the power of the wicked one came over my poor soul, when all desires and endeavours after good, after "those things that make for peace," were to appearance utterly extinguished, even in that dismal hour, which was still more darkened by the insensibility which benumbed me, the gloriously great and gracious Giver of all good, was pleased to pity me, and to revive the latent spark within me, making it grow gradually brighter. Surely, He is working a great work within me; his hand, his holy hand is upon me; and if not through my own default, he will by no means draw back or desist, until he has made me all that he would have me be. What a multitude of obstructions as well as snares and difficulties encompass me: how shall I put one foot forward in the right way, except the Lord himself condescend continually to "direct my steps." And O! then, what a constant need there is of acknowledging Him in *all* my ways; that so this promise of safe and sure direction may happily be fulfilled in my experience:—"The Lord, he it is that doth go before thee; he will be with thee; he will not fail thee, neither forsake thee."

12th.—O Lord God Almighty! it is of thy exceeding mercy that I am raised up, and enabled thus fervently, thus solemnly, to address thee, as the God which hast led me unto this day. O! how clearly and comfortably hast thou, during this time of need, revived the remembrance of what thou hast done for them that have sought or desired to seek thee. Where is not thy "mighty hand," and thy "outstretched arm," to be discovered? When I "look at the generations of old, and see," through thy grace I am enabled to silence every doubt, every discouraging fear, by that feeling and forcible interrogation,—"*Did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded; did any abide in his fear, and was forsaken; or whom did he ever despise, that called upon him?*" Well might thy servant say, "The

earth, O! Lord, is full of thy mercy;" and thy prophet exclaim—"The whole earth is full of his glory." "And now Lord! what wait I for? my hope is in thee:" in thee, in thee alone is my joy, my crown, my confidence. I dare not ask of thee deliverance out of trouble, except in thy time; but Oh! my very soul doth crave of thee, that I may be kept from every thing like evil;—that I may be supported and sustained by that "hidden manna," which is promised "to him that overcometh." O! grant, Lord, unto him, who feels himself at this time awfully humbled under thy mighty hand,—that he may be made still more deeply sensible, that "thou art God alone:" and as often as thou art pleased, in thy very abundant compassion, to renew within him that which constrains him to cry out, "My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God,"—at such precious seasons, may he be satisfied with nothing short of Thee; and strengthen thou him to endure patiently through all,—waiting upon, hoping in, and watching for thee!

23d.—It is certain to my mind that one invariable evidence of true religion having entered and taken up its abode in us, will always be, that we shall no longer conform ourselves to this world in its vanity and folly; and that, in our dress, address and general conduct in every particular, we shall not be governed by worldly maxims or opinions, but by the law written in our hearts. How far then is this the case with me? How far can I assuredly say, that this change of heart is my experience? I feel indeed that I come short of what ought to be my practice; that though I have given up my name to serve the living God, even Him who hath led me unto this day,—though I have withheld not some things which were required of me to give up and to forsake,—yet has not my heart fully, entirely, and without reserve resigned my all. There have been those parleys and tamperings with sin, those secret relapses, those connivances with the enemy, which the Lord abhors. What a total surrender of self does our pure and righteous Lord call for; what an abandonment of every thing evil does He expect from his followers; what a daily and hourly watchfulness and circumspection is required of those, who would be heirs of a glorious mansion, where nothing impure can enter! How very appropriately is it written, "Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God am holy."

Same date.—How beautiful, how glorious a sight is it to behold the sun in the morning when it issues from its bed of crimson hue, when it gradually ascends the horizon, dissipating the dusky gloom of fading night, and tinging every object in nature with its golden

rays. And may I not say, that through the blessing of a gracious Creator, I am enabled almost daily to witness the spiritual arising of the "Sun of righteousness with healing in his wings." Surely, the day-spring from on high, "through the tender mercy of God," hath visited, and is visiting me; and assuredly the end and purpose of his arising is the same that it was formerly,—even "to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide their feet into the way of peace." I think I say not amiss, when I declare my belief, that the light within me seems to get brighter, and the fire warmer almost every day. O! that I may be content to remain in the refiner's fire, that so I may become purified and refined from every thing evil.

27th.—I have been long in much trouble and difficulty about changing my dress, as well as adopting those other distinctions and testimonies which Friends uphold and practice; and my anxiety respecting these things has been, lest I should take them up without good ground, and without being clearly and indubitably sensible that these sacrifices are called for. Indeed, I have gone mourning on my way, day after day and night after night. Perplexity and discouragement, darkness and distress, have at seasons clouded the horizon of the morning of my days; and mainly because I knew not certainly the Divine will, as to these external observances, and as to many other sacrifices. But I think that this subject has been cleared up very satisfactorily to me this day, in much mercy, both by what I felt, and by what was delivered through a servant of the Lord, at meeting.

Same date.—I see evidently, that "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners," and that "unto them that look for him, shall he appear the second time, without sin unto salvation;"—"the wages of sin is death," and consequently, that without repentance there is no remission of sin;—that we must be in the way of being redeemed from the power of evil, or the punishment will not be remitted;—that we must be delivered from sin itself, before we can be delivered from the wages of it, which is condemnation; for it is aptly expressed, "There is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." O! then my soul, surely there is required of thee a clean heart and a right spirit to be renewed within. How shall I bestow pains and anxiety about cleaning the exterior, whilst there lurks any filth in the interior. How shall I garnish the outside with an appearance of the beauty of holiness, and polish it after the similitude of a temple dedicated to the Lord, when it stinketh within by reason of the defilement there concealed.



Surely it was well said by the Lord to those hypocrites the Pharisees, and it equally applies to many in these days as to them ;—"Cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also:" and the latter part of this exhortation remains strikingly true,—for I am fully persuaded that all cleansing of the exterior, to be sincere and not hypocritical, must be the effect of a change of heart.

Twelfth month 4th.—Is it not beyond a doubt, that the Lord will make known his will to his poor dependent creatures, who with sighs and tears both day and night seek to serve him aright in all things? Surely He is no hard master, who does not evidently let his servants see what is required of them; nor, I am persuaded, does he at any time call for more arduous service, than he gives strength to accomplish. But then He must and will be sought unto, both in order that his will may be clearly known; and when known, that sufficient strength may be handed to enable to perform the same. All my desire is before the Lord; and he knows, and I believe, hears my prayers,—he sees my watchings and my weepings, and is witness to all my woes. I do indubitably believe that the present time is very precious to me,—that the hand, the mighty hand of the Lord is upon me for good,—that he is extending his gracious visitation to me his poor sinful creature, who has been bound by the bond of darkness, by the power of the destroyer. He is and has been arising for my help, for my deliverance; he has assuredly in some measure, brought me as it were out of the land of Egyptian and cruel bondage; and it appears to me impossible, unless by my own default, that his promises should fail in the midst of the fulfilment of them, and that he should leave me in the wilderness to die in my sins, to be destroyed by famine and want:—no, he has a fountain of living waters in store for me; and though I know not whether I may partake of that delicious and reviving consolation, out of the bare and barren rock, or on the fruitful and flowery banks; "Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation."

First month 27th, 1817.—"Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content," &c. I have admired the honest simplicity and plain speech, which the first Christians, and especially their great pattern, made use of to instruct their hearers: the reasoning of the apostle in this place is unanswerable, and the process of his thoughts appears to me so natural, as to be not easily misunderstood. The substance of that which he sets forth, is, without any strained exposition, nearly as follows:—the gain of riches is by no means godliness,

nor can it be a substitute for godliness in the end; on the contrary, godliness is profitable both here and hereafter, and therefore is alone true gain. Wealth and possessions last us only whilst we live: we had them not when we came into the world, and it is certain we can retain them no longer than whilst we are here. Seeing then, that soon, very soon, we must part with these things, let us provide "bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens which faileth not:" and as to every thing else, the riches, the enjoyments of this vain and passing scene, let us use these things as not abusing them; let us not be slaves to them, but rather render them of service to us. If we are rich, let us not hide our talent in the earth, but be rich in good works: and if we are in a middling condition as to outward circumstances, let us endeavour so to act, as to be able strictly to adopt the apostle's language,—“these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me.” Thus we shall be enabled more fully to understand, and more freely to accede to the text, “having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.”

Clapham, First month 29th, 1817.

Dear Sister, L. A. B.

— I am inclined to believe, that we are somewhat similarly situated in a spiritual point of view, and therefore that a few lines from one who desires to accompany you [thee] hand in hand through this painful pilgrimage, may not be unacceptable. On reading to thee the very reviving and refreshing Psalm which occurred to me yesterday, I was ready to think that we could hardly take with us too much courage on our perilous journey through life. Some may look forward at the commencement of their course, with no other feelings than those of cool complacency and comfort, as if our life whilst here was somewhat like a summer's day; others may view this state of being as a vivid and glittering scene of continued enjoyment, and like the gay and giddy butterfly, no sooner are they in existence than their sport begins. But the longer I am permitted to remain here, the truth of that view of life which the Scriptures present, appears more and more evident. Is it not there said to be a state of trial and of trouble? "Man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward." When I look as far before me, as my imperfect and short-sighted senses will enable me, I see mountains of opposition and difficulty, wastes of desolation and desertion, floods of affliction, and rivers of bitterness to wade through and to pass over,—the heavens above appearing black, and the horizon beyond veiled in obscurity. Whatever thou, or I, or any, may

think or say, be assured, that the Christian's path through this state of being to a better, is no other than that which it has always been, and will ever be; as it is said, "we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom." The path for thee and me, as well as for all, is not such as the flesh could wish, it is indeed a narrow path, too narrow for sense and self to walk in; there is in it but just room and that is all: it is not wide enough for us to pass pleasantly along with singing and with mirth; but may rather be compared to those narrow defiles between the snow-topped Alps, through which the traveller is directed to pass quickly, without trifling, without delay, and in silence, lest the huge masses above him, or the parts on which he stands, should in a moment consign him to destruction. If this be true, then, how very much occasion is there for us both to lay aside every weight, every thing that is likely to entangle, to ensnare, or to impede, in the race that is set before us. Is it not the case that we are less disposed to remember our providential escapes, and the many mercies that have been granted, than to murmur at the scantiness of our fare, or the bareness of our shelter. It does then appear to me especially necessary, that we should take with us all the strength and encouragement afforded. And where is this to be found, but as it were in the very bosom of perfection, in Him who alone is the true source of every good, and the resource in every evil. Let us consider what is said of Him in Scripture, that not one sparrow in his vast creation escapes the protecting hand, and the observing eye of its Maker. We have indeed a Parent, who is nothing but love, who created us out of the purest love, who preserves our natural lives every moment, whose love alone gave us immortal souls fitted for immortal joys, and through his Son opened a way, by which all might enter into the possession of eternal life and glory:—and it is expressly said, "no good thing will God withhold from them that walk uprightly." So that there is help, and hope, and happiness for all, whatever may be their condition or situation, excepting only such as wilfully persist in refusing or abusing extended and continual mercy.

J. B.

Second month 8th.—The very important decision, as to the line of life which I am to pursue, has often for this year past, given me much anxiety and inward exercise,—it has often been the cause of restless nights and anxious days, and even I have reason to believe to the injury of my health of body, as well as of mind. The anxiety which it excited in me, seems however to have been misplaced; because I ought to have been desirous to know

what was right to be done in the case, and how, and when, rather than to find out what could be contrived or thought of, by my own skill and management. There ought to have been more of that simple reliance and dependence, that trust and confidence, which is the behaviour and feeling of a babe towards its mother; how quiet, how calm it slumbers in her arms,—how safe and happy it is whilst there. My soul, take heed, lest after having experienced marvellous deliverances,—after having been, like the Israelites of old, led in the day-time "with a cloud, and all the night with a light of fire,"—after having been fed as with manna in the wilderness, and thy thirst quenched with water as from the rock,—take heed lest after all that has been done for thee, thou shouldst, through unwatchfulness or unbelief, in the least degree doubt the strength of that hand that upholds thee, the depth of that wisdom which is directing thee, the providence of that eye which slumbers not, the extent or continuance of that love, from which nothing but sin can disengage thee.

Whatever is to be thy lot, whatever task is assigned thee in the vineyard, wherever may be the scene of thy earthly tarrying, whether afflictions surprise thee as a flood, or thy pleasures be as a full flowing fountain, "hope thou only in God," for "from him cometh thy salvation." Neither give place to doubt or disbelief, nor to very much anxiety or disturbance of mind, respecting what may befall thee: never fear,—there is one that provideth for the sparrows, there is one to whom every event is in subjection,—He is good: from his hand "proceedeth not evil;" and he hath said, "there shall no evil happen to the just." In the mean time, in all thy watchings and waitings, in all thy wants and weariness, cease not to think of his mercies, his goodness, his tender dealings with thee; be mindful of these things; hide them not, be not ashamed of them; but show "to the generation to come, the praises of the Lord, and his strength and his wonderful works that he hath done." Surely, my soul, if thou doest thus, if thou rememberest that God has been and will be thy rock, and thy redeemer,—if thou trustest in the Lord, and makest him thy hope,—thou shalt "be as a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the rivers;" thou shalt prosper in thy day, and be established.

14th.—O! Lord! thou who knowest all things, the hearts of all men are open and bare in thy sight;—thou canst not be deceived;—thou lookest upon the heart;—thy regard is to the thought and intent of it, and thy controversy and thy judgment only with the evil thereof. O Lord! no one but thyself



fully knows, how fervently and frequently my soul doth crave of thee, that thou wouldst enable thy poor longing creature to step forward with faith and firmness in the way of thy requirings. Be present with me on this troubled ocean;—take me, I beseech thee, by the hand, saying, “fear not;” and if it be thy gracious will, be pleased to guard and govern me day by day, and hour by hour; that so through thy sufficient and availing help, I may be made willing and able to become thy true disciple and servant,—to follow a crucified Redeemer, through the tossings and tempests of this troubled scene, to a glorious and an immortal inheritance.

Second month.—I have been at this time, as at many others, very seriously impressed with the belief of the immediate influence of the Spirit of that great and gracious Being, who promised by the mouth of Him whom He sent into the world, that He should be, in his true disciples, a teacher of all things, and a guide into all truth. There has been felt this evening a still small voice, whispering in the secret of my soul, and gently opening what would be required of me. It has been given me to see with an unusual degree of clearness, that there will be an important post,—an honourable station for me to hold, if I am but faithful to the smaller discoveries of duty;—that the track, which for a short space I have been stepping in, though likely to lead me in the way of usefulness, is not the track appointed for me;—but that way will be opened, in due time and manner, to engage in a more extensive occupation, even a high and holy calling. I speak not here of a prospect of engaging publicly as a minister among Friends, but of religious usefulness generally. I desire not to be misunderstood, and thus to bring disgrace on the Truth, or the true lovers of it: I therefore can scarcely forbear to mention the view of my mind, as it is and has been on this matter. I have long mourned day and night, and have been grievously affected with the rapid advances which the enemy of souls is making, on the earth at large, on professing Christians generally. Under this impression my soul has been weighed down more or less, for the space of above two years with little intermission, even before I came into acquaintance with that Society, of which I was born a nominal member. My very health, I believe, has been at times injured by this constant anxiety; which was not to be erased or smothered by close application to business, or by society, or recreation. My concern has been much increased, by a review of the depth of perdition from which I have been plucked, even as a brand from the burning: and by the deplorable effects of sin

on those, with whom in my vile courses I kept company. Now I believe I may not with innocency or impunity quench, or reject, or make light of, such concerns and impressions as have their foundation in Truth, and the end of which is the advancement of Truth; nor am I at liberty to treat such thoughts as He did, who said, “Go thy way for this time, when I have a convenient season I will call for thee;” forasmuch as I know not that another opportunity may be afforded me. I therefore feel bound to encourage and cherish good impressions by all means and at all times. The oftener I have considered this important and extensive subject, the more strongly have I been induced to believe, that sacrifices will be called for at my hand; and that I shall be constrained to take up my daily cross in a peculiar manner, not only as to things which are wrong in themselves, but as to those which have a tendency to evil, and even in many things which religious people account innocent and allowable. O! when I read in the Scriptures the very excellent precepts and instructions given for us to follow; and when I examine closely the conformity of the lives of those by whom the precepts were delivered; my admiration at the coincidence in every minute particular, is, as it were, swallowed up in mourning, at the declension of the present professors of the same religious duties. By such considerations and reflections, my soul is stimulated very fervently and frequently to petition Him, who is the fountain of all good, that He would, in his own time and way, aid his own cause;—that He would be pleased to regard the sighs, the cries, and the tears of His exercised people—“His own elect, which cry day and night unto Him,” for the advancement, extension, and prosperity of every thing that is good.

Third month.—The subject of dress has very frequently come under my serious consideration,—it has of late been still more often and more deeply impressed on my mind; and as I have kept quiet and calm, singly desirous to know and to do whatever might be required, the matter has opened more and more clearly before my view; and some things with regard to it, which had been hitherto hid from me, whilst in a disposition to follow my own reasonings and fleshly wisdom, or concerning which I seemed then to be uncertain and undecided, now brighten up into clearness, so as to make me conclude that they are indisputably right for me to adopt. And surely, I may add, no sooner is a truth clearly manifested,—a duty distinctly marked out, than it should without hesitation be obeyed. With regard to my present dress, and outward appearance, it is evident there is much to alter. That dress,

from which my forefathers have, without good reason and from improper motives departed, to that dress I must return:—that simple appearance, now become singular, which occasioned and still continues to occasion the professor of the Truth suffering and contempt, the same must I also take up, and submit to the consequences thereof. Some may object to this, as if it were improperly “taking thought;” but I differ from them, not in the rule itself about the anxiety bestowed on clothing, but about the application of that rule. It is right, if the vain customs, folly and fashion of this world, have insinuated themselves into any branch of our daily conduct, to eradicate them, with every one of their useless innovations, whatever trouble, anxiety, or persecution it may cost us. But after we have once broken our bonds, we shall find a freedom from anxiety, trouble, or thought about our apparel, far surpassing the unconcern and forgetfulness, which seems to deaden the spiritual eye and apprehension of the slave of custom.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Third month 13th, 1817.—I THINK it right at this time to set down my opinions, or rather such opinions as I conceive to be sound and good, relative to the subject of business: I fear many of my near and dear friends have much mistaken my ideas on this matter; and perhaps I myself have not entirely acted up in every respect to that standard, into which the Truth leads those who follow its dictates. I believe that it is good for man to earn his livelihood by the sweat of his brow. If any one has, or ever comes to have sufficient for the support of himself or family,—by a sufficiency, I do not mean that which will satisfy all his *desires*, nor that which may raise his family above the sphere in which they were born, neither that which will furnish his children with large capitals to enter lucrative or extensive concerns,—but if he has wherewith to support himself and family in a moderate way of living, and to afford his children an useful education, the knowledge of some honest employ, and a little to begin with,—it is enough. I am inclined to think, that such an one should consider, whether it be not right for him to give up his business to his children, to faithful dependents, or to relations that want it; unless he be of a disposition that can hardly find occupation for his mind out of business, and in this case, let him continue to employ himself in it, taking only a small share of the profits. With respect to charity, let not any in trade nicely glean their vine of the fruit with which the Lord hath so abundantly blessed them;

but let them gather sufficient, and the rest let them leave for the portion of the poor. For my own part, if way open for my going into business, I believe it will be safest for me to engage in such an one as is moderately profitable, yielding regular returns, and tending to the general and substantial welfare of mankind, to the injury of none, and which will not take up much attention or anxiety. But especially I desire, that I may never sell to others any article which has an evil tendency, or which evidently and often is misapplied. With respect to this particular, I have lamented to see that Friends, who are fearful lest they should give way to the spirit of vanity, pride, and extravagance, and who on that account decorate neither their persons nor houses, nor even allow their servants to dress gaily,—that these should yet feel easy to deal to others, things which they disapprove of for themselves;—that they should not hesitate to buy and sell such articles, as they well know are inconsistent and incompatible with the pure teachings of that principle, by which they profess to be led. This matter has impressed me much. I know that by adopting this sentiment, I show my disapprobation of the conduct of many sincere-hearted friends, and I am also aware how few descriptions of occupation in life are entirely free from this objection. Nevertheless, I do believe that the sincere-hearted amongst us will not hesitate to give up that in their outward concerns, which they see and know to be an encouragement to evil in any shape. That these may come to see this matter, as clearly as I do at this present time, is the warm desire of my soul.

But the ground upon which I think it best for me to be not much engrossed in the things of this life, is this: having experienced no small share of the forbearance and mercy of the Lord, having been rescued and delivered from the pit of destruction, having sincere and fervent desires for my own preservation and salvation, as well as for that of my poor fellow-creatures every where,—I have inclined towards the belief, that the Lord will make use of me, if I am faithful to his requirings, in the way and time, and for the purposes, which He sees best. Under this impression it is, that I believe it right for me to sit loose to this world and its anxieties, and not to be too much entangled in them; lest I should be incapacitated for performing that service which may be shown to be my duty, or unable from my situation in business to undertake it. Though I scarcely think it my place to be out of business; yet I believe that it is good for some to be entirely released from it; and also, that well disposed persons should devote a considerable portion of their talents, time, and



money, to visiting and relieving the poor, and advancing and promoting the good of mankind in various other ways, according to their several gifts.

Fourth month 4th.—Last third-day week, the 25th of third month, was our quarterly meeting; at which precious opportunity I was much favoured to feel refreshment and instruction: the business of the meeting was conducted pretty much to satisfaction, and the conclusion of the last sitting, I have reason to remember. During the interval of ten days which has since elapsed, I have frequently had on my mind an inclination to record the awful and weighty posture, into which my soul was brought on that occasion, by the merciful visitation of a tender Father. Towards the latter part of the concluding sitting, after the business of the meeting was transacted, and a suitable pause had ensued, a minister got up with this most impressive language of the apostle,—“Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man’s work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man’s work, of what sort it is. If any man’s work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward.” I believe nothing was added to this by the Friend himself, though R. Phillips carried forward the subject a little with much force and vigour. After this another minister rose, and in a solemn and earnest manner applied the foregoing to the youth then present: he urged them in a powerful manner to look to their foundation, and to examine what hope they were laying up against the time to come: he reminded them how soon and how suddenly, even the young, the healthy, and the strong, were cut off; and desired them to recollect, that the Lord loved an early sacrifice, a sacrifice of time, and talents, and treasure,—a sacrifice of every thing: and he recommended to those who were ready to give up all and follow their crucified Saviour, fully to ascertain, that what they were about to offer, was required and called for at their hands; and in all their undertakings and designs, thoroughly to try “the fleece.” I cannot repeat what I felt upon this awful occasion, especially as the remarks came from one to whom I am not known, nor do I even know him by sight. I could scarcely speak to any one, after the meeting broke up; but walked home in fear and trembling, under a renewed impression and belief, that the Lord is yet as mindful of his poor frail creature as ever he has been. As I was returning to Clapham in deep retirement

of spirit, and in silent waiting before Him, “who giveth us all things richly to enjoy,” these texts of Scripture were revived in my recollection, and sealed very firmly the instructive communications which I had heard: “Let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself and not in another;”—“Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption: but he that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting.” I had also occasion to remember, that he it was, who came to Christ, heard his sayings, and did them, that was likened to a man, who built upon a rock.

[It appears, that about this period, the author felt it to be his duty to address his late schoolmaster; having when under his charge been guilty of much irregular and disreputable conduct; the reader may judge of his feelings on this occasion, by the following extracts from his letter to this person, after having left the school about four years.]

10th of Fourth month, 1817.

Esteemed friend, B. H. M.

Whilst taking up my pen to address thee, my mind is deeply affected by the vivid occurrence of past events, with all the crowd of feelings which spring up on this occasion. The mass of sin and folly through which I walked when under thy notice,—the exhortations, the reproofs, the forbearance, and the warnings, which I received and despised,—together with all the flood of remorse and repentance which has since intervened; and above all, the clear conviction, with which I am to this day favoured, that it was nothing short of “the mighty hand and the outstretched arm,” which brought about my deliverance;—these are a few, and but a few of the emotions that throng me, whilst attempting to relieve myself of a burden of duty which has long been due. The principal object in my view by this humiliating task, seems to be, to procure from thee, for all these numerous injuries which in time past have been offered thee, such a free and full forgiveness, as I am encouraged to believe, has been long since received from a still more injured Master, who is in heaven. Whatever opinion or disposition thou mayst entertain towards me, even if likely to be at all different from that which I have every reason to expect; yet such is the feeling of gratitude and respect, with which I remember thy wholesome discipline and indulgent attention to me when under thy protection, that it seems as though I could receive with equal regard the severest or the mildest reply which thou

mayst see best to make. Amidst all the discouragements, which in many ways attend the honourable and truly important post in which thou art placed, from the ingratitude, the perverseness, the corrupt and hardened insensibility to what is good, so often prevalent in early youth; still is there much cause to believe, that many more of this class are arrested in their perilous career, than return to acknowledge it, to such as have had the charge of them: and it is probable, that even some, of whom, after much solicitude and unwearied endeavours on thy part, thou hast given up almost every hope, shall yet live to fill up their various stations in society with satisfaction and with credit. When I look back upon my own past conduct, and take in all the various aggravating circumstances attending or connected with it, many of which thou art not acquainted with, I find myself able to express very little of what I feel, not only towards thyself, but towards all whom I have in any manner injured, whether more or less remotely.—With feelings of esteem for thyself and family, believe me to be thy friend,  
J. BARCLAY.

## TO A FRIEND.

Clapham, 22nd of Fourth month, 1817.

My dear —

In the season of sore affliction, which has at this time overtaken me, next to that consolation which springs from Him who is the source of all good, I know of nothing that affords such refreshment as the sympathy of dear and valued friends. And that I have thy tender sympathy and solicitude at this time of trial and of tears, I feel too well assured to doubt. How insignificant, how comparatively light did the adoption of any alteration in appearance and behaviour seem to my view, whilst they were looked upon at a distance: how little did I suppose, that such trembling and distress would have been occasioned, by so trifling a circumstance as the discontinuance of some paltry practices and habits, which were clearly seen to have had their origin in evil, or tended to it: how far was I from believing, that when the time should come for my standing forth, and showing under whose banner I had enlisted, in whose chosen regiment I served, there could be any other feeling in my heart but joy, that I was counted worthy to suffer whatever might be the consequence. Well, dear —, we have that which is better than words, by and through which we can communicate; why then need I add more. It may, however, relieve thee a little of what I know thou feels for me, to be assured, that in every respect as to this important matter, whether I look at the time, the

mode, or extent of this act of dedication, I have nothing for which to reprove myself as yet,—nothing that I could really and truly wish to be otherwise than it is; and that I have abundant cause for thankfulness and encouragement. Believe me, thy affectionate friend,  
J. B.

[In a letter to a Friend, dated about this time, he writes:—]

We have truly witnessed the “mighty hand,” and the “outstretched arm:” then let neither of us be using in effect any other language, than, “the will of the Lord be done.” Let us beware, lest we be in any wise counteracting the intention of Him, who intends better for us, far better, than we can possibly provide for ourselves. I believe there is a work assigned to each of us; that whilst to one is given a talent of one kind wherewith to occupy, to another may be handed one of a very different description; and as long as we are in our allotted stations, a blessing attaches to us. That thou and I may both be found not blindly choosing our own path, or laying down our own self-willed plans and projects; for that which we may call our welfare in life, is my earnest desire. For assuredly it is not the estimated usefulness or service which we may be rendering to ourselves and to society, by taking up this or the other course of life; but it is the being in our right places, which is acceptable. Or, as R. Barclay said, ‘If Paul, when his face was turned by the Lord towards Jerusalem, had gone back to Achaia or Macedonia, he might have supposed he would have done God more acceptable service, in preaching and confirming the churches, than in being shut up in prison in Judea; but would God have been pleased herewith? Nay, certainly. Obedience is better than sacrifice; and it is not our doing that which is good simply, which pleaseth God, but that good which he willeth us to do.’ J. B.

Clapham, Fifth month, 1817.

To J. F. M.

— I could say much to thee at this time, and could tell thee what a precious interval the present is more and more felt by me; how clearly matters seem daily to open before me, as a calm, willing, watchful state is abode under; how hard things are made easy, bitter things sweet, and how things that were expected to have brought suffering, have yielded little else but joy and rejoicing as “a song in the night.”

It must be an encouragement to thee, and a cause of joy to see how very graciously and tenderly I am dealt with day by day,—how



the task is proportioned to the measure of ability afforded,—and when the spark is cherished by obedience, and every thing that tends to damp or check is removed, how an increase in strength is experienced, and especially what sweet peace is at intervals the result. “What shall we render to Him,” for all our blessings and benefits; is there any thing too great to sacrifice, or that any of us shall withhold? May we become more and more learned, more and more deeply taught in that best of lessons, humility; for without this seasoning virtue, the highest attainments in religious knowledge, are likely to produce nothing short of additional condemnation. It is the humbled and contrited spirit that is an acceptable sacrifice, and said to be “precious in the sight of Him with whom we have to do.” Farewell.

J. B.

Fifth month.—I think I have heard a remark, made by some amongst us, tending rather to the injury and prejudice of them that give place to the sentiment,—namely, that persons should not let their outward profession and appearance outstep their inward and real condition and character. This sentiment sounds very well, and perhaps is sound with some qualifications. It is however in the neighbourhood of error; and therefore should be cautiously received and acted upon. For, verily, the reason why I or any others have adopted a strict appearance in dress, address, or other particulars, is not that we thought ourselves better than those who have not found this strictness expedient for them; nor is this strictness of profession among men, any certain or safe mark of taking up the cross of Christ. The cross that we have daily to take up, as followers of a crucified Saviour, is a spiritual cross, a cross to our appetites, passions, affections, and wills. The crucifying power will, no doubt, after cleansing us from all manifest wickedness, cleanse also and purify our very thoughts and imaginations, our very secret desires and latent motives; and amongst these, will it also destroy “the lust of the eye and the pride of life,” with all the fruits and effects thereof, which have crept into, and are so apparent, in the daily conduct of men of the world. Thus, no doubt remains with me, but that if we, as a society, were more universally subject to the operative and purifying power which we profess to believe in, there would be found more strictness even in minor matters than is now seen, and greater circumspection, seriousness, and a continual standing in awe.

13th.—I have been reading and have just finished the journal of the life and religious labours of Mary Alexander: I have not read

very many of the journals of deceased Friends, but from those which I have read, there has been impressed upon me many an instructive lesson. It is in such accounts that we gain that treasure of experience, which, without books or writings, would be only attainable by the aged. We see from these narratives, at one comprehensive view, the importance, the value, the object, and the end of human life. The travellers whose pilgrimages are described, seem to traverse their course again under our inspection: we follow them through their turnings and windings,—through their difficulties, discouragements, and dangers; through the heights of rejoicing, and depths of desolation, to which in youth, in age, in poverty, in riches, under all conditions and circumstances, they have been subject. From these accounts, we learn the many liabilities which surround us, and we may, (unless through wilful blindness,) unequivocally discover where the true rest and peace is to be found; and in what consists the only security, strength, and sure standing. How loudly do the lives and deaths of these worthies preach to us; they being dead do indeed yet speak, exhorting and entreating, that we who still survive, may lay hold and keep hold of those things, in which alone they could derive any comfort in the end. I have accompanied this dear friend, as it were, from place to place, and from time to time; I have seen her as she passed through the changing circumstances and events of each revolving year; and cannot but observe, that while she followed the gentle leadings of Israel’s Shepherd, giving up her own to His will, she found such peace, as encouraged and strengthened her under every distress, perplexity and darkness. It was an unwearied, unshaken belief in the being of an infinitely great and gracious Master, that enabled her, as it ever has, and as it does even now, enable all who rightly embrace it, to encounter the buffetings of the enemy, the perils and pains of the body, the exercises and conflicts of the soul, the uncertainties and exigencies of time, with the same calm confidence, and at seasons, even with triumphant joy. Thou, dear fellow traveller, dear to me in proportion as thou art near to Him who is very tender to us all, I do affectionately salute thee, whoever thou art that readest what is here written, whether a relation or a stranger, young or old, born in a higher or more humble station,—I affectionately entreat thee, that thou wouldst weightily lay these things to heart, whilst it is day unto thee,—whilst the light, which makes manifest what things are reprobable and what commendable, shines in thine heart,—whilst the Lord is in exceeding mercy condescending to

care for thee, and to plead with thee. O lay these things to heart. I testify as in the sight of Him who sees in secret, who knows thy and my inmost thoughts, that there is no other way to real rest amidst the contingencies of time, nor to an unfading reward, when this earthly tabernacle is dissolved, but in obeying Him, who said "I am the way, the truth, and the life:"—be warned—be prevailed upon, dear reader, by one, who acknowledges to thee that he himself has been in great depths of wickedness, through disobedience to the faithful unflattering monitor, and has found no peace, no deliverance, but through the low portal of obedience to the same. By this he has been from day to day encouraged and strengthened to leave off one evil practice and disposition after another, and has been helped in some very small degree to put on a better righteousness than his own: and he assures thee, that thy repentance and thy faith are to be measured by thy obedience to the appearance of Christ within, "the hope of glory," as he is received in his secret visitations, and obeyed in his manifested requirings.

16th.—In what words shall I express thy tender dealings, thy loving kindness, O Lord! to my poor soul? How shall I approach thee, how shall I speak of thee, or speak to thee, thou, the Giver of every good gift? Thou art far more gracious than any language can commemorate, or than any tongue can convey an adequate notion of. Thou hast wrapt me in a garment of praise; thou hast covered me with a sense of thy compassion. I am swallowed up with love of thee, with thy love towards me. Take pity upon the poor dust, which thou hast been pleased to animate with the breath of thy pure Spirit, and to make a living soul;—still condescend to continue thy fatherly protection—thy very tender mercies and forbearance, hitherto vouchsafed; and enable me and all thy poor creatures, to answer yet more and more thy end and purpose in creating us,—still more and more to love and adore thee, who art our all in all. May thy kingdom, thy power, and thy glory, yet more widely and triumphantly extend over every thing within us and without us;—may thy blessed will so come over all, that the period may again be known, when "the morning stars sing together, and all thy sons, O God, shout for joy!"

#### CHAPTER V.

Fifth month 20th, 1817.—O! How fervently, how earnestly have my cries and breathings ascended to Him, who is the fountain and source of all good, that all the true well-wishers to Zion's welfare, all the hearty, zealous, living

labourers may be preserved at this season,\* on the right hand and on the left; that they may be kept in their proper places, and in subjection to the great Master of our assemblies; that their spiritual eye and ear may be opened and enlivened by his healing hand; that their speech may be directed and their mouths filled in his own time and way, to his glory! May each one of these be kept low under his almighty hand; may that which is of the creature within them be abased, whilst that which comes from the source of life and glory, is exalted above every obstacle or opposition. O! thou, who art pleased at times to favour thy poor dependent little ones, those who have no hope, or help, or happiness, but in the smile of thy benignant countenance; be pleased at this time so to refresh their hearts with the influence of thy paternal presence, so to overshadow them with a sense of thy continued protection and care, that they may be severally encouraged and confirmed to serve thee with greater diligence, to devote themselves afresh to thy service and disposal, and more sincerely and unreservedly to say and to feel, that thy will is best in all things!

Sixth month 1st.—I have attended the sittings of this yearly meeting, as well as those of its large committee on Epistles, of which I was nominated a member; and am inclined in this manner to notice it. I think I never saw the importance of our assemblies, or indeed of any system of church government, in so strong a light, as previously to this yearly meeting. For many days before it commenced, my mind seemed engrossed with a sense of the weighty act of duty, which we were going to take in hand. I was encompassed with earnest desires and great exercise of soul, that every individual attendant there, might be availingly instructed and benefited, whether it should fall to his lot to be more or less prominently engaged; and that thus whatever we might do in word or deed, we might do all to the glory of the Lord, and for the promotion of his great cause. I was favoured to continue in the same tender feeling frame of mind, with but little diminution, to the conclusion of our solemn engagement: at times, the Lord did extend his precious gathering wing over his poor dependent little ones, and enabled some to sing in their hearts to his praise;—blessed be his holy name. O! what a privilege it is, to experience preservation on every hand, to be each of us kept in our proper places, and under our own fig tree, where none can make us afraid,—each of us abiding under our particular exercises, and upon the watch-tower.

\* Yearly Meeting.



A few lines affectionately offered and addressed to every young person whom they may concern.

Sixth month 10th, 1817.

Dear fellow traveller,

In a little of that love which has been extended to me by Him, who "showeth mercy unto thousands;" I send thee these few lines; sincerely desiring that the eye of thy soul may be so effectually opened and enlightened by the healing hand of the great physician, Christ Jesus, as to enable thee clearly to see the things which belong unto thy peace, before they are hidden from thee.

Dear fellow traveller, dost thou not at times, when thy mind is in some degree disengaged from the round of sin and folly, or when thy natural flow of health and spirits is somewhat broken, dost thou not feel within thee convictions of thy wickedness, and condemnation for the same? Hast thou not intelligibly heard at such intervals a language which whispers, 'all is not right?' Hast thou not felt that the end of these things, in which thy gratification is placed, can never be peace,—can never be anything short of death, eternal death to the soul that persists in them? Be assured then, that although these are thy secret feelings, thou art still the object of infinite condescension and loving kindness. He who desires not the death of the evil-doer, but the death of the evil, is still near thee, notwithstanding all thy rebellion; following thee in thy ways which are those of sin, and running after thee as a shepherd, in search of his strayed sheep. These pleadings of divine grace, these convictions of the Spirit of Christ, which in spite of thy concealment of them are pursuing thee, and in spite of thy endeavours to appease them by partial reformations are galling thy soul,—even these are the evidences of His gracious hand upon thee, who wounds only to heal, and whose very judgments are in mercy. O! that thou mayst come to see with undoubted clearness the truth of this; that thou mayst be encouraged and emboldened unreservedly to follow that, which is, as I fully believe, shown thee to be right and acceptable in the sight of the great Judge of all the earth. Assuredly, He has shown thee, what He is requiring at thy hands, and what his righteous controversy is with: He requires of thee nothing but that which has separated thee from Him, the only source and centre of true joy,—nothing but that which, if not forsaken, will embitter thy present life, and plunge thee into utter darkness after it. Dear fellow traveller, it may be that thou hast been, within these few years, my companion in the walk of wickedness; that I have taken thee by the arm, have helped thee forward in the broad and beaten track

which leadeth downwards; that we have taken delight to set at defiance the commandments of a great Creator; and have yielded ourselves, and all that we possess, the ready instruments of satan:—our time, our talents, our means, our youth, our health, our peace, have been freely sacrificed at the altar of our soul's enemy. Be then entreated by one who has himself trod in this path; who has hurried forward with impetuosity down this fatal current, who, borne by the rushing waters to the very brink of a tremendous precipice, has been there snatched from the very mouth of destruction. There is indeed, dear young person, neither help, nor hope, nor happiness, even in this state of existence, but in the favour of Him, in whose favour is life; in implicit obedience to the divine will as far as it is made known to us. It is to no purpose that we reckon ourselves, or are reckoned by others as belonging to this sect or the other church, to this class or the other division of professing Christians—if we fall short of those unalterable marks and evidences of true Christianity, by which we shall be known and distinguished in that great day, when every gloss will be removed, and every ceremony and shadow shall fade before the eternal sun of truth. We read that at that awful crisis, there shall be but two names or classes, by which the inhabitants of the whole world shall be known; the sheep and the goats,—the good and the bad. Well, dear fellow traveller, it remains for each of us, if we have any desire that this transient state of being may terminate in an unfading inheritance, to lay aside all the false and foolish reasonings, all the vain suggestions, the cheating insinuations of an unwearied adversary; and with sincerity and simplicity of soul, to take up the holy resolution to seek and to serve the Lord our God, during the few remaining days that may be allotted us; and to this end, that we be found daily inquiring in his temple, the temple of our own hearts, and waiting upon him there, where his kingdom must come and his will be done; that so we may feel his presence and power, to direct and to guide us into the saving knowledge of himself. That thou and I, as well as all our poor brethren upon the face of the earth, may be of that gloriously happy number, who shall inherit an eternity of joy unspeakable in the kingdom of heaven, is the earnest desire of one who feels himself thy soul's true friend.

TO A FRIEND.

Clapham, 18th of Sixth month, 1817.

Whilst thinking of writing to thee, a part of a beautiful meditation of the Psalmist, on the works and wonders of Providence, occurs to

me. After dwelling much on the variety and immensity, the order, the harmony, the excellent provision and appointment of all things both in heaven and upon the earth, the poor servant cries out, as if unequal to the task; "O Lord! how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all; the earth is full of thy riches." I remember it is somewhere said, "all thy works shall praise thee, and thy saints shall bless thee;" and whilst we thus see that the heavens declare his glory, and the firmament his handy work,—whilst we see that all his works praise him, are we not convinced that his saints should likewise bless him? Are we not abundantly persuaded, that man also,—whom we now see the only flaw, the only speck in this vast production, perverted in himself, and perverting the rest of the creation,—was originally made pure and perfect in his kind, and did then glorify his Maker. Oh! how fully do I believe, how clearly do I see, that it is only as we poor creatures come to be renewed in the spirit of our minds, and to experience the putting on of the new man, which after the image of Him that made us, is created in righteousness and true holiness; that we can rightly worship, acceptably praise, and truly give glory to so infinitely righteous and holy a Being with whom we have to do. Thus alone are we brought inexpressibly to feel the beauty of those scriptural or other writings, which dwell on the works of the creation: thus also are the faculties of our mind opened, enlarged, and quickened to examine, to perceive, and to adore, the great first cause of all. What a blessed experience, when every thing within us and without us, the stars above us, the dust under our feet, seem all to join with us, and to show forth that Power which has made them, and which supports and sustains this system, this machinery of the universe. Surely the revolutions and vicissitudes to which the spiritual as well as the natural kingdom seems subject, the turnings and overturnings, the storms and the calms, the darkness and the brightness, the dreary and the cheering prospects, the drooping and the delightful seasons, are equally in the hollow of his hand, who is said to be "all in all." He saith to the raging winds, "peace be still," and to the foaming billow, "thus far shalt thou come, but no further." What then should be the invariable language of our hearts; what should be the clothing of our spirits day and night, in all extremities, and under all the circumstances to which we are constantly liable, but "the will of the Lord be done." O! that we might be privileged to continue from day to day, and all day long, in such a prostrated, humbled, reverential frame of spirit, as would indubitably evince our belief in the pre-

sence, protection, providence, and power of Him, whom we profess to serve. Thy affectionate friend,  
J. B.

24th.—I think I have never felt in so reduced a condition, in so pitiable a state of mind, as during some intervals of late; at this time especially, it seems as though I were at the very boundary where distress of soul ends, and where utter darkness and desolation begin. Still is there something like hope;—still is there, through the infinite mercy of Him, whose kingdom and whose power are far above the dominion of the wicked one, something resembling the faintest glimmer of a spark of light, through all the horror and gloom which reigns. O Lord! this once help me; condescend to bless me, and be with me, and I will follow thee whithersoever thou leadest. O! Lord God of my fathers, I have read of thy goodness towards those who sought thee, towards those who trusted in thee, in times that are past; I have seen, and I have known, and am sure, that it shall ever be well with those who have no help, or hope, or happiness, but in and by and through thee, the source and centre, the spring and the river of all consolation and refreshment.

25th.—I attended our quarterly meeting held this day, under a weight of discouragement, without being able to feel anything alive within me. It seemed to some, however, to be an open time, a time of refreshment; the truly hungry and thirsty were shown what a blessed condition they were in; and they were directed to the fountain of living waters, the living bread from heaven, whereby they might be nourished up into eternal life. There was also a supplication put forth on behalf of some, who were under discouragement and doubting whether they ought not to enter upon some important duty; and a desire for such, that they might "go forth in this their strength," in the deep sense of their own weakness;—which much reached me. The sittings for business were no less trying to me, and I believe to some others, who mourn at the untempered, (if I may use that expression,) or rather perhaps unleavened manner, in which these our meetings for the promotion of good order, Christian conduct and conversation, are sometimes held. Oh! how little of an inwardly gathered and retired disposition do we see; how little of that weighty concern and exercise of soul—that abiding under the overshadowing canopy of pure fear, which were witnessed by those amongst us in former times, and spoken of in these words of William Penn: 'Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves, especially the young convinced. Often had we the burden of the word



of the Lord to our neighbours, relations, and acquaintances, and sometimes to strangers also: we were in travail for one another's preservation, treating one another as those that believed and felt God present; which kept our conversation innocent, serious, and weighty. We held the Truth in the spirit of it, and not in our own spirits, or after our own will and affection. These were bowed and brought into subjection, insomuch that it was visible to them that knew us; we did not think ourselves at our own disposal, to go where we list, or say or do what we list or when we list: our liberty stood in the liberty of the Spirit of Truth; and no pleasure, no profit, no fear, no favour, could draw us from this retired, strict, and watchful frame. Our words were few and savoury, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. I cannot forget the chaste zeal and humility of that day;—oh! how constant at meetings,—how retired in them,—how firm to Truth's life as well as to Truth's principles!\* Thus far William Penn; and oh! that we could say, that anything like all this, did really and truly pervade our conduct now, as a religious body.

Clapham, 30th of Sixth month, 1817.

Respected friend, Thomas Shillitoe,

Having fulfilled the object which induced me to send the preceding lines, I am inclined to add a few more; which I am ready to believe I should have done well to communicate to thee, when last in thy company. I faintly recollect, many years past, when but very young and at school, hearing thee (I think I cannot be mistaken as to its being thyself,) in a meeting for worship at Wandsworth, largely and powerfully engaged in testimony. I also remember my own feelings at that season, how ready I was to laugh thee to scorn, and to despise thee. But I have been met with, like poor Saul; and am now brought to such a pass, that I cannot find satisfaction or even safety, in any thing short of a warm and unreserved espousal of that cause, which I but lately made light of. The subjects to which thou wast concerned to call the serious attention of Friends at the last yearly meeting, have been deeply felt by me; and I may truly say, that nearly as long as I have been privileged by an acquaintance with the houses and families of Friends, which, though I was born a member, is not long, I have at times almost mourned at the great relaxation from Gospel strictness, and simplicity of living, so evident amongst us. Surely I have thought if we were to cast out the crowd of opinions, which

have got the first place in our minds,—opinions founded or cherished by custom, example, and education in the good, and by vanity, or something worse, in the bad; and if we were coolly and calmly to listen to the silent dictates of best wisdom, we should clearly see, that the holy principle which we profess (to use the words of John Woolman,) inevitably 'leads those, who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended.' I venture to say, we should then find a greater necessity laid upon us, to exercise self-denial in what we are apt to think little matters, than is now often thought of; we should have such a testimony to bear against superfluity, extravagance, ostentation, inconsistency, and the unreasonable use of those things which perish with the using, as we now profess to have, against the more flagrantly foolish customs and fashions of the world. Whatever some may think in regard to these things, I feel assured, that he, who in his outward appearance or behaviour, bears any remnant of a testimony against the customs and fashions of the world, ought to be ashamed of himself, if he belies his avowed sentiments, by a departure from simplicity in the furniture of his house and way of living. Wilt thou excuse my saying a little more, dear friend, on so important a subject as this has long felt to me? I have been almost ready to blush for some, at whose houses I have been, where pier-glasses with a profusion of gilt carving and ornament about them, delicately papered rooms with rich borders, damask table-cloths curiously worked and figured extremely fine, expensive cut glass, and gay carpets of many colours, are neither spared nor scrupled at. Some indeed seem to be desirous of disguising and excusing their violation of the simplicity, which their better feelings convince them they should practice, by saying, that this or the other new or fashionable vanity is an improvement on the old article,—that this gay and gaudy trumpery will wear and keep its colour better than a plainer one, or that this precious bauble was given them by their relations. Thus are they endeavouring to satisfy the inquiries of those who love consistent plainness, and to silence that uneasy inmate, the unflattering witness which is following them. I have been much exercised and troubled on my own account, and on that of others, as to these matters; and have been very desirous that we may all keep clear of these departures.

Thus thou seest I have felt much freedom in addressing thee, even like that of an old acquaintance; and hope I shall never want this honest openness towards such as are examples in conduct and conversation; for

\* William Penn's Rise and Progress.

when there is a want in this respect, it seems with me to indicate a want of that, which brings with it boldness and confidence towards all men, even a fear of One who is greater than man. With desires that, in receiving and reading this communication from one who is so young in years and experience, thou mayst be encouraged in thy arduous labour, in which I have felt much sympathy with thee; and trusting it may be blessed by the reward of peace to thyself, and by the return of many a backslider to the living fountain; I remain thy sincere friend,

J. B.

Seventh month 4th.—In reading the 13th chapter of the first book of Kings, I have at this time been much instructed, and am ready to take the lesson to myself as a warning or special admonition. Herein we see, that it availed nothing in respect to the future, that the prophet had, though so lately, been favoured with a divine commission, and was hitherto upright in the faithful discharge of that arduous duty which devolved upon him from his Lord,—even that of openly proclaiming the vengeance of the Almighty against the idolatry that had overtaken the people,—and boldly asserting the destruction of the priests even to their faces, and in the presence of their king; saying to him in reply to his invitation,—“If thou wilt give me half thine house, I will not go in with thee; neither will I eat bread or drink water in this place:”—yet after all, he was weak enough to give up his own clear convictions of duty, as revealed in and to himself, the truth of which was indubitably evinced and sealed by the miracle which attended the partial performance of them, and to prefer obeying the old prophet, before compliance with “the word of the Lord.” Oh! how greatly have I longed in a peculiar and especial manner for myself, as I am now situated and circumstanced, that I may stedfastly adhere to no other law but the law written on the heart; and closely attend to the secret dictates of best wisdom alone. For assuredly there is no safety, but in implicitly giving up to the reproofs of instruction, which are and ever will be the way to life.—“Be ye followers of me,” says the apostle Paul; but he adds,—“even as I also am of Christ;” intimating surely that the examples of others in life and conversation are to be followed, only so far as they accord with the example and precepts of Him, who said, “I am the light of the world,”—“whilst ye have the light believe in the light,”—“walk while ye have the light.” So that in looking back at such acts of dedication, as have been, according to my belief, required at my hands, and in contemplating the peace which has ensued after even

the smallest surrender, when the sacrifice has been offered out of a sincere and upright heart; I have earnestly, and I may truly say above every other earthly consideration, desired that nothing may be suffered to hinder me—to turn me aside, even in trifling as well as in great matters and concerns, from carefully, closely, unremittingly attending to, and abiding by, the counsels and teachings of that divine principle, even the Spirit of Christ, which is given to every one for his guide in the way of salvation. I have found amongst many other acts and false suggestions and temptations, which the enemy makes use of to deter us from giving up ourselves to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, one which is much talked of and acted upon by many, through their own inexperience, and the deceit of the prince of darkness; namely, that these leadings and secret influences and inspirations, are not distinguishable from the workings of our own mental or rational powers; and if they are distinguishable, that these persons have not felt them or known them. Now in answer to this, which has been my own delusion, I may say, that any one who has for a long season habitually stifled by disobedience this divine monitor, cannot expect to hear or to understand so plainly its voice, as those do who have for a long period listened to its secret whispers, and surrendered themselves unreservedly to its injunctions: these can testify, that they follow no uncertain vapour or idle tale; but that its reproofs are to be plainly perceived, and its incitements clearly to be felt; and that the peace they witness cannot be imitated, neither can it be expressed to the understandings, or conceived by the imaginations, of such as have none of this blessed experience. Nor let any poor, seeking, sincere, or serious minds be discouraged, that they do not upon submission immediately or very quickly feel what they wait to feel, even the arising of that secret influencing, actuating, constraining and restraining power or spirit of the Lord. Let them not be discouraged if this be their case, nor be dismayed if even after some considerable sacrifices and trying testimonies of sincerity, they find not that rich reward of peace which they had expected. Let such remember, it is written,—“he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved;” now where there is a moment’s enduring only, and that previous to or whilst in the performance of what is required, this cannot be called “enduring to the end;” but it is that “resistance unto blood,” as it were, in faith and faithfulness, that “patient continuance in well doing,” in defiance of difficulties, discouragement, darkness, doubt, and distress, which will give us the victory, and will make us through the mercy of God



in Christ Jesus, heirs of that eternity of peace, and rest, and joy, which we know is prepared for such as overcome.

Ninth month 6th.—For more than a week past, I have been plunged by the permission of best wisdom, into such a depth of darkness and discouragement, without any perceptible glimmer of alleviation or ray of comfort, that my poor, tossed, troubled soul seems on the very point of giving up the contest, and losing hold of its only support and security. Whilst the heavens are as brass, and the earth as it were iron, what is frail, helpless man to do for himself? It seems to my view, that there is nothing left for him to do to aid himself, or to deliver himself out of his forlorn situation, but to sink down into his own nothingness; and there, as in the dust, to remain all the Lord's determined time, until He shall see meet to appoint unto him "beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." When I took my pen to write what has thus been written, I did not expect to come to the preceding conclusion, or that any such reflection would arise out of the subject. The Lord grant that what I have written, may be more than mere words; and that through and over all difficulty and distress, I may come forth the wiser and the better, and more devoted to his disposal, and more patient under his dispensations.

17th.—I believe myself called upon to bear an open, unequivocal, unflinching testimony, not only against all pride, extravagance, ostentation and excess, but also in a peculiar manner against all the secret insinuations and covered appearances, under which they are creeping in, and growing up amongst us as a Society. I have for years believed, that the declension amongst Friends from the true standard of simplicity is great; and I am of the mind, that if they had diligently hearkened unto, and implicitly obeyed the dictates of best Wisdom they would have been led to 'apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended.' I believe that it is my duty to live in such a humble, plain, homely, simple manner, as that neither in the furniture, food, nor clothing used, any misapplication of the gifts of Divine providence be admitted or encouraged.

Ninth month.—"Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge;" and where is an end to praising the Lord for his mercy, which "endureth for ever," and which is abundantly shed abroad, to the rejoicing of the hearts of those that seek to serve him, and to the great comfort of their souls in the midst of much tribulation. O! that there may be more and more reliance, unshaken, immoveable reliance on Him, who

thus daily scatters and profusely deals out tokens of his loving kindness. That there may be an increase of faith experienced, an increase of resignation proportioned to the nearer approach of perplexity and difficulty and embarrassment on every hand. And now when the waves of affliction run high, and the floods seem irresistible, may the Lord Almighty, who "is mightier than the noise of many waters," in his own time lift up a standard against them,—saying, "thus far, but no farther." Surely, He who remains as ever to be the only sure "confidence of all the ends of the earth,"—He who can overrule events for the good of those that sincerely seek him, will not overlook or despise any of those who desire to look unto, and who lean upon Him alone in all their troubles.

"O! Lord God of my fathers, art not thou God in heaven? and rulest thou not over all the kingdoms of the heathen? and in thy hand is there not power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee?" Art not thou my God, art not thou my joy, my delight, my glory, the crown of my rejoicing? Art not thou He, that hath hitherto helped me, that hath brought me out of much evil, that hath inclined my heart to seek thee, and my soul to love and fear thee? Wilt thou not arise for my help in the time of trouble, of temptation, of darkness, of distress, from whatever cause these may proceed, whether by thy permission, or by thy appointment? Lord, thou knowest perfectly, what are the causes of my present disquietude, and how to dispose of all things for the best, both as to the present and as to the future: thou knowest how poor, and weak, and utterly incapable I am to help myself in any exigency that may arise; and that without thee, nothing but confusion, and sorrow, and desolation, is likely to be my portion: make me yet more deeply and lastingly sensible of this, and that "I have no might against this great company that cometh against me, neither know I rightly what to do." I beseech thee, renew daily and hourly my faith and dependence, and watchfulness unto prayer, and my love and fear of thee. Arm me with thy glorious impenetrable armour; and make me strong in thee and in the power of thy might; that through thy abundantly sufficient grace and truth, I may be fit for all occasions and trials, to which thou mayst see meet to call me; that so, my eye being continually upon thee, thy precious cause may prosper, and thy name be exalted by me, in me, and through me, both whilst my soul is confined in this frail body, and for ever and ever. Amen.

#### CHAPTER VI.

NINTH month 20th, 1817.—Truly do I rejoice in believing, that I find myself losing

more and more of that authority and ability to do anything for the service of the blessed cause, which proceeds from the creature; and in this happy experience, I see advancement as well as safety. O! that all shadow and appearance of confidence in the fleshly part, may be still further removed; that there may follow a yet more firm establishment on the Rock of sure strength, the immoveable foundation of all true wisdom. Man may possibly think in his reasoning that a smooth path is best for the Christian pilgrim; little knowing how it is, that "we must through much tribulation enter the kingdom,"—except perhaps as it respects outward affliction. Yet we do see, and some of us feelingly know, that deep plungings with buffetings and toilings and groanings of spirit, are the "bonds and afflictions that await us," down to the final hour, it may be, of our departure hence; and we can of a truth declare at times, that such heavily distressing dispensations are by the permission of the Author of all good in love to our souls; and we are sometimes enabled, in the blessed moment, when we feel ourselves on the banks of deliverance, to extol His holy name; who hath made us a path through the mighty waters, and sustained us in the wilderness. How shall my soul forbear to sing aloud unto Him, who has preserved it in its travel through a land of pits and of snares, through unspeakable darkness, and an almost utterly disconsolate state; and has given me this hour of rest and of peace, this little interval of refreshment and joy and great consolation. O! that this precious season had never been graciously given unto me, rather than that I should after such tender mercies, turn away from following the Lord in the "little moment," when he may again be pleased to "hide his face."

London, 23d of Ninth month, 1817.

My dear friend, J. F. M.,

There are some bright spots in this wilderness journey, and I think thou wilt recognize them by my faint description; when as from an eminence we are enabled to see to a considerable distance both before and behind us; feeling ourselves as it were removed into a purer atmosphere. We can even distinguish the little stumbling blocks that have impeded our progress, the rough and rocky ground that has sorely wounded our feet, the very brambles and briary thickets that have jaded us, the narrow passes and threatening precipices through which we have escaped, and on the edge of which we have been preserved. Here it is, on this interesting elevation, whilst the eye of the mind is rapidly traversing over and tracing the windings of the road by which

we have come, that we remember where and when "the troubles of our hearts were enlarged;" we call to mind the perplexity that befel us, the secret conflicts that attended, and the temptations that waylaid us;—we can precisely point out the spot where "we sat down by the rivers of Babylon," where "we wept when we remembered Zion," and "hanged our harps upon the willows," and refused to be comforted;—we can tell where it was that we "fell among thieves, who stripped and wounded" us, and left us, as it were, half dead; and we shall not easily forget where the good Samaritan found us, and had compassion on us, and how tenderly he treated us, how diligently he took care of us, and provided for our wants. Which of us at such a time can fail to discover, and to admire the hand that is over us continually for good; how seasonably it has been stretched out for our deliverance, for our encouragement, when there seemed no one near to help, and nothing to do but to give up the tedious travel. It is in such a season that we are truly enabled to "praise Him, who is the help of our countenance and our God;" and to repose anew in Him our confidence and trust for the time to come. Thy very affectionate J. B.

28th.—During the present and past fight of afflictions, which the Lord has in wisdom appointed unto me, I have at times, through the assisting grace of Him, who has been pleased to fight for me, maintained a fierce and desperate contest; and in degree have been enabled to stand firm against the fury of the enemy. Yet at other seasons, after having been a long time under arms, and very weary with watching and fasting, there has been a relapse or retreat experienced; and the ground that had been gained by hard fighting, has been lost or relinquished. How difficult at such a moment, when harassed and oppressed, faint and ready to drop, to keep from utterly falling away, and fleeing before the emboldened adversary; who, exulting in his success, is proudly pushing forward at this critical juncture, to make the most of his advantages. But firmly persuaded I am, that with the Lord there is sufficient strength and power to enable us to overcome all our enemies; I do very earnestly desire to trust in Him, and not be afraid, to repose my reliance upon him afresh day by day, to keep near to Him at all times, to be very faithful unto his requirings, to be very patient in waiting for his aid and counsel, and increasingly watchful against the snares of the enemy. And may His blessing come upon me, and prevent my utter destruction, which at times seems fearfully impending. Where is there hope, but in the Lord!



29th.—How shall words set forth the dispensation of desolation as to anything like good, that seems to have come over my soul? Darker and darker,—deeper and deeper; what will be the termination of this distress? Yesterday, I attended Westminster meeting; upon sitting down, my sorrows began to arise like a whirlwind, and I was ready soon to burst into tears, exclaiming in secret, “the Lord hath forsaken me, he hath utterly forgotten and rejected me.” After a time of great trial and tossing, a young Friend got up with these words, “Fear not, for I am with thee, be not dismayed for I am thy God; I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteousness.” Soon after which, F. Smith rose, and in a very tender manner addressed the poor, afflicted, tossed, tried servants, whose conflict he described as being so heavy, and their souls almost in despair; he expatiated on the number of promises contained in Scripture for such as these, if they still continued faithful and steadfast to the end, if they still persisted in hoping in, waiting for, and trusting to the Lord alone. He said he believed there were some present, whose language was,—“the Lord hath forsaken and forgotten me:”—with much more for the encouragement of such to patience and perseverance under suffering. As for me, I seemed utterly unable to receive any comfort or hope, as if all hold was gone and out of reach, and like poor Job, who refused to be comforted. This evening, after a day of heavy exercise and tears, my brother read a portion of the Psalms. Whilst he was preparing to read, my heart said, ‘It is all over with me, there is no good at all for me; I am rejected of the Lord, his presence and blessing are departed:’—however, when he began to read, the first words awfully ran through me, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, why art thou so far from helping me, and from the words of my roaring? O my God! I cry in the day time, but thou hearest not, and in the night season I am not silent.” Then I was somewhat comforted in remembering that this was the language of David in great distress; yet he was not forsaken, but was greatly helped every way by the Lord in the appointed time.

Ninth month.—It is good to trust in the name of the Lord, to repose in his arm of strength, his parental tenderness and compassion. It is good to have our many strong holds invaded, our misplaced confidence unhinged, our secret props struck away; that we may more closely cling unto that which is not of ourselves, nor of our brethren, but comes only from the source of all might and of all mercy. Oh! it is good to have all sense of hope and of help withdrawn,—to be laid low in

the dust with all our pride and selfishness; that we may feel that which is good to flow in upon us in the Lord’s own time as an unmerited gift, and thus be enabled to give the praise to Him alone, from whom come grace and glory, and every good thing. How great is my desire, that the Lord would rather give me darkness and distress; than that, enjoying his favour and blessing, I should be unmindful of the Giver, or grieve him by saying or doing anything inconsistent with his blessed will concerning me.

Date uncertain.—My mind has been much burdened, and weightily affected with the present aspect of things, relating to the growth and prosperity of the ever blessed truth; and not only do I allude to the low state of things within my own bosom, and in the circle of our privileged Society, but also in the world at large. Under a very humbling sense of the infinite condescension, which still spares us from day to day, and from year to year, and of the unfathomable compassion which still pities, helps, preserves, and provides for us with paternal tenderness, I am ready to cry out,—‘Who will not love, and fear, and obey thee, O! Lord; and give themselves up to be moulded into accordance with thy blessed will?’ But Oh the ravages, the desolations, which the enemy hath effected on the face of all the earth; how hath he blighted the blooming bud, and blasted the richest grain, and parched up the fruitful field; so that the time of harvest is become the hour of desolation and darkness! Here and there, through the gloom of this vast howling wilderness, a patch of green revives the drooping eye, and cheers the desert scene; here and there, amidst the straw and stubble in this great field, the earth, a few single ears are to be discovered raising their heads, and are just sufficient to show what the glory of the crop and of the harvest would have been, had it escaped the destroyer’s hand, and not been trampled down by the wild beasts.

Tenth month 2nd.—“When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing; then said they among the heathen, the Lord hath done great things for them. The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. Turn again our captivity, O Lord! as the streams in the south. They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.” Oh! the precious applicableness to my present condition, which my soul perceives, and warmly feels in the above written Psalm. I seem as though I dare not omit testifying of the abundant riches of his mercies and of his grace,

which the Lord hath profusely shed upon me to the joy of my heart, to the very lighting up of my countenance. Weeping may endure in the night season, but joy cometh in the morning, when the Sun of righteousness ariseth with healing in his wings, and gladdens the face of all things, making the whole heritage of God shout for joy. My soul did, during the several opportunities which were permitted us through this quarterly meeting, earnestly crave and wrestle for a blessing, even for the slightest token of the Lord's compassionate regard; and Oh! how sweetly he has condescended to answer my petitions, my cries, my longings for a little of the living bread,—that precious power and presence, which is only of and from him, and is in his wisdom allotted or withheld. Much instruction and comfort were also verbally conveyed at this time; and I was rejoiced to see some young persons, who appeared to have the cause of truth and righteousness at heart, as well as their own individual advancement and preservation in the strait and narrow way in which they have happily set their feet. Yet alas! what a number of this class seem to be ready to leave us! I believe with some confidence, that but few of those who do leave our religious Society, truly thrive in a spiritual sense:—not that I confine true religion to our own profession by any means; but that I believe there is that grace and truth to be met with, in a diligent and patient waiting for the teachings of the heavenly Guide, which they who leave us are in great measure unacquainted with, or do not much regard or value. This I have found to be the case, even with some of the few who profess to leave us on conscientious grounds. But if all left us only for something, which, after solemn inquiry, they believed to be nearer the truth, how few should we have to lament the loss of. I was very earnestly desirous for our dear young Friends, during our sitting together in the youths' meeting, appointed at the request of Mary Dudley, as well as during the first sitting for worship; that they might come up, in the strength and power of the living principle of grace and truth, to the help of the great cause;—that they might in some measure make up for the deficiency of standard bearers apparent among our sex; even by such a steady, firm, consistent life and conversation,—by such an abiding in the blessed life and power and strength of the gospel, as is now too rarely to be discovered amongst us.

Same date.—I have been fearful of leaving any thing on record behind me, but what upon clear conviction has appeared to be right; and have often seen the necessity of looking as closely to what is thus committed to paper, as to anything that may be said or

done, it being my earnest desire, that nothing may even in secret be done or said, but what will bear the test of being brought to light. It may seem to many, who have not hitherto been much, if at all, brought under the reducing and refining power of Truth, that such heavy exercises as have been permitted to come upon me, and as have come upon others, are nothing but the effects of a weak mind and a bewildered imagination; and such may not enter into any understanding or feeling of these trials, which are described in such strong terms. These may be yet more surprised when they read of such sudden changes and revolutions, as some experience in their religious states. Yet in the natural world, how often do we see the greatest storm preceded, and at other times followed, by the smoothest calmest weather. The analogy is striking, and it may be safely concluded, that all these reverses are designed to produce a beneficial effect.

17th.—About a month ago I was at a young Friend's house, concerning whose zeal and sincerity in the blessed cause, I have not a doubt. He has appeared in the ministry, I believe acceptably to Friends in general, and is a promising, growing character. In the course of much intimate conversation, we approached the subject of prayer. Upon which he asked me, whether I did not think that the end which Friends had in view, by the practice of private retirement, was vocal prayer, that is, the outward act and attitude of kneeling down and using words. I felt very much at this question; and an awfulness came over me, and exercise, lest either this person or myself should be adventuring, without taking off our shoes upon holy ground. In replying to him, I could scarcely refrain from using the language of William Penn, 'Words are for others, not for ourselves, nor for God, who hears not as bodies do, but as spirits should.' It is the heart or soul that can alone cry acceptably through the drawings of that spirit, which inclines to good and to the source of all good; the mouth may speak out of the very abundance of the heart:—there is nothing however in words as such, nor in outward silence as such. So that our prayers are none the better for being clothed in words, nor the less likely to be accepted when not clothed in words. There may be words when none should be used, and there may be a silence when words are called for; and herein stands the snare which should be carefully guarded against.

Eleventh month 10th.—I think I have seen the danger of young men or women dwelling anywhere else than in the valley of humility. Human learning, human attainments and excellencies, I mean all those things that are



obtained by the memory, judgment, reasoning powers, and mental abilities, separate from any immediate influence and assistance derived from the source of all true wisdom,—these natural acquisitions and talents are well in their places and are serviceable to us, when kept in subjection to the pure teachings of Him, “who teaches” by His Spirit “as never man taught.” But when any natural faculty or talent of the mind, or acquisition by virtue of that talent or faculty, usurps and domineers over the little seed of the kingdom sown in the heart, it had been better that such an enemy were cast as it were into the sea, than that such mischief should be done. I have been in company with some young persons of our Society, who have been not a little injured by giving way to pride and foolish talkativeness, in respect to many matters, in which, though they seem well informed, yet not keeping in the littleness and lowliness, they have acquitted themselves but ill, through letting in a forward, prating spirit. Now, the best light in which we can view true talents and virtues, and in which they are set off to the best advantage, is the sombre shade of humility. For the more the frame-work is coloured, or gilt, or carved, or ornamented, the more there is to take off the attention of the eye from the picture itself. So that it seems to me best for each of us to dwell in the littleness, in the lowliness; always bearing in mind whence we are, even from the dust, and whither we shall return even to the dust; and that we should not forget from whence all that is good, either immediately or mediately comes, even from the source of all good. This would make us backward and timid at giving our judgment; it would render us ready and willing to esteem others better than ourselves; quick to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath; because we should be patient, humble, forgiving one another, loving one another, pitying one another; for we should then know how frail man is.

## TO A FRIEND.

London, Tenth month 10th, 1817.

This morning upon calling at J. S.’s, I found Samuel Alexander within and alone, and spent about twenty minutes pleasantly with him: upon inquiring after the American Friends, S. A. said, they were both there, and that Hannah Field was unwell; but that I should see Elizabeth Barker. Upon this he left the room, and soon returned, introducing E. B., whom I had felt dear to me, indeed before I saw her:—she took my hand with the affection of a near relative, and addressed me in as moving and affecting a manner as I remember ever witnessing. She seemed to be

speaking to one, whom she believed to be under the powerful, refining, and preparing hand of the Lord, and with whom she tenderly entered into sympathy, under His necessary provings and purgings; using several times the words ‘dear exercised child,’ and speaking especially of the overruling power that is to be regarded and trusted to in all our affairs, both temporal and spiritual: and these words, (as it were,) still ring in my ears,—‘He can bless a little, and he can blast a great deal.’ Oh! that we may all keep in the littleness, in the lowliness; remembering what we are in the absence of our Beloved; how poor, how mean, how unable to preserve ourselves from falling, or to keep our souls alive to what is good; that so we may truly know wherein our strength lies, whence our qualifications come, how we may be, what we ought to be, and how become instrumental to good in any way.

Thou knowest that I have wished, in regard to my settlement in the world, far more earnestly to obtain the blessing which maketh truly rich, than any other acquisition; thou art also fully aware, that, as this blessing is annexed to obedience, so the nearest way to partake of it in our outward affairs, is to submit to that which may be required of us. I am ready to think if there be any thing for me to do in the line of business, it will be in a very humiliating way: that I must, whether in business or not, descend into a rank far below the wishes of my dear relatives and friends, and be subject to the wants of those poorer brethren and sisters, who are often meanly esteemed and little regarded:—that I must thus enter into their sufferings and taste of their cup of bitters; and thus also loudly testify against the prevailing prejudices, pride, and luxury of this age, but more especially against many notions and opinions that are creeping in amongst us as a people. Oh! how is the prosperity of the precious cause of Truth obstructed and impeded;—how grievously is it suffering under some who call themselves its friends:—“ye are my friends, said our Lord, if ye do that which I command you;” ye are the friends of Truth, who obey the dictates of Truth:—But those would rob her of her simplicity, and have her disguise the distinguishing features of her countenance, and cover her with their own deceitful embellishments, their own vain inventions. But I cannot express to thee the warmth of feeling that prevails with me, when I look around and consider the situation of that numerous class, the full, the rich, and the gay; nor can I convey to thee the pity that I have in my heart for them: how are they encompassed about by their own selfish, earthly satisfactions and comforts,—how are they snugly nestling themselves, in that which is likely in

the end to prove to them a bed of briars! May we be favoured to subject our own fallible faculties and powers, our own reason and natural understanding, which are ever apt to busy themselves in things that cannot rightly be brought under their decision; that we may each (I repeat) endeavour to sink down low and dwell low in that, which showeth indubitably the good from the evil in all our undertakings and designs. Oh! this is an attainment that comes only by a diligent attention to the voice of the true Shepherd. Thy very affectionate friend,

J. B.

Tenth month 31st, 1817.

My dear L. A. B.,

Thou art very near to me in the best sense; how precious to feel one another to be under the continual observation of One, who cares for us and watches over us for good. Though I have passed over some wild heaths and dry deserts since I last saw thy face, and have been, as it were, parched with thirst and panting for the water-brook, longing also for the shadow of the great Rock in this weary land; yet there has met me the good Samaritan, whilst I lay by the road-side, bruised and buffeted by him who way-laid me. What shall I say of all that has been done for me, by Him who had compassion on me; how precisely can I point thee out the spot where he saw me as I lay: it was even at that spot where every human help forsook me, and every hope seemed to be taken away;—the priest and the Levite had passed by! I have, I think, seen by experience, somewhat of the narrowness of the right path; and in prospect (as regards myself,) I see it more and more narrow: still have I day by day the portion of encouragement that is best for me, the good that is convenient, and such timely support as enables me still to struggle forward, still to journey on. May we be both aided to look over and beyond our trials, to the inheritance laid up for those who persevere in faith and patience to the end. Let not thy feet slip insensibly from off the sure foundation, the Eternal Rock, the unchangeable Truth; but often be concerned to survey thy building, and upon what it stands; to examine whether it be firmly fixed upon that which is immoveable, or whether it be in any degree propped up by inferior dependence: also, inquire whether, if outward means, aids and instruments were removed, thy building would still withstand the inclemencies of the varied seasons. For when the floods of affliction outwardly or inwardly arise; when the winds of opposition or of persecution assail, and when the rains descend,—it may be too late for any to lay to heart these things; for their ruin may be at the door. The ap-

probation, the regard, the sympathy of such as love what is good, have required from me all the watchfulness, all the earnest desires for preservation that I have been blessed with. How needful then is it that our foundation be on that, in which there is no variableness neither shadow of turning. Thus we may come to know in whom we have believed, and to see who is our Teacher, and to feel Him a present help in the time of need,—a shield, a tower, a rock, a refuge, our joy and crown of glory. I have longed that, amongst the many deceits of the enemy, thou mayst not be taken by a very subtle one—discouragement. Oh! how many have set out well, have made some strait steps with firm foot and steady eye, have begun to show forth by some sweet fruits, the great and marvellous power which has visited them; yet through giving way to the wiles of the enemy, they have let in discouragements like a flood, which have borne down everything before them. All unprofitable discouragement, all undue lamentation on account of frailty, folly or disobedience may be considered to be the work of him, who was a liar from the beginning. We read that “godly sorrow worketh repentance;” and it is indeed nothing short of an ungodly sorrow that induces despair. Oh! that we may be content at such times of discouragement to sink down with that which suffers within us; that we may there wait in patience, in humility, in true prostration and silence of all flesh, being determined to hope against hope, being resigned to acquiesce in whatever may be called for.

We profess to believe, that that which is to be known of God, is manifested within; and that there, is revealed or manifested what the Lord requireth at our hands. I believe that we have need to exercise a daily and hourly watching and waiting in the light, in order to be favoured clearly to discover those things that belong to our peace.

Eleventh or Twelfth month.—The Lord ever hears and answers the prayers, which he hath put into the hearts of those that desire to fear him. As far as I can recollect, those daily formal repetitions of words, in the practice of which I was brought up, were but seldom accompanied with that which is the essence of true prayer, viz. a reverential breathing unto the Lord, and a longing of the soul after those things that we need. There were times too, in which my soul did ardently crave the attainment of best things; but then my prayers being confined to certain times and certain words, and I being taught this restricted notion of the act, it did not allow of the springing forth of those secret desires, which the Lord raised in my heart; so that these seasons



wherein true prayer was begotten by Him, who teaches when and how to pray, were not rightly availed of or profited by.

I remember that after I refrained from repeating those forms of prayer, which were taught me in my childhood, I was much in the habit of kneeling down and repeating extempore prayers, by dint of my natural abilities: this I did for some little time with great fervour of youth and eloquence, even sometimes aloud, both morning and evening; until the Lord opened my eyes in this respect, and gave me clearly to see, that these attempts in my own will, way, and time, were but sparks kindled about me, and which availed nothing with Him, whose own sacrifices (of his own preparing and kindling) were alone acceptable. Thus in obedience, I was made willing to be silent and seek the Lord; who is nigh at hand, and dwells in the hearts of his people, and is not far from any one of us, if we look for and unto Him. This silence of all the creaturely reasoning powers was very hard to something in me, which would be judging and questioning; very unmeaning did it appear; yet durst I not forbear to meet with my Lord and Master, or to strive to meet with him, day by day, and oftener than the day; and frequently crying in the depth and sincerity of my heart unto Him, that he would be pleased to show me the way to call upon him aright, and what to pray for. I was often in tears and lay down my head in grief upon my pillow, fearing I should never be made sensible of true prayer, and partake of the privilege of "praying always." The Lord did not long leave me without his blessing, his blessed countenance and presence and comfort; no,—he showered at times of his merciful goodness into my poor heart, and kindled such love towards Himself, such earnest breathings after the further arising, the glorious spreading and increasing exaltation of His name, and power, and truth, as enabled me truly to praise and bless His holy name; engaged me still more to cleave unto, obey, and follow Him in whatsoever he might require. My soul was also filled with living warmth of love and charity towards his creature man, whom he created in his image; with great pity also towards such as had deviated from the path in which He would have had them to go, and who had thus turned away from the Lord their leader: an unspeakably sweet feeling of fellowship and sympathy arose in me, towards those in whom the Lord had excited a love or desire of Himself. Thus was true prayer in and by the true Spirit, in measure raised in my heart, not according to the way or time which man's wisdom or inclination would lead and teach, but the very contrary; for even to this time, I am often so situated,

as not to have any words for long seasons together to utter, either audibly or in my heart; and still more often am in dryness, distress, and apparent desolation: yet through all I can praise the Lord.

Eleventh month 27th.—I question whether they who go empty away from our religious meetings, or from those gatherings of two or three in the name of the Lord Jesus, where He himself is in the midst, ready to heal each one of his diseases and infirmities;—I question much whether such as go home none the better for meeting with those thus gathered together, are not "rich,"—are not full,—are not satisfied, confident, "settled on the lees," sluggish and sleeping in security. We may remember, there is a woe against "those that are at ease in Zion." It is also worthy of remark, that all those that came to Jesus, when personally on earth, to be cured of their maladies, were in a very opposite state to that of those of whom I have spoken above; these were destitute, afflicted, forsaken, despised; and what is still more, they were sensible of their lamentable situation, their helplessness and distress; and they knew or believed who it was, that had power to stem the current of their troubles, the tide of their calamities. "Speak the word only," said one, "and my servant shall be healed." "Believe ye that I am able to do this?" said Jesus to two, who answered, "Yea, Lord." "Lord I believe," said another, "help thou mine unbelief." So that the blessing which maketh truly rich, shall assuredly and inevitably come down in abundance upon those, who with a humble and a contrite heart, wait upon the Lord, and are exercised and engaged in truth and earnestness to seek Him. What a rich reward of peace at times flows into the hearts of these true disciples, these poor publicans, these buffeted, bruised, broken-hearted little ones; whose help is placed, and hope fixed upon Him that is mighty, the giver of glory and grace, and of every good thing; but whose hands are ready to hang down, their knees to smite one against the other, and their hearts to fail, because they find not Him whom their soul loveth, and feel not his aid "who is able to save unto the uttermost." These are the poor of the everlasting kingdom, and are richer than the richest in outward mammon, or even than the richest in good works, (though these also will not be wanting herein,) because they are the "rich in faith," whom God hath chosen as heirs of the kingdom, which he hath prepared for them that love him.

Twelfth month 10th.—I can look back upon many a favoured season, many an availing prayer,—sometimes a single sigh after what was good,—sometimes the mental eye turned inward during a few spare minutes of inter-

mission or leisure from the hurry of business, when in my father's banking-house; sometimes as I went and returned to and from town, but especially before dinner. At that particular time, I was in the regular habit of secluding myself for a short season in private, and either devoting that opportunity to reading the Scriptures, or more commonly to silently seeking the Lord, and waiting upon him for support, strength, sustenance, and whatever he saw needful for me. After this period, the efficacy of the same spirit of dependence and reliance, which the Lord had begotten and kept alive in me, was striking; and it has been memorable to me since, when I was engaged in the business of an attorney's office, and lived at lodgings: there the same power, as I was concerned to keep close to it, preserved me through all the difficulties and trials that were strewed in my path. What sweet first-days have I spent at a disagreeable dull lodging; what meetings have I had, what sweet meetings in the middle of the week, when I gave up every thing that stood in the way, and thus procured liberty to attend them. What sighs, what cries unto the Lord in secret corners, when a few minutes could be spared in the midst of the bustle of worldly engagements:—when walking through the noisy crowded streets, what songs unto the Lord God of all tender mercies, who overshadowed me;—and when occasionally an afternoon was allowed me, wherein to be absent from business, what sweet contemplative walks in the meadows and country, a few miles out of town! But how shall I stop, or where shall I end, in speaking of the merciful compassion of Him, who regards the prayer of the humble, under many circumstances which I have not mentioned. How has the Lord ever had his eye upon and over me, to turn all to good, as long as I have regarded, trusted in and resigned myself unto, his preserving power; when I have been enabled to say, “I am thine, do with me what thou wilt.” So that surely we may never doubt but that “whosoever calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.”

17th.—In the midst of much drought and distress and apparent desertion which have encompassed me for a long season, I cannot forget the grievous sufferings which the greater part of my fellow-creatures are daily undergoing. How my heart has been this evening affected with the sight of a heap of human creatures, nestling together under the shelter of a wall, striving to cover each other's half bare limbs from the piercing cold. Ah! ye rich, ye gay, ye proud, ye professors of good words and good works, the charity of this starving family will sooner be accepted of their Maker than yours; for ye of your abundance

have cast the paltry pittance, whilst they have in their wretchedness sheltered each other from the piercing cold, and wept over each other's woe. Surely, surely, (I have been ready to exclaim in my heart at this, and at other times,) the Lord Almighty will arise for the cry of the poor and the sighing of the needy;—surely, he will take vengeance upon such as spend their lives in fulness of bread and abundance of idleness,—upon such as abuse his gifts, and forget his creatures, and shut up their bowels of compassion against their own flesh, and do not remember the many good things which the Lord has showered upon them. Oh! how heavily hath my soul been burdened, because of such who live in pleasure, in luxury, and extravagance; and how deeply have I felt for the poor and needy.

Date uncertain, perhaps twelfth month, 1817.—It seems as if, after such exercise and trouble as can scarcely be expressed to another, I had now at length a glimpse of light thrown on the path before me, through the free extension of abundant mercy. Yet what a spark, what a faint flash, what a slender beam! When I consider how easy it is, to mistake the true shinings of the heavenly star, to listen to the whisperings of the deceitful one, and to take them for the manifestations and leadings of the best Counsellor, the infallible Guide;—my spirit is engaged in earnest desire, that I may be preserved on every hand and protected from the evil. How strongly does the instance of faithful Abraham, come to my mind, whilst writing these lines; and firmly am I encouraged to believe, that He, of whom it is said, “faithful is He that hath called you, who also will do it,” even the Father of faithful Abraham, whose tender mercies are over all his works, and who remains even now the same unfailing source of help and strength that ever he was,—will be near to the very least of his contrite little ones; even those that are bowed down and bruised and buffeted. He knows indeed who these are, though no one else may cast an eye upon them, esteem or regard them. He knows their sufferings, their sighs, their tears; and oh! what a sweet savour, what an acceptable incense, arises from the hearts of these, even though no knee be bent or mouth be opened. Surely under the shadow of His wings, under the blessing of the strength of His extended arm shall these go forth through this vast howling wilderness; the floods and rivers shall be divided and dried up before them, and the parched desert shall become a fruitful field.

Date unknown.—We are placed here on earth only for a season: like travellers at an inn, we are permitted to take shelter for a night in this frail habitation:—it is a strange



place, and has but temporary and middling accommodations; and all the comfort it affords, is far inferior to the abundance, which we have to expect will be dealt to us in our Father's mansion, our heavenly home. None of those numerous objects which we see around, rightly belong to us; they are not our property, strictly speaking; but are lent to us for the supply of our necessities, for our comfort, for the right enjoyment of them. I have often wished that this view of life might occasionally occupy our minds. Let us consider what would be some of the consequences of taking such a view of life, as I have ventured to point out. Let us see what ought properly to follow, from the establishment of such a principle as this, that the earth we inhabit is not our rest, that we are but pilgrims and wanderers upon the face of it, that none of those things which our senses can perceive, are our own; but that we are only for a time permitted the use of them: how could we, with this principle in sight, abuse those innumerable blessings, which the great Giver of every good and perfect gift, has been pleased to bestow;—how could we do otherwise than apply all those natural things, which are in mercy provided for us, to the purposes for which they were intended. Then among many other good effects there would be no servile and degrading obedience to custom and fashion; but such simplicity in our way of living, such denial of whatever is superfluous, expensive, useless, or productive of injury to the mind, as is now scarcely thought of or understood.

## CHAPTER VII.

FIRST month 12th, 1818.—The struggle which I have been enabled to sustain against a flood of affliction and deep exercise, still goes on, through unutterable mercy and condescension; but it is daily with me a question how each succeeding day's conflict will terminate. It seems sometimes as if there was no other language in my heart, but—'If it be possible, forsake me not, O! thou Most High!' again, when a little relieved, something seems to arise like this,—'Save me from myself, leave me not to myself; spare not, neither pity, but utterly destroy all that in me—which is not of and from thee.' What to-morrow's light may bring forth, what it may find me, or in what condition, I know not; but this do I desire to know and to be assured of,—that the Lord is, and that he is good, and to feel his goodness overcoming and taking the place of the evil, both in me and in all the world. Oh! that I might be delivered from all looking out for release from this chastising and puri-

fying dispensation, which has been in an increasing measure allotted me ever since I was made willing more fully to follow the Lord in the way of his requirings. Oh! that I might be preserved from all desire to take myself under my own care, or to walk in the way which my own will approves: and as to outward matters, that I might be made more and more entirely disposed to acquiesce in whatever is manifested unto me, to be the will of the Lord concerning me. The highest good that I or any can attain to in this life, seems to me at this time to consist and centre in the ability to say and feel always,—'Thy will, and not mine be done, O Lord.'

20th.—How much dross, how much evil is there still lurking within me, how many and how deceitful are the modes by which the enemy contrives to keep up his kingdom, his seat in my soul; when shall I, through Him that fights for me, utterly expel, subdue, and tread under foot, this unwearied enemy! The Lord, my strength, give me patience; that I may quietly confide in Him yet more and more; and suffer all the exercises, chastenings, withdrawals, judgments and afflictions, which he is pleased in mercy and love to bring upon me: for I think I see plainly that his scourge and severity is not dealt out to his tender babe-like nature, but to that nature which is not of Him; but of the wicked one,—even that selfish, unfeeling, Egyptian spirit, which is to be destroyed. How much of this do I feel continually within me, lurking in secret under cover of many plausible pretences, eating out any appearance of good with which the Lord is pleased to favour me, appropriating to self any good action, motive, or thought; endeavouring, when it cannot hinder the entrance of good, to make me proud of it, and so convert it into evil:—thus the best friends, the best books, the best feelings, the best intentions with which I am at any time privileged, these the wicked one endeavours so to pervert, as to render them a snare to me. He cares not how busy I am in reading good books, how fond I am of waiting on the Lord, how great a lover I am of the Lord's people and the Lord's cause; if I will but fall down and worship him, all shall be mine,—all the honour and praise of being a great and good character, a saint, shall be mine, if I will but let him have a little share, a little corner, in my heart. 'O Lord! disappoint him, cast him down; deliver my soul. Let not thy hand spare, neither let thine eye pity, till all be utterly purged away, which defiles and is unseemly in thy sight.' When mine eye is opened rightly to see these things, my heart craves that I may abide in patience, under the operation of proving and refinement, however severe it may seem, to wean me from

this world and the wickedness thereof; not only from gross sins, but also from hidden and secret faults, and from the deepest insinuations of the enemy in my heart, in the semblance of an angel of light. I have had of late such a time of this discipline, as had never before befallen me in my life;—such apparent desertion of every thing like good, such distress in consequence of outward circumstances of various kinds, that at many intervals, a deep conviction of the certainty of a future judgment, seemed to prevent my choosing death, rather than life. Yet through inexpressibly tender mercy, I have been preserved to this day in earnest seeking after the Lord, and with great desires after submission to his will, cost what it may. And even in the hour of desolation and darkness, I have often experienced such a sweet cessation from suffering, and such an influx of love from the inexhaustible fountain, as has enabled me still to struggle and hold on my way, in a degree of hope, almost imperceptibly small, that all would be well in the end, if I was concerned to look unto Him, who is the author, and also the finisher of our faith.

#### To S. A.

Second month 1st.—I have been apprehensive that our views of these doctrines [of Immediate Revelation, and the true and saving knowledge of God, and of his Truth] which are closely accordant with those of the holy penmen of Scripture, are but little known among the many religious denominations. I have believed, both as to those within and without the pale of our own Society, that there is in this day, (as there ever has been,) more need of leading people, in the first place, to the fountain of truth, the foundation-stone, than to the beautiful harmonious superstructure of doctrines, which arises from that base, and can stand only upon it. This corner-stone we well know is Christ, not merely testified of without us, but also manifested within; and as we closely attend to, and obey the manifestations of his Spirit and power in our hearts, we come truly and savingly to know something of Him and his holy religion, according to our present ability and growth: and in following him in his leadings, we are best able to receive those true testimonies of him recorded in Scripture, and livingly to understand, as well as availingly to believe, what is there said of his appearance in the flesh, with all that he said, did, and suffered. There has been, and still continues to be a great deal said and written, respecting correct and scriptural views of the doctrines and duties of Christianity; but I believe until men come to that, which can alone give the true discernment

of these spiritual things, they will, they must continue to grope as in the dark, not knowing the Scriptures neither the power of God; and it is feared, resist Him, who the apostle said, "hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." It seems to me, that under the constraining influence of the love of Christ, we should earnestly recommend people to believe in and obey his light in their hearts; that by following him in this manifestation, they may have the light of life, as he himself has graciously promised. No pointing to the written testimonies borne to the existence of this light within, will avail, but as the mind is gathered, in some measure, however small, to that which witnesses those testimonies to be true, and alone enables to receive them. I cannot think that that scripture, "the letter killeth," if rightly made use of, could hurt any, but those who walk not closely in accordance with that Spirit which gave it forth, and which is able to give a true understanding thereof. No man can availingly know or follow the directions laid down in Scripture, but as he bows to the appearance and openings of that Light, which enlighteneth every man more or less in the day of his visitation. It seems to my view, that the greatest thing which we all have to guard against is, the leaving our heavenly guide; and this may easily be done, both in reading Scripture, and in every other religious engagement: if this be the case with us, we cannot but wrest them, some way or other, to our own condemnation or even destruction, whatever we may think or imagine; it may be by thinking to have life in them, as the Jews did, whom Jesus reproved. It was not that the Jews did wrong in diligently searching those writings, or that there was any harm or noxious influence in Scripture,—it was not in that sense that the letter killed, or doth kill; though on the other hand, we know, that they cannot give faith, and that all their authority and excellence, and efficacy in the work of salvation, are only from that power and life whence they came. But it was by reading in the light of their own reason, which is indeed darkness; heaping up a dead set of doctrines, in their own wisdom, which is foolishness; presuming to pry into things too high for them, things into which the Spirit of Truth led them not, but their own speculations and imaginations; thus they made the commandments of God of none effect, as many now do, by their own traditions, and expositions, and interpretations, adding to, and diminishing from, the true meaning of the Scriptures. Being unstable and very unlearned in the Word, which spake forth the Scripture, though learned ever so



much in the words, they cannot reach the essence; but must stumble, as Nicodemus and other learned Jews did, who knew nothing of the new birth; though they could easily tell by the letter of the book, where Christ was to be born. It is such, in this day, who are crucifying unto themselves the Son of God afresh, notwithstanding all their high professions about the atonement, &c.; which they have very clearly in the notion and dead apprehension, but out of the life of these things:—the evil spirits could testify of Christ, and say, “I know thee who thou art, the holy one of God;” and, “these are the servants of the Most High God, which show unto us the way of salvation;”—for even these had a knowledge of God, and belief in him, a knowledge of Christ and confession of him, a knowledge also of Scripture. The enemy also himself was ready at quoting Scripture; witness the temptation of our Lord; and he can put men upon studying the Scriptures, so long as through the carnal mind he may but interpret and apply them to their states; for by all this he has the poor soul the safer in his net. He is not deterred from prosecuting his evil designs, by our holding the Scriptures in ever so high estimation; if, in studying them, we lean on our own understanding, although with great and apparently laudable zeal; though we apply one part to confirm another,—though we get them by heart,—though we extract all the doctrines and duties that are testified of therein,—though we are able by this skill to give an expert answer to such as may inquire a reason of the hope that we have adopted, and the faith which we have formed out of the letter of the book,—though we even set ourselves to do all that is commanded;—yet all these willings, and runnings, and strivings, do not overthrow his government in the heart: nay, his snare is not broken, but made more subtle and intricate. It is the simple, and those that abide in the simplicity of the Truth, that are kept by the Truth out of his beguiling snares; the Spirit of Truth is their shield and sure defence on the right hand as on the left; and they lean not unto their own understandings; so that the Scriptures and every other outward means are blessed to them, as they keep to the anointing which they have of him; by which, whether with or without instrumental aid, they know all things requisite for their present need; having “an understanding given them to know him that is true.”

Third month 3rd.—I believe if young persons were more fully open, and implicitly given up to acts of dedication apparently small, and were willing to go, to stay, to do, or to forbear in minor matters, as seemed best; that

they would thrive more vigorously in religious stature and strength. One thing after another came gradually before the view of my mind; all that I had to do, or believed was required at my hands, came not upon me at once; for there was no hard task-master to obey, but one who knew my weakness, and my inability to give up even to the least matter of duty, without His special aid. As I was concerned to keep my eye open, to see whatever He might show me was to be given up to,—and as my desire was from day to day unto Him, and the accomplishment of His will respecting me; first one thing, then another, at seasons opened before me with sufficient clearness: sometimes these apprehended duties were very little matters, at other times they were of fearfully great importance; and often were they of a nature and complexion, which the worldly-wise part in myself and in others, could not bear or understand. Yet after having gone through and been favoured to stand faithful in the performance of these things, I have often seen the propriety of them; and I have felt it a precious thing to be “led about and instructed” so suitably, so seasonably, so safely.

To E. H.

16th of Fourth month, 1818.

Dear E.,

It is my belief, that, according to thy own expressions, “the Master is come,” and coming, (what if I say,) to plead as in old time, with the modern money-changers in the temple, who turn the holy house of Him that is most holy, into “a den of thieves;” to upset their tables and to scatter their silver and their gold; the “love” of which, is said to be the “root of all evil.” His scourge is, as it were, in his hand; and the buyers and sellers being cast out, the blind and the lame shall yet come to him in the temple, the house of prayer for all nations, and he will heal them. The little children shall yet cry in this temple, saying, “Hosanna to the Son of David;” and out of the mouths of the very “babes and sucklings,” whose hearts he hath fed with “the milk of his Word,” praises shall yet come forth unto Himself.

It is my belief, and I feel freedom to mention it to thee, that there are or will arise, those who will, in some sense, “build the old waste places.” I live in the faith that the Truth shall spread; and the number of those that are guided and governed by the teachings of that Spirit, which leadeth into all truth, will be greatly multiplied. Surely there are even now those that “are left of the captivity,” who “are in great affliction and reproach; we may also

say, that, in some acceptation of the passage, "the wall of Jerusalem is broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire." May I not also add, that there are, even in this day, those, who can in measure adopt a similar language with that of Nehemiah,—“When I heard these things, I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days, and fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven.” Surely there are those that can say, “I arose in the night, neither told I any man what my God had put in my heart to do at Jerusalem:—then went I up in the night by the brook, and viewed the wall and turned back; and the rulers knew not whither I went, or what I did: neither had I as yet told it to the Jews, nor to the priests, nor to the nobles, nor to the rulers, nor to the rest that did the work.” There are doubtless some that are ready to laugh these to scorn, and to despise them; and to say, “what is this thing that ye do?”—and I judge there are those that can reply, “the God of heaven, he will prosper us: therefore we his servants will arise and build.” To such as endeavour to entice the sincere hearted, and to take them off, by whatever specious pretence, from their watch and work, their unceasing concern and travail for the prosperity of the great cause; I am clearly of the mind that the reply should be, “I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down; why should the work cease, whilst I leave it and come down to you?” Now the work that is wanted, as far as I have in this and some other favoured seasons had capacity to see, is, a sinking down and bowing down yet lower and deeper than many of us have hitherto humbled ourselves,—even under the government and dominion of the holy seed, Christ Jesus; that so we may, through subjection to Him, be led to “cease from our own works,” and to let Him do and work all things in us according to his own divine will. Wherever this blessed work hath gone forward with strength and beauty, wherever this constraining power has been fully and faithfully given up to, I believe a necessity has been sooner or later felt, to make a full surrender and sacrifice of every thing, which the law written in the heart may call for.

From one, who is much more often than otherwise, plunged into the depths, and who finds himself yet weaker and weaker in himself to will or to do any thing as of himself, but is at times favoured to see still greater necessity for a daily waiting upon the Lord, that so his will may be daily known and done through his Spirit, which brings unto and preserves in a watchful, weighty frame of mind at all times,—and who is, with feelings of affectionate regard, thy friend,

J. B.

To E. S.

Russel Square, 17th of Fourth month, 1818.

Dear E.,

The true authority as well as beauty of our religious meetings, in which I cannot exclude those for the right ordering of the affairs of truth, stands upon and consists in that, without which the [observance of the] form is a mockery, though [it be] the best of forms. It is not age, it is not any station in the church, it is not an outward knowledge or experience in the letter of those laws which the Spirit of Truth has led our forefathers to adopt,—much less is it any repute among men, grounded upon outward possessions,—which will make one living stone for the Master's use, in the building up of his beautiful city, the new Jerusalem. Now, if any man build with the straw and stubble, or even with that which appears like gold or silver;—“every man's work shall be made manifest of what sort it is; for it shall be revealed by fire, and the day shall declare it.” How much need then is there for all amongst us, who fill any of the offices in the church, and even for such as may be in the highest stations, and may have been made of eminent service therein, again and again to wait upon the Lord, yet again to bow down their souls; so that every high thing, that would exalt itself within them, may be abased, under the humbling influence of that power, which bruise and breaketh in pieces, which bringeth us low, and keepeth us low, even as children and babes, willing to be led about and instructed, and ready to esteem another better than ourselves. Now as individuals are brought into such a feeling tender state as this, they become sweetly qualified to take those places, which the master-builder ordereth for them in his house, in his family, in his vineyard. They thus receive capacity and authority to labour for the great cause, and in the name and power of their leader; they have strength to bind and to loose, to help and to heal the weak and the wounded; and they have the spirit of patience and of pity given them, to plead with and to pray for the tempted, the tossed, the tried. And O! the tenderness that is shown by such as these, on behalf of their poor fellow-creatures, who may be overtaken or overcome of evil or error; knowing that they themselves stand, only through the mercy of the Most High.

J. B.

21st.—How little do we know what is best for us:—O! how good a thing it is, to be led about and instructed by our tender Parent, even as little children; seeing that we, no more than they, can run alone with safety. When I am



ready to receive hurt from some precious gift or other, which He has lent me;—when I am likely to be elated by seeing myself so favoured, or to assume any thing to myself because the Lord showers upon me his blessing;—then in the abundance of his compassion he taketh away that which I was ready to abuse, and leaves me in darkness and in the deeps, it may be without a shadow of comfort or a ray of his heavenly presence. And then, in the bitterness of my soul, in the absence of my Beloved, I cry out and weary myself with bewailing; being in my own apprehension on the point of despair. But He, even my Father, regards not my crying, nor my weeping; he knows best what is good for me, and continues his dispensation of afflicting darkness and drought, until in his wisdom he sees that the set time to favour me is come.

22nd.—Was much instructed by looking over a monthly meeting's early minute-book, dated about 1666. I thought I clearly saw that our Friends in the beginning, were a simple plain set of people; and that they mostly had but a very small proportion of learning or general knowledge. Divers advantages have we above them in several respects; yet it has seemed to me, that some of these very advantages have proved our hurt and stunted our growth, so that we have not arrived at their stature or strength. "The love of other things," we read, choked the good seed; and this seems to me to be applied to our case, who have many "other things," (some of them very good when kept in subjection,) which draw away our minds from the simplicity of the Truth, and from a patient, humble, waiting frame of mind, in which alone true safety can be witnessed.

26th.—I desire greatly not to be led away and ensnared, by coveting or looking for the esteem and notice of any, even of religious characters; I pray in my heart, that I may be preserved from liking to hear my own voice and tongue in company, and from the least approach to any thing like a love of showing off even good qualities. If we are in the right spot, we shall forget ourselves, and not esteem those things as our own, which are wrought in us, or which we have been enabled rightly to do or say.

I have also seen, that much care is needful not to be endeavouring or presuming to correct the views and sentiments of others, by our own strength and in our own will and time. I see danger in this for all, but especially for young people, who are so likely to get into argument and much talking. Nothing is gained often thereby; but the way to openness and conviction respecting any matter, is much blocked up. But after long patience and wait-

ing, and much uneasiness has been undergone, lest the right thing should by any means suffer; and after not a little exercise of mind on account of the person who may hold such a wrong sentiment,—then have I seen a word in season put forth in meekness, do more than all the ill-timed efforts of a man's own will and strength.

Fifth month 10th.—The day before yesterday, I completed my twenty-first year. I may say, with some feeling, that my breathing in secret is unto the Lord, that he would in mercy continue near to me, to help in time of need; for I am still unable to take one right step, notwithstanding any thing already attained; but have need day by day to wait upon him again and again, for a renewal of strength: for assuredly He alone, who began the work, can safely carry it on, and bring it to such a conclusion as will redound to his own praise.

19th.—The day before yesterday, it seemed right for me to give up to go and sit among Friends at their monthly meeting at Kingston. I had no probable means of conveyance but on my feet, and it was a very rainy morning; but I cried unto the Lord that he would direct me, and give me sufficient strength to do whatever might be best. I got there, it being, I suppose more than thirteen miles, some time after the hour of assembling, much wearied in body, but sweetly fresh and lively in mind, through the extendings of mercy; so that the driving rain and the length of my walk had not much effect upon me, who am but a poor weakly one. On my way thither, it rather vividly came to my mind,—"what if I should have to speak in their meeting?" But the Lord quieted that spirit within me, which would be questioning and reasoning; and I was favoured to feel great composure and calmness, notwithstanding that suggestion. And O! the melting power and glorious influence which was enjoyed by me, and I believe by others, in the meeting for worship! how precious an half-hour did I spend among them! so much so, that my heart was filled with the song of praise unto that great Being, who remembers and cares for his poor little ones; and who in his own time fills his hungry ones with good things—yea, with the choice dainties of his table, so that their cup runs over! O! the tears of joy that were shed! may I never forget the renewed mercies of the Lord my God, while I have my being! The next day, was our monthly meeting at Westminster, where were present some choice servants; through whose ministry the language of encouragement was held out to the little ones, but especially to those young in years, whose hearts the Lord had in measure melted into a willing-

ness to be conformed to his holy will respecting them. O! the unutterable condescension of Him, whose mercies are new every morning! may the objects of his bounty be yet more and more mindful of him, and of his goodness; and be induced yet more fully and faithfully to give up to his requireing; to bring all the tithe into the Lord's treasury, as two dear Friends said in the meeting, and prove him therewith, and see if He will not open the windows of heaven and pour them out a blessing, until there be no room to contain.

To E. J.

Isle of Wight, 30th Sixth month, 1818.

Dear E.,

I have felt so much dissipation of mind since I arrived here, as to unfit me for a calm enjoyment of the beauties of nature, so profusely mingled as they are here. The cares devolving upon me, not a little tend to lead away the mind from that 'retired, strict, and watchful frame,' as I think William Penn calls it, which seems to be the safest and most profitable state for me as an individual, and a soil most conducive to my present growth. I may truly say, that though I desire not to prescribe for any, otherwise than seems to be my especial duty; yet I believe that an approach to unwatchfulness or levity is dangerous—is ensnaring. How often have I been in different degrees unfitted thereby for that sweet retirement of mind, which seems to be, as it were, the element and atmosphere of the true Friend. I think of you at your quarterly meeting this day.—I long that the many Pharisees, who are in the formality, and obtrude their services and 'much speaking' in meetings for discipline, and some even in those for worship, may be kept under; for assuredly, the wisdom that is from below, is at enmity with the pure lowly seed of the kingdom, and will do only mischief to the good cause; its nature and tendency being to exalt itself, whilst its pretension is, to forward the right thing. But the foolish things of the world, and the weak things, and the base things, are still preferred and chosen, to confound the wise, and to bring to nought every thing else, but the power, the life, the wisdom, the nobility of the Truth. Paul, the learned Paul, the enlightened Paul, when he came from the feet of Gamaliel the Pharisee, and sat at the feet of Jesus, would not even speak in the words which man's wisdom taught: he came not with enticing words or excellency of speech, lest his hearers should admire him or his words, rather than the power; and so their faith should stand in the wisdom of man, and not upon that foundation, than which no other can be laid, and besides which Paul determined

to know nothing,—even Christ, the wisdom and power of God.

Dear E——, thou knowest all this, yet I long that we both may keep to those things which we have in mercy been made sensible of; that so we may be enabled to stand for the Truth and its simplicity, over all that which looks like Truth, but is not,—being only an image, which the enemy has patched up and established, wherewith to deceive the simple; and he would have us worship this image, and highly esteem such as sacrifice to it. But Truth wants no ornaments or paint; none of the "vain philosophy" of the learned; the polite airs and customs which are in the world, she shrinks from and avoids: the studied maxims, and gathered wisdom, and logical conclusions, and distinctions of the schools, only clog and impede our growth in the Truth. How little of the innocence and artlessness, and openness and simplicity, and natural beauty of the Christian religion, is to be seen and felt thriving amongst us at this time! The state of our Society not a little reminds me of that of a large machine or mill, which was made skilfully, and set a going admirably, and went well at the first: and when one wheel broke, the master took it away and supplied its place; and when any part of the machinery was worn away through much service, the master took care the work should not suffer thereby, but raised up other instruments. But at length the dry rot or some terrible mischief gets in and spoils it, so that the sound parts can hardly act or work, because of the number of unsound members. In such case, surely the machine must undergo a thorough repair; surely every member of the body must come under and submit to the reforming and refining hand: even the sound parts must, as it were, be taken to pieces for the sake of the rest; that all may be re-established in their several places, and according to their different capacities, by the ordering of the great Workman, whose workmanship they are.

To J. F. M.

London, 29th of Eighth month, 1818.

I believe there may be much show and appearance of excellent dispositions in some, who have not had any call to service in the line which they may have set their feet in, as well as in some that have not abode long enough under the refining hand, which was fitting them for their allotted post. These may talk of the degeneracy in the faith or practice of others who profess with them, and may lament or seem to lament the innovations or backslidings of their fellows; and they may for a time keep within the limits of consistency, imitating the



actions of those, whom they apprehend to retain something of primitive zeal and uprightness. Some also of these may, in the heat and warmth of the sparks which they have kindled, and with which they have compassed themselves, begin the work of reformation, or rather set about it in their own wills, and after their darkened apprehensions; and when they see their endeavours not owned or seconded so readily or quickly as they deem them worthy, for the faithful cannot own them, then it sometimes happens that these spirits burst out into open variance with the body; and so manifest their foundation to the faithful, whose eyes the Lord openeth to see and to discern the good, from that which only appears to be so. Such an one, if he is ever favoured to see the error of his way and to turn from it, will have to acknowledge, that all his stirrings, strivings, willings, runnings, his labours and services, even to promote good, were out of that Spirit, whereby alone good can be discovered, embraced, or promoted in his own heart, or in the hearts of others. There is then great need for all, to wait upon the Lord, to feel his power discovering the evil and the good in us, raising up the one, and enabling us to overcome the other: and as we continue faithful to these discoveries, we shall be made partakers of more of his gifts, and grow in a living experience of his Truth, and in a lively understanding as to such things as are best for us to know; until it please the Lord to dispose of us in that part of his vineyard, where he "hath need of us." Then as we abide in Him, from whom we derive our strength and vigour, we shall bring forth much fruit, not only to his praise and our own peace, but to the edification of the church, and to the comfort of its living members.

J. B.

## CHAPTER VIII.

TENTH month 11th, 1818.—I have of late put but little to paper by way of remark, as to the state of my mind, not having felt much freedom this way; yet I may here acknowledge, that the same Power, that hath all along helped and sustained me, is not, nor has been, wanting in the needful hour; of which the Lord is the best judge, and not I. My feeble cry is yet unto him under all my discouragements and exercising seasons. The little lowly tender seed which he hath quickened, and in measure raised in me, doth still look unto its Parent for daily sustenance; his ear is ever open unto the cry of his poor; and his eye of pity and compassion is still upon that birth which is of him, to cherish and to care for it, and to provide all things

needful. Oh! for a continuance of his fatherly goodness, and for the renewed extension of his preserving arm of power around me; that so I may be restrained thereby from all hurt and harm through this vale of tears and temptations, and sustained by the same through all the depths of affliction, into which he may see it best for me to be plunged, to my purification and peace. My heart is much tendered and impressed, whilst writing these lines; for indeed I am not able sufficiently to mention how good the Master is,—how worthy to be glorified, trusted in, obeyed, and loved, by all his servants and children.

19th.—O! the sweet influx of the Father's peace, of the Father's joy and comfort, with which he is pleased at times to refresh and revive the hearts of his humbled contrited ones,—those that are through his mercy prevailed upon, and through his heavenly help and strength enabled to count all things but as nothing, that they may be found in him, and to suffer for his name's sake the loss of all things! What a blessed evidence of his continued goodness have I been favoured with this morning, during the short space of a few minutes, in my retirement to seek the lifting up of the light of his countenance, and to wait for the shedding abroad of his love in my heart. What encouragement does it afford me, to continue stedfastly looking unto Him, the author of all my blessings, the director of all my footsteps, the restorer of right paths to walk in. What assurance have I had renewed at this season, that I am, through his daily help and strength, in the way of his leadings; so that in a fresh feeling of his directing and protecting power being about me for my preservation on every hand, I may boldly say with the Psalmist,—“Though an host should encamp against me, mine heart shall not fear,” the Lord being “my light and my salvation.”

To —.

Twelfth month 21st, 1818.

I have often thought — to be, what our early Friends would have called a ‘tender spirited young man;’ but oh! how much must such go through, who have been made willing to come to the Master, in the full belief that he is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. The Master looking upon such, loveth them; yet must these give up their all, as and when he calls for all or any of their ‘great possessions.’ We read that Zion was to be redeemed with judgment; and with the spirit of judgment and of burning was her filth to be purged away. O! this fiery baptism! few of us know enough the necessity of it;—it is hard coming under it, it is hard keeping under it:—then

and not until then, do we really know the full import of these deep expressions, "baptized into his death,"—"planted in the likeness of his death,"—"crucified with him," "that I might, (as the apostle says,) know Him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death." There is, as thou knowest, a refiner's fire; where the things that are even the most precious, the most pure metal, the most fine gold, are to be put in, and to be again and again melted down and softened, and rendered susceptible of the impression that they are designed to receive: they must be passive as the clay; they cannot impress themselves. No more can we as creatures humble ourselves, truly and acceptably and profitably, in or by our own will or way, or by the voluntary exertion of any parts or powers of our own; no, we must not choose our own way of being good, neither do good according to our conceits and conceivings, else another thing is exalted in reality, than the principle and power of Truth. I have been often instructed very deeply by these expressions;—"but we have this treasure, (that is, the Light shining in our hearts) in earthen vessels; that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us;"—"always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body." I think Penington says, that we are but vessels, wherein the pure excellent oil may appear or disappear; and some one says, these vessels must be emptied, before they can be cleansed from any dirt or sediment, which they may have contracted whilst in use in this filthy world. I remember John Churchman wrote, that the vessels in the potter's house were to be set on the shelf to dry, after they had been formed on the wheel; and then to be baked in the fire. These things I write to thee, dear —, as they occur; much more of this nature often passes through me, unsought and unstudied in times of retirement, which are seasons of refreshment to me oftentimes; and in them, I think, I have learnt more effectually, and been strengthened more availingly, than in any other way: and though speaking of — seemed at first the occasion of them, yet it is not for me to cast a stone; though from the very little experience which I have had of these things, I begin to see the necessity, and somewhat of the beauty of those deep baptisms, and desire greatly that dear — may bear me company in coming and keeping under them, this being the true way of the cross. For a cross that bears any marks of being our own manufacture will never do, so at least I have been favoured clearly to see; it is no cross at all in reality. The mind is a very

active busy part; and if it be at any time quickened into a sensibility and admiration of what is excellent, unless kept down in the true subjection by that which quickened it, it will speedily put itself forth and rush into such actions, or words, or thoughts, as it apprehends to be of a good tendency or nature, and is very ready to hope and believe that these things are required: forgetting that that which quickens in us the first spark of good, and raises up the least desire after it, the very same must preside over all our steppings, the last equally with the first stepping; the very same must strengthen us to choose the good and to follow it, which gives us ability to refuse and shun the evil. In this way self is cast out, and the principle and power of Truth alone exalted, and then the Seed reigns and is over all, as G. F. says; for that is to govern, guide, and go before, in this gospel day, and that is to lead; and when it stops we are to stop and stand still, and when it goes forward, we are to move with it and in it, as Israelites indeed.

27th.—At this time it lay upon me to set up my Ebenezer, as decidedly as this perishable method with paper and ink, and this feeble representation by words, which are at best but inadequate symbols, will allow of. My soul has been hitherto helped by the immediate handing forth of that power, wisdom, support and indescribable consolation, which comes from the holy sanctuary of the most High. My heart hath been sweetly engaged at seasons to praise, honour, and glorify Him, who lifeth up the poor out of the very dung-hill, setting them among princes: verily, He giveth power to the faint, "and to those that have no might, He increaseth strength." And this is He, who was called the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob; and who continues to be to all His living Israel in this day, as He ever was in old time. For the devil is the god of the dead in trespasses and sins; but the Lord hath bruised his head by his seed, Christ Jesus, who hath purchased life for those that are willing to be made partakers thereof.

30th.—O Lord! if David thy servant did say of the love that prevailed between his fellow-servant Jonathan and himself, that it was "wonderful,"—if we may also say of those whom thou hast knit and bound up together with us in the fellowship of thy Gospel, that they are as nursing fathers and nursing mothers, as endeared brothers and sisters in thy Truth;—O Father Almighty! how shall we sufficiently commemorate thy loving-kindness towards us, thy poor creatures; whom thou hast been pleased to gather into the heavenly relationship, into the joyous fellowship,



into the blessed flock of thy family, and hast deigned to acknowledge as thy children. I thought I felt the sceptre of thy paternal love stretched out, renewedly inviting me to partake of the blessing that maketh truly rich, and addeth no sorrow therewith,—inviting me to draw near, and to make my request unto thee, and to plead with thee in the power of thy love; into which thou hast gathered me, and by which thou mayst be prevailed with. I am emboldened to ask of thee at this season the continuance of thy holy help from time to time, under all the provings and afflictions and chastenings, which may in thy wisdom be allotted me. As all thy servants of old, even unto this day, have shared in the cup of bitterness, and partaken of the water of affliction, so O! Lord, may I also endure chastening, and partake of the evidence of sonship; remembering the language of thy servant, “If we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him.” This accept and grant, if it please thee, O! my Father; who hast never yet denied that which thou hast put into my heart to offer unto thee in the prayer of faith: and if I need at any hour any thing of thee, I know that thou hearest me and art with me, whilst I abide with thee, and am in submission to thy manifested will. To thee, therefore, I desire at this time afresh to commend and commit all that I have or am, and increasingly to become thy child.

[To a person under conviction of our religious principles.]

25th of First month, 1819.

When the Master sent forth his chosen ones to do the work which he had appointed for them, he said, “Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.” These few words of Scripture sprung up so forcibly in my mind, in the midst of no little anxiety for thy real welfare, and sympathy with thee under thy various and peculiar trials, that it appeared right for me to convey them in this way, and to relieve myself of some weight of solicitude on thy account; earnestly desiring that this little stepping-stone, thrown in thy way, may not in any sense prove a stumbling-stone, hurtful instead of helpful. First then, and first and last, I would direct thy attention to the Comforter, the heavenly Instructor, the Spirit of Truth; under whose precious teachings, I am persuaded thou hast been already brought, and so, in that measure most profitable for thee at present, art partaking of the refreshment, peace, joy, faith, hope, strength, and holy fortitude and wisdom, which are richly in store for all such as submit themselves to its guidance. The apostle

John directed the minds of those whom he addressed, to the anointing which they had from the Holy One, whereby they “knew all things” necessary to their growth in grace. Though I know but little of thee in an outward sense, yet I am persuaded, that the hand of the Lord is truly upon thee; and greatly do I crave, that thy continual care and caution may be, to keep close to this anointing. That which anoints is Truth, the Spirit of Truth, the Power of Truth: this is what secretly works upon the soul, bruises our self-confidence, breaks our false peace, awakens out of our dreams of pleasure, riches, honour and acquirements, shows us our real state, where we are, how far we have missed the road, whether in principle or practice, and clearly points the way to true and everlasting peace;—giving us also such full directions that we cannot possibly miss of it, if we do but follow them, and not our own reasonings and imaginations. What holy invincible armour does our great Captain clothe his little striplings with,—those that are after his own heart, as young David was; those that lay aside all their own or other people’s weapons and strength, laying hold only of the hope set before them. May thy desire be unto thy Lord, that He may furnish thee with the sling, and give thee the smooth stone, as thou art in the way to meet thine enemy; and may thy true dependence be, yet more than ever thou hast known it to be, immoveably fixed on thy Rock, thy Redeemer: and do not let the enemy put thee on any improper leaning on books or men, but lean upon Jesus, as all his beloved disciples ever have done. It is a safe spot to be sitting at the feet of Jesus, rather than at the feet of Gamaliel; and be not cumbered about many things: remember one thing is needful, and this one thing is a learning of Him who is meek and lowly in heart,—that true learning which is not merely a hearing, but a doing also his sayings; who speaks with such authority and power in the secret of the soul, as to make us cry out, “He told me all that ever I did;” is not this the Christ within, the teacher, who it was said should never be removed into a corner, as the Gospel-day prevailed? There is indeed a proclaiming to others, by our life and conversation, the name or power of Christ, as he has been pleased to manifest himself unto us, opening in us the well of water, which springs up into everlasting life. But how seldom, (as Fenelon expresses it,) does the soul keep silent enough to hear His voice, who speaketh as never man spake; how seldom are we simple enough to follow Him whithersoever he leadeth; and when persecution or affliction ariseth because of the word nigh in the heart, by and by we are offended or

afraid;—forsaking our leader, when he leads in the straight and narrow way of the cross; and denying him, in whose name we may have done even some mighty works,—saying with poor Peter, “I know not the man.” There is, as thou well knowest, a going before our guide, a kindling of sparks and warming ourselves at them, an offering of sacrifice before the prophet come; and what burdens have the upright in heart at times made hereby; what a “lying down in sorrow,”—what a close rebuke from our great prophet and high priest, “Thou hast done foolishly.” We may remember Saul said, “the Philistines will come down upon me, and I have not made supplication to the Lord;” and he waited seven days for Samuel, and the people were scattered from him and trembled for fear of the enemy. Here was an offering of something good, in the time and will of the creature; but it was not counted good nor accepted, because it was not prepared of the Lord’s prophet, neither offered in faith, but in faithless fear. Truly I say not these things to cast any thing like discouragement in thy way, but rather as an encouragement for thee to look up for help, to steer clear of all things that would hurt or hinder thy steady progress and inward growth downward in the root and life of religion. Be not very anxious about making fruits appear; if thou art chiefly seeking to be grafted into the true vine, the precious fruits of that righteousness, which He is the author of, will not be wanting in their season. But there is a winter, when not a leaf appears; inso-much that a superficial observer would say, What good comes of this graft? Of what use has religion been to him? Yet the husbandman knows the times and the seasons, and that if even a bud were to be put forth, it would be struck by the frost. There is a time to be empty, to be stripped, to be poor, to be buffeted by the wintry winds, to be deprived of all sense of life, any relish for, or savour of good: and then I have found it safe to lie low in the littleness, in patient poverty, in the true insignificance;—waiting in the abandonment of self, in the silence of all flesh, for His re-appearing, “in whose presence there is fulness of joy” and abundance of consolation, saith my soul from undoubted experience. Then wait in the filial fear, in the living faith, though it seem small as the grain of mustard-seed, though it may lie very low: wait thus, I say, upon the Lord; occupy with this thy talent, it is enough for thy present wants; the master knoweth what things thou hast need of, before thou ask for the food and raiment, even the daily bread, the wine of the kingdom. He will not withhold the oil and the wine from thy wounds or weaknesses; neither

dost thou know how much he has in store for thee, as thou followest him in the way of his leadings in faith and faithfulness. Keep not back part of the price—part of the inheritance which thou didst inherit from thy fallen father Adam, and camest into possession of by actual transgression; but give up all, that thou mayst be clothed as his lilies are, with his innocence, not with thy own righteousnesses, which are but as filthy rags. Be wise then as a serpent; be wiser than the serpent that beguileth, that lieth in wait sometimes as an angel of light, to deceive the hearts of the simple. He suits his baits with much artful wisdom, according to the state and temper of mind in which he finds people. Do they love what is good? he is ready with an appearance or resemblance of good to entice them: and how can any discover his deceptions, or keep out of his snares, but as they come to that which alone can give the true discernment. What is that which enables us at any time to distinguish between the good and the evil, to choose the one and to refuse the other, though ever so much gilded? It is the true wisdom, of which Solomon wrote in his Proverbs, which preserveth out of the snares of death. How clear, how intelligible is her voice, in and unto the awakened upright soul; this word of wisdom is nigh thee, as thou already knowest,—thou needest not go far away to find it, thou needest not mind the “Lo heres,” and “Lo theres,”—the kingdom is within, the king’s laws are written in the heart. Receive not then for doctrines the commandments of men: try all things by this infallible touchstone, which never yet led any into error, but out of all error into “all truth.” And when thou art examined concerning those principles or practices, into which the Truth hath led thee, and which nothing short of the same I trust, has given thee strength to profess before men, be not dismayed, be not discouraged, be not disturbed; let the Truth plead for thee, “for it is not thou that speakest;” nor canst thou by any ability short of that which the Lord giveth in the very hour of need, do any thing availingly in support of the great cause. Remember those faithful valiants who replied to the king Nebuchadnezzar, “We are not careful to answer thee in this matter:” and remember how our great Master was silent, and as one dumb before his accusers, though Pilate put a very short question to him,—“What is truth?” yet we read not of any answer being given, to feed the subtle ensnaring wisdom in him who made the inquiry.

I desire for thee an increase of the true strength and stability; and that is to be had by daily waiting on the Lord in the closet of the heart. A humble weighty deportment shows



forth and best upholds the dignity and beauty of the Christian religion; it becomes and adorns the gospel. A retired, calm, and watchful frame of mind is, in many respects, a hedge and preservation about us, when thrown among those who are not acquainted with our high profession of a principle of Truth sown in every heart as a seed; which is truly the grace of God that appears unto and in all men, leading them out of all evil into all good. We have perhaps but few examples of what this heavenly influence would do, for those who are passive as the clay under the potter's hand. Look not out at the example of others, so as to stop short where they do; look rather to thy Master, and follow with a simple, submissive, grateful spirit, all his secret intimations, wheresoever He leads: follow such, only as they follow Him, not by imitation but conviction; for there are many services and sacrifices into which others are led, which possibly thou mayst never be called upon to evince thy love for the Truth by engaging in; and some requirings may not be called for at thy hand, in the same way or time as they were at the hand of others: it is also possible thou mayst have a narrower path than any brother or sister that thou knowest of. Keep then "thine eye single" to the light of Christ; let that lead thee whithersoever and whenssoever it will: then only is the language of the heart, 'Thy will be done, O Lord, in and by and through this poor earthly vessel.' Then only do we availingly know and feel the blood of Jesus, the Mediator, to cleanse from all sin, whilst we "walk in the light, as God is in the light." For it is not the outward name of Jesus, but his power revealed in us, changing our hearts, that saves; neither is it an historical faith alone in what the Saviour did for us whilst on earth, that will avail any thing; for if we reject him as our sanctifier, none of us can truly know him to be our sacrifice, (as William Penn wrote.) We read that the very devils could acknowledge that Jesus was the Christ; yet they did not submit to his government, but rebelled against him, or they would not have been fallen angels. There are many that can talk about the atonement, the intercession, the justification, the redemption of Christ, and about baptism and the communion and heavenly union between the saints and the King of saints, who nevertheless confess they are 'miserable sinners, bound and tied by the chains of their sins,'—notwithstanding it is written, "let him that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." My desire is for thee, and for all men, that they may come to the true and saving knowledge of God and our Saviour; which is only to be attained unto, through obedience to the mani-

festations of his Spirit in the heart, "given to every one to profit withal;" without which none can fear him acceptably, or have true faith in his Son; for the things of God knoweth no man, but by his Holy Spirit.

Farewell; keep to the Truth, and it will keep thee. Remember, "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty." J. B.

29.—This may I say, and leave upon record, that though many almost indescribable temptations and presentations of evil have been permitted to come about me, sometimes like a mighty flood, so that in hours of extreme weakness and infirmity, I have been many and many a time ready to give up the fight of faith;—yet to this day, the Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle, has been pleased in his abundant compassion to encamp around me, and to give me songs of deliverance, songs of triumph and of praise. In his name will I set up my banner, who is a Rock of defence and sure refuge to my poor weary soul in all her afflictions as there is a concern to flee unto, abide in, and under the shadow of this mighty rock in a weary land. O! young man or young woman, to whom this may come,—my friend, my brother, my sister; who art seeking the better country, and Him who is the way and the guide; though thou be weary and heavy-laden,—take courage! There is a staff, a stay, and strength and succour with Him and in Him, who hath gone before; and who leadeth on his little ones gently and sweetly, as they are able to follow. Take this as the counsel of one, who hath known His name (which is above every name,) to be a strong tower. He will be with his, even to the end of the world.

#### CHAPTER IX.

To —.

3rd of Second month, 1819.

Dear —,

I HAVE often believed that the blessing in store for those who hand "the cup of cold water," may not pass from thee and thine, as thou art yet concerned to struggle on in the narrow way. I desire to be thy companion therein, and an example in giving up faithfully to all that is set before me, whether in the line of doing, or of suffering; who am often sensible of something still blotting out and wiping away many a spot contracted through unwatchfulness. There is a very precious feeling that seems to prevail with me, whilst saying thus much; and I may add, that though nearly day by day bowed down and broken, under a view of the low state of things at home

(in the heart) and abroad, and of many sacrifices for the cause which are called for at my hand; yet I may acknowledge that showers of refreshing help and strength have descended, so that the encouragement is great for me and thee and all, yet to struggle on; laying aside that which hinders. From thy affectionate friend,  
J. B.

To —.

Fifth month 4th, 1819.

I have sometimes remembered the language or sentiment of a tried servant, who, by being resigned to the Divine will through the tribulations that were in wisdom handed, was enabled to comfort a brother in words like these; 'if we be but clean vessels, no matter how empty;' and I may add, 'no matter how long on the shelf;' and as one says, like 'a pitcher placed upside down, on its mouth,'—to keep the dust out. The only danger I have found, when counted worthy, or clean enough to be set in this trying position, has been that of repining at the dispensation allotted, or not quietly seeking after acquiescence. If we were but willing to abide the operation of the Almighty hand, which would make all of us vessels fit for a place in his holy temple, and a service in the Lord's house; and were but enough sensible of the benefit of these turnings and overturnings, and of the blessing that they are to those that are patient enough to profit by them; surely some of us who are now ready at seasons to give over struggling, and to think it is to no purpose endeavouring to hold out in faith and faithfulness any longer, (presuming the Lord hath forgotten us,) would rejoice that we are counted worthy to drink of the cup, and to be baptized with the baptism, which alone can purify and prepare for a seat in the heavenly kingdom. "It shall be given to those for whom it is prepared,"—"I go to prepare a place for you;"—and did He not go through suffering;—was He not said to be made perfect through the same;—and shall we find a safer path than in His footsteps, "who endured the cross and despised the shame." Some in this day of great profession and performance, have to be renewedly baptized into a deep sense of the state of things, both without and within; and to labour earnestly after the pure and unshackled arisings of the seed,—which is often very low, and burdened with much that seems to be favourable, but yet greatly oppresses. I desire for thee, dear J., that thou mayst not be without thy full appointed share of such conflict of spirit, and even apparent desertion of heavenly help and strength, as is best for thee; and that thou mayst have the grain of faith renewed day by day, the hidden manna, the secret sustenance which enables quietly to

wait and patiently to hope, even through all things: so that if these dispensations should be in judgment or in mercy, thou mayst be favoured through submission, to rise above all that has stood in the way, steadily persevering in a course of humble, dependent, watchful, innocent conduct. I believe that marriage is often made a means of furthering the religious growth, and strengthening the mind in that which is good, as we look to the Lord in our proceedings, having him in our eye, above and before all idols. But few measures taken in life, perhaps, are so likely to entrap the unwary, as an injudicious engagement therein; it unsettles and uncentres the mind from the great first object, if much care be not exercised, and diligent watchfulness maintained.

To E. S.

Seventh month 22nd, 1819.

The examination of religious tracts proposed to be printed, is a weighty service. If it were only to judge of words, the consistency of the sense and meaning with the principles which we profess, as far as human wisdom can distinguish, this would be easy, and could be compassed by the spirit of a man: "but the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;" so that man's spirit is unequal to it, but must be in subjection, with all the vain reasonings which he can muster up and contrive by the natural powers of his understanding, or by his acquired learning and erudition; and he must wait to feel that raised up in him, which is able rightly to discern and comprehend the precious, and to distinguish it from the vile. I believe a time may come, when the writings of many of our early members, who shone brightly in their generation, may again rise into universal repute among us, and also among others; notwithstanding the unfashionable garb in which many of these writings are clothed, so unsuitable (apparently) for these times. So that one would like to see the avenues kept open, and the channels clear, and the conduits clean; that whatever is to flow in the ordering of best Wisdom, may flow freely. As to what thou sayest of the fear of some, about the style of our early Friends' writings, I think this fear is a weakness, and proceeds from a sort of doubting in the mind about the writings themselves, and not merely about the language. I would ask these fearful ones, whether in reading a peculiarly interesting history or travel, the subject of it does not carry them above the style, so that almost any style, however prosy and dull, is overlooked; and this is the case tenfold more strongly with the humble seeking soul in religious matters, by whom the words are overlooked in the earnest desires after the



substance. Those who are admirers of words, whether they be words printed or words preached, are very unlikely to be benefited really and truly by either, having gone from that which is beyond words, and which alone can make words effectual.

Sixth month 5th.—Great have been my temptations: yet abundantly manifest through all, have been the out-stretchings of the ancient and eternal arm of power: so that to this hour, it is alone through the Lord's eminent mercy and long suffering, and by his preserving strength and help daily extended toward me, that I am yet alive in Him, and able to celebrate his name, and seek his face, and wait for the fresh arisings of his holy heavenly virtue; by which alone I can do any thing acceptably for his great and glorious cause in the earth, or be his dutiful and faithful son and servant.

Date uncertain.—O holy blessed Father! thy love shed abroad in the heart, thy sweet refreshing influence, can make up for all; thy softening, healing balm makes us forget our wounds and weeping. O! how good thou art to those who still struggle after resignation, and sigh after submission to thy holy will! Though they fall many times, yet how is thy strength manifested for their recovery and relief, for the renovation of their faith and courage; so that all their transgressions are blotted out, and their unfaithfulness is wiped away. This is precious indeed—to feel access to the fountain set open for sin and iniquity; and thus to be brought nigh by the blood of the Lamb, and to feel its cleansing virtue.

Seventh month 15th.—O my Father! how precious is thy love to my soul at this time, and the manifestation of thy life-giving presence, in and unto my poor tabernacle! How hath the sweetening, sustaining influence of thy pure and Holy Spirit refreshed and animated my inward man!—how hath it even invigorated the frail and slender frame of this perishable body! so that thou hast, at this season, prevailed upon and reduced into true passiveness, every thing that is within me; and I am renewedly prepared, to offer unto thee all that I have, or am; and can say, in the ability which thou givest,—‘I am thine, and thou, blessed Lord God of power and of everlasting praise and of mercies infinite, art mine;’ I live by thee, and know, and love, and glorify thee and thy Son, the Lamb, Jesus my Saviour, through the eternal Spirit; praises, praises to thy name for evermore. Amen.

Written in a grove at Knapton, in Yorkshire.

Eighth month 25th.—O! Thou that seest in secret, that knowest all things, that searchest

the hearts, and triest the inward parts of all men, and in whose pure sight iniquity is discerned and judged, may it please thee yet once again to regard and pity thy frail and faltering servant; who am not worthy to be accounted of thy household; and yet cannot rest satisfied, in any thing short of a pure and perfect surrender and sacrifice of my all unto thy service. Thy presence, thy purifying, preserving energy and virtue inwardly communicated to my soul,—how has it helped me along in my earthly pilgrimage,—how has it sustained me in the year of drought, and in the hour of temptation and of trial! In all the depths into which I have been, and may be, cast or permitted to be plunged, Lord! thou knowest that nothing has been able, or I trust shall be able, to induce me to deny, that thou hast blessed me and done me good. Though thou slay me, yet will I endeavour after resignation and submission; for, without thee what am I? O my Father! is there yet a door of hope for me, yet a little access left for me, before I go hence, and of men am seen no more? May I presume to plead with thee for forgiveness and pardon, who am unworthy to hope for it; having so often transgressed and offended by unfaithfulness and many backslidings.

Written in a wood at Yealand, near Lancaster.

Ninth month 5th. (First-day).—What a mixed race we are, even the brightest and best,—what a dwarfish set:—it is most true indeed that we have not attained to the stature, strength, or standing of our fathers. Yet oh! how bright in the horizon was the opening, the breaking forth of the morning of the day of the Lord's everlasting power! Verily his hand is not shortened, the glory of his excellency and of his strength will yet be manifested more and more; he will beautify his holy Church and peculiar people, and brighten up his jewels; and they shall shine as the stars for ever and ever. And many nations shall flow together, and become one fold on his holy mount; and he, the Shepherd, shall feed and lead them; and they shall lie down in his green pastures, and drink of the pure river of his satisfying pleasures: and as they abide where he would have them, nothing shall harm them, nor any iniquity prevail against them; and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of his holy hand.

To S. A.

21st Tenth month, 1819.

I omitted to mention our quarterly meeting: it was held to satisfaction. It is lamentable to think how much harm is done, by the talk-

ativeness that sometimes manifests itself after such very solemn occasions; and in meetings for discipline, there are those, who knowing much of the outward rules which Truth has led our Society to adopt, are not sufficiently careful to act in the life, in the liberty, in the sweetness, in the dignity of it; but suffer their mere adherence to rules, without subjection to the power in which they were set up, to mar at times the beauty, the benefit, and the glory of these meetings; which should be religious meetings, and would often be made meetings of worship, to those whose minds are rightly engaged. Surely the authority of these meetings is not the mere Book of Extracts; nor does their excellency consist in a mere mechanical compliance with what is there laid down; nor does much talking in favour of any point, prove that the sense of Truth is that way, though it may prove that the sense of the majority leans so.

#### TO A FRIEND.

London, Eleventh month 6th, 1819.

My dear love has often been as fresh and warm towards thee, amidst much sympathy and solicitude on thy account as on my own, that we might both be preserved by the invisible, invincible power and principle of Truth, through our patient seeking after, waiting for, and following its pure and sure guidance: amidst earnest desires that this may be thy, and also my, experience, it has not seemed unpleasant nor unexpected that little should hitherto have passed between us in this way, which true friends have found and do yet find to be but a feeble channel, though profitable and comforting, when the reader can discern and read the language of the heart of his friend.

It is a certain axiom, though a strange paradox to such as have not yet come to witness the truth of it in their own experience, that the true silence speaks louder than the best words. I sometimes think that I, for one, have enough to do to steer my own frail vessel in the stormy sea of life, with the aid afforded; being willing often to leave others to the like engagement for themselves. For one finds it is a good thing to mind one's own business,—to endeavour to rule one's own little house well in the first place; then will there be the better qualification to have charge over the house of the Lord; and this latter is a duty, which all will find, in some way or other, in due season to devolve upon them, if they are faithful, and as they through obedience, come into a capacity for usefulness. The useless members are to be cut off,—nay, they drop off as a withered bough that receives not the sap of life. As

soon as any have grown to the stature and strength for labour, they are undoubtedly put out to service, and earn their livelihood, even that which nourishes to life, and liveliness, and healthfulness,—even the heavenly bread. And every son and daughter are to mind that portion of work, which is set them by their parent to do in his family; and they are to do nothing else, but to attend thereto cheerfully, handling the tools and implements that he supplies them with, and at the seasons of his appointment. To these diligent day labourers, the times of refreshment indeed come, when it is seen to be needful,—in order that they faint not. But in the Lord's family, those that will not work, must not eat, nor sit at his table, nor have their penny of peace, nor the reward of "well done." The domestic economy here exercised, and the excellent discipline kept up, and the comely order and beautiful harmony of all the true members of this spiritual house, I have seen and known to be wonderful in all its bearings and branches: but those that are not of it, cry out, "He is a hard master;" and would exact the uttermost farthing. Yes, He is a hard master to the rebellious, and terrible will they find Him in the reckoning day; but very tender and pitiful is He found unto them, who are tender of His honour, even before that day; for they feel his unfailing mercy still blotting out and wiping away, and extending afresh his hand of help, to such as are willing to work out their own salvation with the true fear and trembling. That thou, my dear friend, by diligent and close attention to none other than the Shepherd's voice, and by a co-operation therewith, even a simple subjection to that which it makes manifest to be the duty of each day, mayst come to have this and much more verified with yet greater satisfaction to thee in thy measure, is often my desire. The way of the Lord's coming, is even as a refiner with fire, and a fuller with soap,—to melt, and to purify; and blessed are they that so receive him. Thus the house of Saul will become weaker and weaker, and that of David stronger and stronger; though the latter may be hunted, as the partridge on the mountains, for a long season, pursued yet escaping: and the seed of David to this day, have often to "abide in the wilderness in the strong-holds" and in the mountains, and are ready sometimes to say, "surely I shall one day fall by the hand of Saul." This is a sore conflict, yet a glorious and honourable warfare; and the victory is certain to all those that hold out unto the end in faith and faithfulness.

I trust, my dear friend, that by this time many of thy soul's enemies, that have stalked their forty days like a Goliath, are laid



low; and that many of thy doubts and fears, are in measure done away; that with renewed vigour, courage, patience, and perseverance, thou art journeying onward, even with steady pace and simple eye; not moved by the "trial of cruel mockings," if that should be thy lot; nor yet dismayed by the many tribulations that are permitted to attend the path of the righteous. Yet I trust, that an equal if not a greater degree of care and caution will yet mark thy every movement and stepping, as thou goest along: I speak not of a silly slavish fear, which keeps some far behind the footsteps of Christ and of his companions; or of that weakness which would let the enfeebling reasoner prevail, to the hindering or even stopping of a vigorous healthy growth. Some have I known, who have suffered such an argument as this to nip their bud, and so to check its putting forth, in the due and appointed season, its natural blossoms and fruit; saying, 'others have professed great things, and have come to nothing; who am I, that I should pretend or presume so high? Surely I shall disgrace the cause,' &c. Such reasonings are, as we abide in the light, clearly manifested to be of the enemy, though greatly disguised: and he sometimes lays hold of good kind of people, who, with upright intentions for the best, and desiring our preservation from hurtful extremes, are induced by a mistaken and blinded judgment, to advise us against running risks (as they think,) by such a bold, firm, and decided conduct, as we apprehend is required at our hands. I have had to tread much alone; and I have found it safe, and conducive to my true growth, to look mainly, and in the first place, to that which is truly an infallible Teacher, and which leads out of all error and evil, into all truth and goodness; and after sometimes great delay, (not through wilfulness or weariness, but an upright desire to be led by nothing but the true guide,) I have been made willing to resign myself to what has been cast up, I trust with something of that singleness of heart and simplicity, which the right thing does undoubtedly induce. O! the comfort and divine consolation, which such a procedure has drawn upon my poor soul, even in the midst of much trouble and suffering.

The Truth does undoubtedly lead into a oneness in principle, and even in practice as to generals: yet in regard to particular sacrifices and services, very various are the allotments for each member of the church,—very different are the gifts and dispensations which are meted out to each, and the administrations of them also. Blessed are those who know and keep their several places in the body, always eyeing the Master, even the holy Head

thereof. These shall not be unduly moved by the revolutions and convulsions, which may be permitted to arise, and to surprise the hypocrites, whether from within, or from without;—these abide in their habitation and safe shelter during the storms, nor are they supine and confident in the day of ease and of calm weather, but are prepared, nay are (if it be best) forewarned often of the judgments that may be impending or ready to be poured out upon the head of the disobedient.

Well, my dear friend, be valiant for the Lord and his precious Truth, while thou hast a day in mercy granted thee; joyfully and unreservedly yield thyself and all that thou hast unto his disposal. Keep to the root of righteousness; and as the divine sap of life is suffered to ascend, and to circulate in and through thy soul, thou shalt in due season be clothed, or be strengthened to put on the excellent fruits of righteousness, to the praise of Him who hath chosen and ordained us, that we should go and bring forth much fruit, and that our fruit should remain; and who is ready thoroughly to furnish us unto every good word and work required of us. ~

Farewell, and believe me to be thy affectionate friend,  
J. B.

Falmouth, 17th of Twelfth month, 1819.

Dear —,

My dear love is to thee, though from a low spot, which has more or less been my experience of late: but I can truly say, in the lowest seasons I have longed for nothing more than for preservation through all things; even though there should be but little going forward, or any vigorous growth in that which is good. Yet should I be content in this the Lord's will, who doeth all things well, could I find an assurance, that finally the eternal rest of the righteous might be mine; and that whilst buffeted and tempted here, no reproach might be reasonably thrown on the blessed Truth, through any unfaithfulness of mine. A degree of sweet calmness seems to arise, whilst writing to thee; in which I feel thee near to me, and myself still bound in a degree of tender love, and refreshing fellowship unto the faithful every where. At such seasons—how strongly does the sentiment recur,—testimonies are nothing comparatively,—words are nothing—outward, perishable, changeable things are nothing;—but to know our sustenance, standing, strength, and life, to be in the only unfailing Source, and to feel that which is immortal, invincible and unchangeable to bear up our minds above the billows; this is worth living for, and suffering for, and dying for.

[In a letter to a friend, dated the 6th of first month, 1820, speaking of drawing up accounts for Piety Promoted, which he had diligently taken in hand as a duty ever since the year 1817, also collecting and copying letters of Friends,—he says ;—]

If these labours of love for the cause' sake should ever come to much, or be made of extended utility,—if they be rightly carried forward and introduced to public view,—I trust I shall rejoice, whoever may have it laid upon him to undertake this part of the business. It is enough for me, quietly to devote myself to the accomplishment of such share, in laying the foundation and erecting the scaffolding, as seems required at my hands; leaving the completion thereof to the disposal of the master-builder, who knows the several abilities of his workmen, and portions out their duty according to their day and strength:—He knows how comparatively short and small mine are; yet He withholds not the penny.

[And in another letter on the same subject, he says :—] My powers are very weak and small, I think, in comparison to those of almost any one else, also shattered, and partaking of my feeble frame of body: but there is no knowing what the great "I AM," may choose to do with such; and those things are ever best left with Him, who can do all things for me. I have had nothing in view in this work but the great cause, and have sometimes thought I should leave it as a legacy among Friends; but it is as my Master wills to this day, as it was when I set a hand to it. If He please to take me from it, or it from me, it is well.

First month 19th, 1820.—I have had from one season to another, up to the present time, many teaching intimations and timely warnings, from within and from without, that there is no trust to be had in length of days, nor dependence to be placed on health or strength or youth, no nor yet on any services of sufferings for Truth's sake; but only upon the Rock, Christ Jesus, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. To know that renewed in us, which rightly gives an interest in his blood, and in the salvation he purchased for us,—to feel the spring of immortal, immaculate life and goodness, bubbling up and breaking forth in and over us,—to be assured by hearing, knowing, and following the Shepherd of Israel, that we are his sheep,—to have a sure and satisfactory evidence, that we are more and more coming out of the world's spirit, into that of the weaned child,—becoming more and more separated from sin and self,—more and more seasoned with and leavened into the nature of a child of God; this is sweet, and a safe spot, saith my soul,

for any poor mortal to be found in, when the summons may be sounded forth.

"The time is short," said the apostle; and it remains for us all, whatever be our situation in this life, or our station in the Church, or our standing in a religious sense, to remember that "the fashion of this world passeth away." These things that are mutable must pass away, and shall be as though they had not been: yet shall the righteous stand and be established, when the earth is removed out of its place, and the firmament swept away as with a flood. Greatly do I desire to be found amongst those, who stay themselves upon the living, eternal, Almighty Father and Saviour; and to be increasingly concerned to pass the remainder of my time in true filial fear and faithfulness.

Fourth month 15th.—Surely my soul can praise and bless thy holy name at this time, O Lord Almighty! who art just and faithful, and true to one of the least of the poor of thy flock; thou art the compassionate friend of those who are prevailed upon to surrender up all unto thee, to commit all into thy care and keeping. O! thou Shepherd of Israel, what can I render unto thee for all thy benefits and sure mercies, which are new every morning? How shall I exalt and extol thy goodness, thy tenderness, thy long-suffering compassion, manifested renewedly towards thine unworthy servant? Words cannot celebrate thy wonderful bounty; but the hearts of those that are concerned to yield themselves unto thee, can sing unto thee of mercy, and of judgment, and of truth, eternal, glorious and unspeakable. O! thou all-wise and Almighty one, bring to pass whatever is for thy glory, thy honour, thy majesty; and overrule the rest. Limit the rage and roaring of the enemy, who still seeks to devour thy seed, and to cut up thy people. O! preserve thy poor dependent ones, wherever or however gathered or scattered all the world over, within the holy and sure enclosure of the hollow of thy hand, from this time forth, even to the end of all things here below:—still stretch out the arm of thy power;—still cover them with the wing of thy care and protection, from the storms and from the blast;—still command deliverance for Jacob, and send forth salvation for such as are thy people, who are seeking thy face, and longing after thee. Still also, O Lord! plead with the rebellious, who indeed dwell in a dry land; who know not the unutterable sweets of thy holy religion. If it be possible, yet lengthen out the day of thy mercy towards these, as thou didst unto me, O blessed God! and give them yet to see the things that concern their real peace and everlasting happiness. For what is equal to the



joy that thy righteous have even here: in the midst of all their trials they are with thee, and thou leadest and feedest them, and art their strong-hold in the day of trouble, sanctifying all their afflictions to them; adored for ever be Thy name! In a sense of thy living presence, and many mercies vouchsafed unto me in an especial manner of late, I thus commemorate thy praise; desiring to return thee thanks, and to commit the keeping of my soul unto thee henceforth; and to crave of thee that I may be preserved humble, holy and blameless unto the end; increasingly consecrated in heart and life to thy pure service; so that my soul may be fitted, at the end of all things here, to enter into that rest, which our blessed Saviour, thy beloved Son, promised he would give unto those who come unto Him and keep with Him. Amen.

[In a letter to a Friend, dated from Poole, 3d of sixth month, 1820, he writes:—]

I may say that I have never considered it my place to maintain that station in the world, or live in that mode of life in which I have been brought up, however mortifying to poor self, and contrary to the habits and views of others. It was one of the earliest convictions that settled on my mind, when brought under serious impressions, that I must come down and set an example of moderation and self-denial, being content with such things as I have; so that I have been most easy to decline even such opportunities of advancing my condition, as others, no doubt may, in many instances, wisely and rightly seek for and improve. Some again may throw themselves into extensive channels of usefulness, by increasing their outward means: I can only say, I am to do good in another way, if my life be spared. I have looked, with much solicitude, for best guidance in this matter: and the comfort and peace with which, during my stay here, I have been wonderfully favoured, have been such, as to enable me at times even to sing for joy. I have also been greatly broken down, under a sense of that hand, which is so eminently over me for good, enabling me to look the greatest of my difficulties, perplexities, and discouragements in the face, as it were, with a degree of calm confidence. My heart and life, and all that I am and have, are to be surrendered up in such a way, as may answer the Lord's holy will and purpose concerning me. On this groundwork, and on this principle, I have not hesitated cheerfully to relinquish those views of outward gain, and habits and station in life, to which my education tended; but which I have clearly seen are not exactly such, as

harmonize with the Divine intention respecting me, and with that sphere I should occupy. What I have expressed herein, is not the feeling of yesterday or to-day, but gradually confirmed and rooted in my mind, through much secret conflict, and a long course of humbling exercises, and such as some of my sympathizing friends have been remarkably made sensible of from time to time. With much affection, I am thy friend, J. B.

To ———.

Poole, 24th of Sixth month, 1820.

Oh! it is a sweet thing to get into calmness,—to that spot where all our cares, fears, and doubts are swallowed up.—It is that which our sickened souls often need as a cordial to revive and to recover us from the nausea of this world's joys and cares. I often feel full occasion to press after a further purification, from that which yet hangs about me, and which my spirit loathes: to be released from the bondage is a great matter, even to come into a degree of freedom from the workings of evil. I wish many of our reformers, and some youthful ones especially, knew more of this great work; they would have shone brighter as vessels in the house of the Lord, had they gone through the seventh furnace; they would have taken a better polish, and the dust would not hang upon them, as it now lamentably does. To feel something good visiting us, is one thing;—but patiently to endure all the turnings of the holy Hand upon us, both in breaking down the old nature, and building up the new edifice on the sure foundation, is another matter. I fear too many amongst us, content ourselves with knowing but very little of the latter operation.

Since coming here, my mind is more thoroughly set at rest on some points than ever, especially as to the propriety of my not entering into business, a subject which used to harass me much; fearing sometimes, that by this conclusion, I had given occasion for the cause to be evilly spoken of, and the testimony of Truth to be let down. The path is very narrow in many respects, which I have to tread in, I have had glimpses of it for several years; “the pride of life” must be laid low, however mortifying to the poor creature, as well as to those whose eyes are outward. Thou seest how much occasion there is for the help, the secret help, of those who can intercede for me, and sympathize with me; there is that which can preserve on every hand, as hitherto it hath marvellously done; and as faithfulness is abode in, and watchfulness with patience, who can doubt that the issue of all our movements will, through holy

help, be for the honour, and tend to the promotion of the great cause?

[In the tenth month of this year, he was married to Georgina Hill, daughter of Major Hill, of Kingsbridge, Devonshire :—she had joined the Society by conviction. To a much valued friend, he wrote :—]

Penzance, 13th of Third month, 1821.

Often have I thought on thee and thy endearing friendship, as commenced in days that are past, and strengthened in hours that are over and gone, though not soon to be erased; for to those winter-evening opportunities of comfort and favour I enjoyed with thee and others, may I not refer much of the benefit and instructive growth my soul received instrumentally, at that period of my pilgrimage, when it seemed to be a time of espousals, and when it might be said truly, “Thy time was the time of love.” In reverting to such seasons, I have often been sensible of many short-comings, many wanderings, and much unwatchfulness; and I am sometimes ready to apply to myself the language respecting Israel, “Of old time, I have broken thy yoke, and burst thy bands; and thou saidst, I will not transgress;”—though some consoling hope attends, that the succeeding complaint of degeneracy does not altogether belong to me. To be bowed down under a sense of our infirmities, is profitable to the best, and safe at seasons for all; and whilst we may look upon these dispensations, as some small proof that we are not left without chastisement and fatherly correction; they turn out not unfrequently, to be the forerunners of further displays of mercy, and wholesome preparatives for usefulness and enlargement. We often mar the benefits that are in store for us, and the intended effects of our trials, by too great eagerness for deliverance.

We have great occasion to stay ourselves upon the holy Rock in the day of trial and affliction, having known favours beyond many; the high hand made bare, and extended renewedly to deliver and protect. That we may attend with vigilance to the fresh openings of duty in every respect, is my earnest desire, amidst a deep consciousness of much to deplore, as regards want of more steady adherence thereto.

I hear you are richly visited in the ministerial capacity. O! it is easy work to love them and their testimony from the very heart, and to be attracted by the sweet influence of that which they live in; but it is hard to labour in the desert for food and raiment, and to have no intermediate helping-hand, to cheer and to animate to constancy and endurance. Oh!

the extent of that labour and daily exercise, which I feel needful for myself to be found in, lest my soul lose its hold! Farewell. J. B.

Fourth month 18th.—Quarterly meeting at Exeter. Oh! that my soul may be moved effectually to strive for further liberation from the borders and boundaries of sin; when shall I have a conscience void of offence toward my good Lord, who daily heaps favours upon me!

Paid a sweet and solemn visit at J. D.’s. Oh! that I may walk worthy of these renewed seasons of mercy and favour; may I double my diligence, fight the good fight of faith, and strive earnestly for the hope of the Gospel, whilst it is held out in unmerited goodness to me, a poor backslider.

20th.—Reached Poole. Blessed be the Lord who hath preserved my soul and body through many tribulations and temptations and dangers, since I was last here. O! my hardness of heart, not to be overcome by his abundant long-suffering and kindness, and constrained to fall in with his designs respecting me, which most assuredly are full of tenderness.

Tenth month 29th.—I set out from Poole, for London, with my beloved wife, who has of late been a greater sufferer from illness, her complaint being thought inflammation of the lungs. At one time she seemed brought near to the gates of death; but she was not taken from me, though I fear, I deserved it. The Lord omnipotent preserve us in faith and patience, and content under all the provings He is pleased to permit. Oh! how much have we to be thankful for! What great cause to live unto Him, who hath thus spared the rod in pity, and heard our cry. Many vicissitudes my poor soul has had; His dispensations towards me have been wonderful, past all mention!

Twelfth month 25th.—Attended the London quarterly meeting, and was comforted. The Lord will yet help and redeem my poor spirit, if I earnestly look unto Him always. I was dealt with in mercy this day, both publicly and privately.

To S. A.

Cheltenham, 18th of Seventh month, 1822.

We have had an account of the decease of our beloved and valued friend, Charles Parker; my fellow-traveller, as I may call him, truly in more senses than one; having had, as thou mayst remember, the privilege of his company through Hampshire last autumn: it affected us considerably. Past events connected with him, dear and faithful man, were much revived in my own mind; and I thought much of him on the day of the burial. I bless the Giver



of all good that I have sat under his ministry; and I remember that the tenor of it often was, the shortness and vanity of earthly enjoyments and trials, the certainty and speed of death, and the goodness and grace that visits and would gather all unto God, the eternal excellency. My soul is profitably instructed whilst I write; and that may be the best use of my writing to thee, my dear, valued, and now ancient friend and brother, who hast so often helped me to think of these things; and who, I fully trust and believe, art looking for, and desiring at times, the winding up of all things that are transitory and perishable. O! that we who are young, may so tread in the path of the just, that we may be prepared to fill up the vacated seats in the militant church, of those who are gone before, and who have filled up their measure of enduring. As to my poor self, if any thing may be said, it should be but a middling account,—as hitherto, for a long season past; often surrounded with fears and failings, sensible of short comings, and a pensioner on that forbearance and pity, which is not enough (I fear) regarded and remembered. Watchfulness unto that which is good, seems to me the great thing in the work; I am sensible we can thus only walk worthy of our vocation and privileges.

To ———.

Penzance, Ninth month, 1822.

My beloved partner's present state is comparatively very free from suffering, or from symptoms that cause uneasiness. After eight months of vicissitude in London, she was removed to Cheltenham, where she had some drawbacks from the climate, which was cold and changeable, also at Clifton, where we rested. But, through a merciful hand, by which she seemed directed to a religious physician, she was soon so much relieved, that we could set forward on our journey into Cornwall, being very anxious to do so; though from the severity of the attack, it seemed as if we should hardly be able to winter here. I trust we are both holding on our way, and partaking at times of the brook by the way; blessed be the great Name, the Giver of life, and of all our many blessings! We seem remarkably resigned and prepared for whatever may be meted out; though we have our trials, and besetments, and infirmities.

On the 23rd of sixth month, 1823, my dearly beloved partner passed away to her blessed eternal rest in the Lord Jesus Christ, the beloved of her soul and her Redeemer. On the 29th, the poor body was committed to the earth, to return to the dust as it was.

(She died at Marazion, in Cornwall, and her remains were interred in Friends' burying ground, at that place.) At the grave's mouth, I was strengthened to utter these words in public, on bended knees;—'Blessing, glory, honour, thanksgiving, and praise, be given unto thee, O! Father of mercies, and God of all consolation! both for that thou hast given, and for that thou hast taken into thy resting place; Amen, O! Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight:—thy holy will be done!' The Lord did marvellously regard and strengthen me: He will be my guide and refuge, even to the end: surely he will, saith my soul. The Lord doth daily help and comfort me; he is with me a poor creature, and his strength is manifested in my abundant weakness: He is my portion even for ever!

#### CHAPTER X.

NINTH month 18th, 1823.—The sweet incomes of Divine love this day, were such as made me very contemplative, so as unusually to absorb my mind, especially whilst engaged in working in my garden. I betook myself to a retired walk on the sea-shore to enjoy the goodness of the Lord more quietly: the outward beauty of the creation, and the calmness and harmony of all things around, seemed in sweet unison with the state of my soul. Oh! how I longed to be fully prepared for, and wholly made partaker of, the joys of the blessed,—of them who live to the Lord, and die in the Lord! I have a hope that I am journeying forward to this state.

Tenth month 9th.—My poor mind has been much under exercise since I left home, and more particularly on one account; apprehending some pretty strong drawings to stand up in a meeting and express a few words. This was the case first at Truro, then at Falmouth monthly meeting, and then in degree at the quarterly meeting. But I trust it was not in disobedience that I forbore; many things seemed to stand in my way. I desire not to be expecting great things, but I long for clearness; and I believe I shall be favoured with it. The consideration of many infirmities, and in some sense unfaithfulness, and want of fitness for the work affects me often; but I long that it may not hinder the setting of my hand to what is laid upon me to do. I believe there is nothing to be done, unless through a simple surrender and submission. I can fully believe that the Lord may call to some, who may have had no previous expectation of such a call to service; which indeed is by no means my case. One thing is worthy of commemoration,—that whereas I besought the Lord to

be assured that such a thing was required at my hands, he gave me evidently some strong signs, in the frequent testimonies of his ministers from meeting to meeting; even very closely urging to faithfulness, so as almost literally to say,—“Thou art the man.” But though I could not gainsay, yet I did not feel as though I had any very strong sense as to that being the right time: for this I am now thankful; for, when the constraint was laid upon me afterwards, not by man nor of man, I knew it to be of God, and beyond any man’s appointment, but a great cross to my own nature, and under a sense of the Divine authority and presence. May the Lord God of salvation and of mercy, be pleased to show me the path of peace and of joy; and may He lift up His countenance and light upon me, that I may see and do His will!

At several opportunities, in company with two dear Friends in the ministry, who were visiting this meeting, I had a distinct sense of what was to be the service, and what were the wants of the parties visited; especially was this the case, in the public meeting held at Redruth. At one family visit in this neighbourhood, I was sensible of the evident call and requiring of the Lord to utter a few words, in addition to what dropped from others, to the young people present, on this wise:—“and then you will find fulfilled in your own experience this language, as it hath abundantly been mine;—“Though I walk in the midst of trouble, thou wilt revive me; though I walk in darkness, Thou, O! Lord, will be a light unto me;—though I pass through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil.” The weight and sweetness that dwelt on my mind, after this surrender, cannot be set forth. It rested on my spirit all the day, in an unutterable manner; I felt so comfortable, and at ease in my mind; it was a heavenly feeling, and nothing short of Him who is in heaven, could give it! At Wadebridge, in the public meeting, I had to speak to the people, and in a way remarkable to myself. In this and other service hereafter mentioned, I had, (praise be to the Lord! who turns the hearts, and influences his own simple ones,) the countenance and encouragement of those, who, I believe, know the voice of the true Shepherd from that of the stranger. This often humbles me greatly; for next to the answer of peace from God in my own bosom, what I have desired has often been, the unity of the church and the love of the brethren.

I went into Devonshire, and on my return home, I had something to say in the next meeting I attended at Marazion: also at one monthly meeting held at Falmouth, on the true church: and again, in the chamber of a

Friend, who had been long an invalid,—“Behold we count them happy which endure;” take, my sister, the prophets, who have spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction, and patience: thou hast heard of the patience of Job, and hast seen the end of the Lord, that he is very pitiful, and of tender mercy. Behold, we count them happy which endure. It is a blessed thing indeed, when flesh and heart fail, to know God to be the strength of our heart and our portion for ever. God shall redeem thy soul from the power of the grave, for he shall receive thee! Thus my Master, my tender Father and Teacher dealt with me; and now, what should I wait for, but the continuance of his mercy and his light to preserve and sustain me henceforth, even for ever.

I may add, that it was evident to me, that he who in simplicity surrenders any thing to the Lord, which in any wise seems called for, will not lose his reward; but will find his way to open and enlarge, his peace extend, and he will know more and more of the requirings and business of the Lord consigned to him; and the evidence and motions will often increase after the will is resigned. Wonderful is the Lord’s goodness to me from time to time, beyond words! He filleth me “with the finest of the wheat;” and he revealeth unto me “the abundance of peace and truth.” How precious a season was our quarterly meeting (14th of first month, 1824,) held at Austle. Is there any thing too hard for the Lord? “Call unto me and I will answer thee, and show thee great and mighty things, which thou knowest not.”

First month 22nd 1824.—Under a feeling of great discouragement at both meetings to-day, I trust my mind was sensible where all-sufficient help lies; though so little of this seemed manifested, or my soul so little capable of enjoying it.

23rd.—Found the overshadowing sweetness of Divine mercy renewed to me this morning, in a large degree; so that my soul seemed to receive it, as a token and foretaste of a more full fruition in a better state of being. Blessed be the Lord, who can raise out of the dust!

27th.—I thought I saw very clearly, that it is through obedience even in small matters, that our Society, in some respects, has attained a standing beyond most: obedience is indeed, a striking feature in the Christian dispensation.

To —.

Marazion, 12th of Eleventh month, 1824.

Dear —,

I have heard scarce a word respecting thee for a long time, but nevertheless I hold thee



very precious before my view; and thy humble waiting and walking is often encouraging. I should be much pleased wast thou inclined, in the freedom of old friendship, to salute me by letter at any time. Thou knowest not of what service it might prove to me, and be made instrumental to build me up in the most holy faith, as heretofore used to be the case, when we were nearer in the outward one to another, and at times blessed in each other's society. I have a full persuasion, however varied our habits and however distance as to space may have operated, together with other circumstances, that we are under the special keeping of the heavenly Shepherd; who can feed, and lead, and cause to lie down, and will permit nothing to make afraid, or to scatter from his pasture of life and fold of eternal rest. "My Father is greater than all," and none shall pluck out of his hand those who keep near Him, and lean upon Him. For he restoreth the soul, and leadeth in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. So that though we may have to walk through the valley of the shadow of death we need fear no evil,—He is with us, his rod and staff they comfort us. And when he is pleased to anoint the head as with oil, does not our cup flow over; and are we not ready to cry out, "Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in thy house for ever?" This is, I believe, at times thy experience, as it is my own. Then for us the feeble ones, who may, under discouraging apprehensions of our own state, be walking fearfully along, as with our heads often hanging down very low, and who may be said, in some sense, to have answered the call of the Lord, as in Joel, "Turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting, with weeping, and with mourning,"—even to such the language will go forth,—"be glad and rejoice, for the Lord will do great things," "for the pastures of the wilderness do spring, the fig-tree and the vine do yield their strength; and ye shall eat in plenty, and be satisfied, and praise the name of the Lord your God, that hath dealt wondrously with you: and my people shall never be ashamed."

Truly in respect to these things that have happened unto me, they have turned to the furtherance of the work of His glory and grace, who doeth all things well; and up to this day, through heights and depths, my experience is consistent with the language, "The right hand of the Lord is exalted,—the right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly;" for though he cause grief, yet hath he compassion, such as will carry through all. The manifestations of Divine goodness and wisdom, are indeed very great to the willing and attentive soul;

and whilst there are seasons when we are not so sensible of them, others are vouchsafed, in which we cannot doubt or fear but that as we continue the diligent and patient followers of our crucified Master, we shall reign with him in a glorious eternity of peace and joy. My mind has been of late more or less, since the decease or release of my beloved G., set on its treasure in the heavens, which will never pass away; and I have been assured, that if I continue in faith to the end of my day, a place will be prepared for me; it seemed almost as if permitted by foretaste, to lay hold of eternal life. Such views are very awful, yet very sweet to me; so that whether they are premonitory, or only admonitory, they have the effect of quickening me in the duties of life, and of increasing my true enjoyment therein.—"Work while it is day;" for "this is not your rest." Believe me, with warmth of affection, thy friend, J. B.

Third month 22nd, 1824.—I desire, when the hour of my departure draws nigh, to be clothed with faith towards God, and with resignation to commit my dear and only little one into His hand, who gave him to me: "leave thy fatherless children unto me;" "let their widows also trust in me," "the Father of the fatherless."

Fourth month 2nd.—I was this day inclined to believe, as I have been often of late, that the bereavement I have sustained in the loss of my tender partner, was intended in a peculiar manner for my good. I have been led to think, that as my dear wife was given to me at a time when I greatly wanted a helpmeet; and as she was one of a noble and capacious mind, inured to trouble and difficulty, able to counsel and to assist me; so when the time was come, for her to show me how to pass through the dark valley, she fulfilled the Divine will in a wonderful degree, as I believe, by setting me an excellent example, through Him who strengthened her, and who bore up her afflicted spirit through all that was permitted to assail. Oh! it is often wonderful to me, to think how suddenly at the last, she was summoned to take her leave of all that was near and dear in this life, and how this was accomplished; so that there seemed no agitation or disquietude, but a holy magnanimity, a deep and solemn reflecting on her condition, and a reverting to her only hope of glory. And now I am left, with the image [example] of a dear devoted child of God, my soul's fellow, often brought before me; to show me how to lay down these shackles, how to put off this outward man, and yield up my spirit to my God and her God!—How strongly has the uncertainty of my continuance in life been before

me; and strong have been my hope and humble assurance, that mercy will compass me about, and that the rest and portion of the righteous will be mine. I am ready to say, that those that come after me, will be helped, as I have been; at least in proportion as they follow the Lord's leadings: for this has truly been my inexpressible desire and comfort; and such will never be forsaken.

London, fifth month 11th.—I have had many bright seasons, much assurance and earnest of a better state, as I have walked by the way, and as I have been on my bed. "In all their afflictions," it is said, "he was afflicted; and the angel of his presence saved them." This language has been fulfilled towards me, and towards my dear deceased partner; and those that come after me will find, to their unspeakable support and consolation, that the same Divine Being is rich toward all that call upon him: if faithful, "this God will be their God for ever and ever; he will be their guide even unto death."

To ———.

Russel Square, 21st of Sixth month, 1824.

My dear friend,

It is pleasant to salute thee thus, and to remember thee from time to time, as a brother and companion in the heavenly way and warfare, striving together with me for an increase of strength and wisdom, to enable us to stand stedfast, immovable, and abounding in the work appointed us. I trust, that as the circumstances of trial and distress, which were on this very day last year, consummated in the release of my dear wife, and of which my mind feels often keenly sensible, were all turned to an unspeakable account and benefit, especially with regard to myself; so the precarious delicate state of my own health for some time past, has operated, and does continue to operate advantageously on the better part; and although in this visit to London, I may have been deprived of many seasons and showers of Divine good, there has been no want of the care and safe guidance of that invisible hand of Him whose visitations uphold or preserve the spirit, and whose comforts delight the soul.

Seventh month 16th.—So far recovered (from illness in London) as to go to C——. The Lord Almighty was eminently near me, by support and help in the needful hour, and through days and nights of tedious ailing and irritation; my situation often caused many tears in my retirement, but the Lord was near and comforted me, and helped me to gratitude as well as acquiescence: my tears were often turned into tears of joy. Much have I thought

in my distresses of that sweet answer of my dear partner, which she quickly and smilingly gave me, when in great depression, observing a sparrow on the house-top, opposite to her window, I said, "Like a sparrow alone on the house-top;" she replied,—“Not one of them forgotten before God:” I find it so to my unspeakable consolation in low seasons. And I think, since my trials and bereavement, that more of the consolations of Christ are poured into my soul, than used to be the case. Many have been the blessings shed on me abundantly in this tedious, though short confinement. May the Lord have the honour and praise, not only now, but for evermore!

17th.—Went out to ride with ———; a sweet day! What a change from my sick room and sofa and the smoky city, to the extensive prospects on the Downs, and the richness of nature's verdure. Was engaged in conversation with ———: I feel an interest in young invalids. O! that the ends of Providence may be answered in them, and in me also; then all will be well. These light afflictions;—what a moment do they last, when compared with the rich eternal recompense, reserved for those that commit the keeping of their souls in patient well-doing unto a faithful Creator.

18th.—First-day; at Croydon meetings. I had a sweet night of pouring forth of the heart unto the Most High. "I will cry unto God Most High, unto God that performeth all things for me!" Floods of tears,—tears of joy, because the Lord God sees me, and hath mercy on me. I had reference to my forlorn state and to the circumstance of my late afflictive bereavement; and I had a wonderful evidence that the Lord would be all in all to me, as he had been to my beloved partner.

25th.—First-day. Went to Gracechurch Street meeting, and had my mouth opened by the Lord. O! the peace—the rich flow of it in my bosom, at dear P. B.'s, after dinner; the Lord was with me: melting sweetness came over me in again giving up to express these and other words, "This God is our God for ever and ever; he will be our guide even unto death."

[In a letter to a person under serious convictions,—he wrote:]

To M. B.

In taking up my pen to reply to thy letter, I have felt the occasion to be no small trial of my little measure of faith, and have desired greatly, to be preserved in that pure and precious fear, which is said to be the very "beginning of wisdom,"—to have my own mind renewedly subjected to, and seasoned by, and stayed upon, that which can alone enable me



availingly to lift up a finger in the cause of Truth. I may tell thee, that I have had no little experience of the long-suffering loving-kindness that has followed and been with me, even as long as I can remember, unto this day; through many difficulties, discouragements, dangers, distresses, and what if I add deaths, (for he that liveth in pleasure is dead while he liveth.) When it pleased Him, whom to know is life eternal, to reveal his Son in me, (for "no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him;")—when it pleased Him, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, to give me an understanding that I might know him that is true, then it was I was given to see that "God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble,"—that "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will show them his covenant,—the meek also will he guide in judgment, and the meek he will teach his way." But I found that these things were and are hid from the wise and prudent of this world, and that the Scribes and Pharisees of this day, as in old time, are spoken unto in parables; because they looking see not, and listening hear not, neither do they understand; so also they ask and receive not, for the same reason, even because they ask amiss; and they look with that eye of reason which can never see, and listen with that ear of pride, prejudice, or passion, which is shut out from any capacity to hear the things which God hath prepared for them that seek him. So that of all things I was very solicitous, that I might have mine eye rightly anointed with the eye-salve of the kingdom, and be sent to the pool of Siloam; for I met with many whose eyes had been touched, and they seemed satisfied with seeing men only as trees walking, and others who, not having known the scales of mistaken zeal removed from their eyes, were going about seeking some one to lead them by the hand. But surely blessed are the eyes that see things as they really are, in regard to religious truths, and those ears that hear, and who hearing, obey Him that speaketh from heaven; these I considered to be the babes, to whom these truths are revealed, and to whom it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom; whose ears are not dull of hearing, nor their eyes have they closed, neither have they hardened their hearts; nor are they the stiff-necked generation, that do always resist the Holy Ghost: but unto them is given the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, the eyes of their understanding being enlightened by Him, who said, "I am the light of the world," and who told his disciples that he would be with them even to the end of the world.

Now mark, my friend, no sooner did the  
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enemy of my soul's peace and welfare, perceive that his power of darkness was broken in upon, by the dawning of the day-spring from on high, and that he, the god of this world, could no longer keep me in blindness and bondage to himself, and thus prevent the light of the glorious gospel of Christ from effectually and availingly shining in my heart; than he, as it were, assumed the appearance of an angel of light; and thus he laid a more subtle snare and gilded bait for my poor weary soul, than even I had known before. For the unwearied adversary observing, that through the precious powerful visitation of the Almighty, my mind was quickened and awakened to a lively sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, began himself to set me at work to recover from it; which indeed can only be begun, carried on, and accomplished by God, through faith in the operation of the Spirit of his Son, Christ Jesus; who remains to be the only sacrifice for sin, and Saviour from sin, and sanctifier of sinners. And now being little by little led and enticed to try, in my own will, wisdom and way, to get to heaven; and having let in the reasoner, the serpent, in this his refined transformation, I soon forgot that it is not to be attained by works of righteousness, which we can do or have done in our own creaturely ability, strength and activity; but by an unreserved and simple submission to the forming hand of Him, who made all things good in the beginning, and who can alone restore and bring back man into the holy heavenly image, in which he was created. So that instead of being created in Christ Jesus unto good works, I, having the understanding darkened, and being alienated, in some degree, from the life of God, became vain in my imagination; and my foolish heart would be exercising itself in things too high for me in my present growth; and busying itself and wearying itself with my own conceivings, speaking evil, or at least thinking lightly of things, which as yet I knew not. Thus, though I professed myself wise in the knowledge of religious truths, I became foolish. For all the fine show of doctrines, and of duties, and of ordinances, and of prayers in the market places, and as it were in the corners of the streets, and in the synagogues, and the giving of one's body to be burnt, and one's goods to the poor, or such of these great performances as were not the product of his holy aid and influence renewedly extended in the time of need,—were found to be but at best a hindrance to the free course of that well-spring and water of life, which had been opened within me. Although through the delusion and deceit of the enemy, I was thus tempted to build a very Babel of doctrines, heaping

up scripture upon scripture, text upon text, to support my fabric of confusion; and although I was very zealous in searching into these things in my own spirit and strength, (notwithstanding it is written, "No man knoweth the things of God, but by the spirit of God," and no man can rightly and really own Jesus to be the Lord, but by his Holy Spirit;)—yet in the midst of all this departure from the fountain of living waters, and this hewing out broken cisterns, that cannot receive or retain the water of life, I was not altogether left desolate; but the Lord regarded the integrity of my heart towards Him, even in those very performances and high profession, which displeased Him. Again and again he was pleased in unutterable mercy, to make known unto me that way, which he would have his single-hearted, simple, lowly babes to walk in:—no galley with oars, neither gallant ships could pass that way;—nothing that was high or lofty, or lifted up, however secretly, in its own estimation,—nothing of self, or of that wisdom which is foolishness with God, and which he will utterly confound and destroy, and by which the world never knew neither can know Him. I found all my own strivings, and the strugglings of the will of the creature, could not carry me one step forward in the narrow way; neither was I able by taking thought to add one cubit to my stature, in a religious sense; for I then saw it was not of him that willeth, neither of him that runneth, but of God and his grace, that cast up day by day the holy highway before my view,—giving me the strength sufficient, and the sustenance that was meet, and that degree of satisfaction, in regard to religious truths, which was best for me. And in that day, as also even to this very hour, the language often was to me,—“I have yet many things to say unto thee, but thou canst not bear them now.” But as I came from the feet of Gamaliel, to sit with Mary at the feet of Jesus, and to be taught by Him in his inward and spiritual appearance, (who is said to be the wisdom of God, and teacheth as never man taught, speaking with authority and not as the Scribes,)—I found that this Minister of ministers, did more for me as to the true and saving knowledge of Himself, and the things relating to his kingdom, than any man or book whatever. He (as his servant the apostle Paul said,) fed me with milk; and as I grew to riper years, in a spiritual sense, he gave me stronger meat. I found Him no hard master, nor austere man, requiring more of me than He had given strength to perform. In this humble, simple state, resting in the Lord, and waiting patiently for him,—not stirring up nor attempting to awake him whom my soul loved before he

pleased,—not desiring to have every thing all at once cleared up before my view,—not seeking great things for myself in any sense,—but only longing for a seat, if it might be the very lowest at his spiritual supper, or even to partake of the crumbs that might fall from his table,—willing also to fast long, if it so pleased Him, until the times of refreshing should come from his presence,—how was and is my safety, my sure standing, my strength, my salvation, known and felt to be wrought out, even with fear and trembling. For here in this lowly valley, where self was of no reputation, and the bleak gales passed over, and cut not the tender plant, the quiet habitation was known, the still small voice was distinctly heard, which said, “This is the way, walk in it.” I then knew my peace made and daily kept; even a holy assurance was given me, a holy confidence and repose, as in the arms of a faithful Creator,—agreeably to the language of the prophet, “Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee.” Here was communion and union with the Father and Fountain of mercies experienced; joy such as no man could take from me; a peace which passeth the natural understanding, and a holy heavenly fellowship as with the just of all generations. Here I could call God Father, because he had sent forth the Spirit of his Son into my heart, and I had received the spirit of adoption, whereby I could cry, Abba, Father. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are his sons. How precious is this passive, patient, submissive state of mind,—a giving up of all into His holy care and keeping,—a resigning of our own wills, wisdom, and the workings of our own spirits and nature, to be melted down, and moulded into accordance with His divine and glorious nature and image. Thus are we alone true witnesses and partakers of the first resurrection,—over such the second death hath no power; that part in us which is to die, being crucified, dead, and buried, according to the apostle’s testimony, where he says, “knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin.” How clearly, even with unclouded clearness, were things opened to me whilst in this state and condition; or rather how was my mind prepared and qualified (through a being clothed with humility, and the meek and quiet spirit, and by a daily waiting on the Lord for a renewal of spiritual strength,) to comprehend, apply, and attain unto the blessed commandments, injunctions, and instructions left on record in the Scriptures of Truth. The Psalmist said to this effect; “Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy



law;"—a proof he needed this best aid, or we may suppose, he would not have thus supplicated. Now the divine law was to be written on the heart, and put into the inward parts under the Gospel dispensation; and Solomon says, "The law is light;" and we read that "whatsoever maketh manifest, is light:" so that according to Scripture, we have light sown in the heart, unto which if we attend, it will manifest darkness, and the works of darkness, and reprove them; and this we read is to be the law under the new covenant. Then as I gave up, and was prevailed upon to yield unto the enlivening, operative influence of this inward principle, it came to work out the evil, and leaven the heart more and more into its own pure nature; so that instead of the light within me becoming darkness, my path seemed like that of the just man, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

Whatever profession we make among men, we must serve the Lord in newness of life, and be born again, born of the Spirit, for the carnal mind is enmity against God; and without holiness no man can see God, or his kingdom, (which is "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;") neither can he enter therein; however high the profession, yet so much the greater may be the condemnation. I have felt it to be a very awful consideration, my friend, that the enemy of our soul's eternal welfare, hunts for the precious life, the substance and root of religion; if he can eat that out,—if he can deprive us of that, though our branches of profession be spread forth as Lebanon, we shall be cut down, and cast into the fire, as a tree that cumbereth the ground of God's vineyard. He, even the enemy, cares not how busy and eager we are, in what we may be pleased to think is religion, and to call so; and though we may hold the doctrines of the very apostles and primitive Christians, yet he knows very well that a man's creed being scriptural and correct, is no certain criterion or proof whereby to judge what spirit it is that rules him. For we read, that the very devils believe and tremble; and they could easily cry out, in the days of our Saviour's appearance in the flesh, "Thou art Christ the Son of God;"—and again, "I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God." But Jesus rebuking them, suffered them not to speak; because, no doubt, their testimony of him, though given in respect to the matter of fact which they declared, was as it were a lie in their mouths,—agreeably to what Jeremiah says, "Though they (wicked men) say, the Lord liveth, yet verily they swear falsely." And we see in the account of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness,

how aptly Satan could quote scripture and bring texts to support his own vile purposes. Now we may remember, that when Peter confessed and said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;" Jesus answered and said unto him,—"Blessed art thou,—for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Here was an acknowledgment and profession, arising out of and flowing from a measure of the true, living, operative faith, which works by love, to the purifying of the heart and life. Here was something more—something far beyond, a mere hewing out of systems of faith, and holding them merely in the dead notion in the will of the creature. Few follow or feel after the spiritual guide and leader, which is Christ Jesus in his inward and spiritual appearance; who said, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you;" and who further promised, that he would manifest himself unto such as loved him; and that those who followed Him, (who is the Light of the world,) should not walk in darkness, but should have the light of life.

It is indeed the Spirit of Truth that can alone lead us into all truth; and it is the Spirit which quickeneth, for the flesh, and all that the creature can do by its own strivings and stirrings, profiteth nothing in the work of God; and the spirit of man as well as the wrath of man, cannot work the righteousness of God, but hinders and obstructs it greatly. Now, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord from heaven, is that quickening Spirit, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; whom the world cannot receive, (nor those that are in the spirit of the world,) because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but to those that leave all, and are willing to deny themselves, and renounce this world's spirit, and follow Him in the regeneration, the blessed promise and assurance is, "He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." "I am the living bread," said Christ; "he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him;" such spiritual communicants know Christ in them their hope of glory; and thus are they built up and elected in Him, the corner stone, elect and precious.—

We also own all that the Scriptures speak of, respecting His most satisfactory sacrifice, and that he tasted death for every man, purchased eternal redemption for us; and that "through this man is preached by us the forgiveness of sins;" none are saved but by and through Him; for we are reconciled to God by the death of his Son, and thereby put into a capacity to lay hold of that salvation which is freely offered, on condition that we repent and believe.

## CHAPTER XI.

[In the autumn of this year, 1824, he visited Malvern for the benefit of his health.]

Ninth month 9th, 1824.—At Worcester meeting. The Lord gave me some service in a private way these two days, though at L—— I was much shut up. There is cause to remember how my mind was opened and enlivened at this time, in a feeling of the good Hand that had been over me, in days that were long passed; and how I was enabled to recount to others the mercies that had been granted, and many deliverances which the right hand of the most High had wrought for me. Surely He is ever worthy to be honoured and served!

In meeting this day, my poor soul was constrained, in the powerful feeling of gospel love, to manifest by a public exhortation and testimony, my allegiance to my God. The peace that flowed was very precious; my soul would have been content to praise Him the Giver in secret, had this been all that was required. But I must bow down before the Lord, which I was enabled to do in much resignedness, and holy fear; craving earnestly the continued favour and preservation of the Almighty, on behalf of the visited ones; the savour of the precious life vouchsafed, remains freshly with me. Thus did my visit close in this part of the heritage, to my humble admiration at the goodness of the Lord.

Twelfth month 20th.—This day, as during many others of late, the gospel light has risen in me with much and indescribable strength; so that my poor vessel has seemed too full to contain, and I have been ready to pray, that the oil might be stayed. I have thought much of the language uttered by a worthy ancient; 'The Spirit that now rules in me, shall yet break forth in thousands.' I have fully seen and been assured, that the gospel day shall rise higher and higher upon the faithful; and with regard to my poor soul, that the Lord, whom I am concerned to serve and trust in, will carry me through, even to the end. The Lord be magnified, and He only,—whether by life or death.

To J. F. M.

Marazion, 24th of First month, 1825.

My beloved friend,

The hearing of your late bereavement has affected my heart, but to hear that you are, or have been, supported in calmness, is no surprise. Nor do I think to add any thing to this gift and qualification,—a resignedness to do and suffer whatever is, in the ordering of the Divine will, meted out as your lot in life. But

as we may be animated and comforted by the mutual faith one of another, it seemed as though it would be so to me, to address thee at this time, even in the love of our common Father; who brought us acquainted with each other, and who knit us together in His blessed fellowship, and hath preserved us in the Truth to this day, so that we are members one of another. I am persuaded, that nothing shall be permitted to shake our faith, or separate us from his love, as we continue to be concerned to cleave to it, in the heights as in the depths; but that in the end we shall be more than conquerors through Him who gave himself for us, and is very tender of us. And though we are appointed unto such afflictions, there is a time when the eye of the soul can see in these, far more of the compassions that fail not, and of the gentle leadings of the Shepherd of Israel, than in seasons of prosperity and ease. It is in these afflictions, that we see how in love and in pity He redeems, bearing the lambs as ever in His bosom; so that under a sense of these things, we are constrained, like the prophet, to "make mention of the loving-kindnesses of the Lord and his praises, according to all that the Lord hath bestowed on us, and His great goodness." Dearly beloved, what a fine thing it is to be able to look beyond all outward things, and to feel that our rest is not in this frail passing scene; but that we are bound for a glorious state, and are continually wrestling for an advancement in the way which leads to it; none of the tribulations we meet with, can then move us away from the joyful hope set before us, nor deprive us of that, upon which alone we can place our hearts. This is the language and experience of the faithful in all ages, and what is taught the least scholar in the school of Christ. And though there may be many, many seasons, when we cannot sensibly get at this measure of experience; yet the lowest smallest grain of true faith, that was ever yet permitted or dispensed to the upright, brings with it a sufficient "evidence of things not seen," to support and preserve from condemnation and despair.

Many, no doubt, continue to be thy discouragements, independent of this late source of trial. O! dear brother, be animated,—put on strength in the name of the Most High God; who is surely with thee, and will help thee, in every hour of need, and enable thee to rise over all that would keep thee down,—over all that would oppress his own precious life in thee. There is work for such as thou art, up and down in the earth, and in this part too, where there is much seed sown, and in ground prepared for its reception. I hope you and others, often strengthen one another's hands in



the Lord, and in his work and service; for the time is short, at the longest; and it is good to work while the day lasts, and to glorify the great name in the way of his own leadings; on which his blessing abundantly rests as ever! Ah! what can we render unto, or do for Him, who hath done so much for us!

With my dear love, from thy old and true friend,  
J. B.

To —.

Marazion, 8th of Second month, 1825.

Dear tried souls,

Cast down, but yet not forsaken, nor forgotten, but rather highly favoured, and under the peculiar care and preservation of the Shepherd of the flock,—my soul salutes you. Oh! think you in any hour of deep plunging, that a hair of your head, (figuratively speaking,) shall be singed in the fiery furnace,—or that they are not all numbered, or that your tears are not treasured up in His bottle,—put into his book,—that they do not come up continually before Him as a memorial! Surely His wonderful, unsearchable purposes and wisdom, shall be all duly accomplished; and his dealings will be found to have been in loving-kindness, in tenderest mercy. Be then animated afresh to commit all into his hands, to resign yourselves again and again unreservedly; retaining nothing but the desire to do and to be what He would have you, and to suffer all that He has or may permit, or purpose for you to pass through. O! then, with what invincible meekness and patience and long-suffering, will you be endued; then nothing will be impossible to you, all things will be made sweet; your goings forth be even prepared like the morning, and all the way cast up clear before you; and abundance of peace will be your crown and portion for ever. But do I only say this; do you not know it at times; and are not his promises stedfast, and his covenant sure? Will he forsake those that seek to serve and to please him, or forget the cry of the afflicted and the bowed down soul? "I am the Lord; I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed." Whatever may be the turnings or over-turnings of His holy hand, may He have all the glory in your entire dedication; and then no heights or depths will be able to separate you, or to shake your faith; nor will you in any hour rest unduly by the way in any attainments, but aspire after the further manifestations of His holy will and power; that so you may prove a blessing to many upon His earth, while ripening and brightening for a better world. I know not whether we may meet, yea or nay, in this state of being; if not, be it so: but let us struggle on, let us be willing to endure all

things. Be valiant in suffering; it is far beyond all service, to be made willing to partake of deaths oft, as a great Apostle; and to be conformed to the image of the dear Son—the Lamb that was slain, to suffer with him, that we may be clothed and crowned with his glory.

J. B.

[It was in the fourth month of this year, 1825, that he was acknowledged a minister by the monthly meeting of the West Division of Cornwall.]

To L. A. B.

Bradpole, 29th of Fourth month, 1825.

My dear L.,

When we think what unworthy creatures we are, even at the best, and how goodness and mercy follow us, sustaining us under our trials, and turning them all to our good, we have surely great occasion to lay hold of hope, to take fresh courage, to put on strength, and be armed with patience, cheerful submission, and full assurance of faith for the time to come. My mind seems equal to very little beyond my more immediate calling; and when not so engaged, it feels as poor, weak, and empty, as ever I have known to be the case. O! what a comfort from time to time to feel the Lord with me, strengthening me and prospering his work in my hands, again and again, to my humbling admiration at the power of his might, the excellency of his loving-kindness and his grace. It has more than once struck me forcibly, that if this work be of the Lord, and I be engaged in it according to his will, some that have been concerned to strengthen my weak hands, will participate in the division of the spoil, that is, in the earnest of the reward of the faithful. These who have given the cup of cold water, have done what they could; and what they have done in simplicity, on behalf of the poor servant, it is esteemed as done to the Master himself; though they may be ready to say, "When saw we thee in prison," &c.

To L. A. B.

2nd of Fifth month, 1825.

Having been helped to get over another mountain in the attendance of this meeting yesterday, and having been favoured to wrestle and struggle with the powers of darkness, and to suffer with a suffering seed in this desolate region, my heart feels comparatively light, hoping that I stand acquitted of the blood of some, and that through deep suffering,—yea, wading of spirit, the good cause has been espoused in some sort, however feebly, and the way of life set forth; in abundant condescen-

sion, I was favoured to get along safely, without, I trust, stumbling; though truly it was hard work. O! the lethargy, the lifeless, lukewarm condition of many: no hunger or thirst, no sense of eternal things, no relish for heavenly goodness; and such as are otherwise, sunk into a low, discouraged, dying state. Yet even here, the spark of divine love is not wholly extinct and taken away; but the Lord is waiting to be gracious, his repentings kindled together, and his pleading voice to be heard, "Why will ye die?" I conclude, if it be his good pleasure, that this place be favoured with those professing the pure spiritual way of Truth, there will yet be preserved a hidden remnant, who will not be utterly given over, nor give over the pure Truth to utter reproach; but in their measure, or according to the light received, will glorify, however imperfectly, the great Name!

Thou wilt feel tenderly for me; but I have been helped, so that I can say, the Lord has been sufficient for me in this great time of need and stress upon my mind and feelings. I know not, in the retrospect and amidst all the reflections that have been brought before me, that there has been any other than a peaceful satisfaction respecting the past, mixed with much occasion for gratitude, in considering how bountifully and wonderfully I have been dealt with, led about and instructed, kept from utterly perishing, amply provided for and sustained hitherto; favoured also with ability at times to trust that all will be well with me and mine, so long as we continue to seek and serve so good a Master, who will never try us above our strength, nor afflict us willingly. At —, I called on a Friend, and had a refreshing little opportunity of handing encouragement to himself and wife; heavenly goodness seemed near us. Oh! the work is very weighty, and the trials thereof are many; but the Lord is sufficient, as he is trusted in. I have not an anxious thought about you at home: I know who will watch over you, and help you every way; only let not the tempter discourage you; for it is the Master that says, "Fear not little flock;"—"Be of good cheer;" "Be strong," yea, be strong. Thy very affectionate brother,

J. B.

To P. H. G.

Sixth month, 1825.

After a considerable space of intervening time, I take my pen to salute thee, though scarce knowing in what circumstances this may find thee. If the best of us are but in the land of the living, partakers of life invisible and divine, how much have we to be thankful for,—how much to answer for! Whenever

I address thee, my dear cousin, in this way, the slender tenure we each have of all things here below, seems to recur to my thoughts; with earnest desires that my own state of mind and conduct, may increasingly be moulded to the image of the heavenly Pattern, and so be prepared to meet Him at His coming: who cometh in one sense as a thief in the night. But seldom have I known the evidences of divine peace and favour so veiled from me, I think, as at times since publicly engaged in this awful line of the ministry. To thee, I need not expand my views by much expression hereon; no doubt, thou hast known for many years, the dealings of inscrutable Wisdom, and the discipline of heavenly love and mercy, in strippings, in tossings, in wadings of the poor spirit; nor will it surprise thee, should I say, that sometimes it is so with me, that I seem pressed out of measure, so as to despair of even the outward life, as well as that which is described as being "hid with Christ in God." Marvellous goodness however hath provided all things well for me outwardly and inwardly, especially during my deeply proving prospects and journey; I have, as I suppose thou hast heard, taken meetings in Devon, Dorset, and Hants, on my way to the yearly meeting, and being likely to take the remaining ones in those counties with one or two in Surrey, as I return, after attending the six London monthly meetings. This last is to me in prospect crucifying, beyond what I can express, especially as I have believed it best to go single-handed.

10th—At night under great anguish of spirit, I wrote as follows, my heart being turned towards the Lord:

O! God, most holy, and almighty, all wise and gracious,—regard me with thy pitying eye; spare me, help me, save me in this depth of need, which thou only knowest, is beyond words. Deliver and preserve me to the end, and through all that which may in thy wisdom be permitted. Haste thee to help me, O! my God—my all! Let not my cruel enemy devour me; let not thy Truth be dishonoured by me; conduct me safely, and, if it be best, speedily, to my everlasting rest with thee and with thy Son. Amen! Amen!

To L. A. B.

15th of Sixth month, 1825.

On the 7th, I attended Devonshire House monthly meeting, and on the 8th that of Gracechurch Street; in both which I had to declare the excellency of that spiritual dispensation committed to us. What arduous work it is to minister, where the attention and desire of



those present is very outward after words. The extent of my wadings and exercises no one knows but the great Master; they have been various and abundant indeed, since the yearly meeting; the discouragements of the day I have never seen so deeply before, though I am not blind to the encouraging features. How short are we of what the Lord would do for us as a people, were we only simple, sincere, plain, humble enough! If we go on but as we do, I fear, notwithstanding all that is stirring, we shall as a Society be weaker than we now are.

On first-day evening, after due deliberation, (which indeed had been going on in my mind many days, being much exhausted in powers, both of body and mind,) I concluded it best to suspend all further proceeding, with regard to visiting meetings in this city. As my mind settled under this act of resignation, I was confirmed in its being of the Lord's ordering, and of his abundant mercy; who trieth not any beyond what he sees good, and whose service is a reasonable service. I wish greatly to be preserved on all hands, and in all things from hurting the good cause, which is dearer to me than my life. I am very feeble, and obliged to use the sofa very much, taking frequent nourishment, &c. I propose going with my brother to Bognor, in the hope of being better able (after ten days there) to undertake the journey home. I desire for thee as for myself, that endeavouring to live in Christian faith and simplicity, we may have our minds deeply centred and set upon nothing short of the unerring and Divine will in all things; then nothing that can happen to us will any way move us, but all will work together for our good, and for the honour of the great name. Thou must be sensible that this turn in my course, though by no means one previously calculated upon, was no great surprise to me; the wonder was, that I should be enabled to go through any part of the prospect set before me on quitting home, indeed that I was strengthened to entertain it at all, considering my weakly condition.—Give my love to Friends. I am a poor creature, but I trust not out of the reach of the infinite compassion of the Shepherd of Israel. Farewell!

Carshalton, 20th of Sixth month, 1825.

My dear —,

I may state to thee, that on sixth-day and seventh-day week, my powers of body and mind were so exhausted and enfeebled, as clearly to excuse me, in my judgment, from any further proceedings in my engagement for the present. I saw I had no hard master, nor unreasonable service,—that He knew what

had been given up and undergone for his pure name's sake; and, were it called for, that I was ready to give up my natural life, rather than shrink from suffering or from shame. Deep indeed have been the conflicts and the baptisms,—crucifying, yea mortifying have been the often silent labours of my soul before Him, on account and on behalf of this people, and especially in this great city, since coming to it:—whether I may ever complete what was presented to my mind, as a religious obligation, I know not; but I am very comfortable in an entire relinquishment of that part which respects London.

To L. A. B.

Bognor, 24th of Sixth month, 1825.

I am favoured indeed in being able to say how greatly the change of air, and the suspension of mental exercises have revived me. Truly, I felt both in mind and body, failing beyond the usual vicissitudes or ups and downs that attend. It was a great convulsion to my faith, though relieving to my poor frame, to have to resign what had been received as clear duty; and I trust, that if in any wise there was occasion for me at that crisis to remember Jonah's case, when he was angry, because his Master's will declared through him was reversed, the feeling was nothing worse than a jealousy for the honour of the great name, and the high vocation professed by me, lest the Truth should suffer, or any cause of offence be given. I am altogether in the hands of One, who can see if I have gone down to Joppa, and paid the fare to Tarshish. It is an awful thing in this day, as ever it was in any other, to take the name of the Most High into our lips, and to declare his commands; but if so, how awful is the situation of those who reject these messages,—who do not, like "that great city" of old, "cry mightily," and turn from their evil ways. The longer I was in that great city, the more was I baptized, (as I thought,) into a sense of that which is wanting, in an especial manner in our favoured Society; until the burden became more than I could sustain: and yet for a time, I could not see any way rightly to get from under it. When we consider what must be, and ever is, the condition of those who follow not the Lamb in the leadings of his pure light, and that it is said of them that love the world and the things of it, that the love of the Father is not in them,—that the friendship of the world is enmity against Him,—with many other such truths; what shall we think the fair profession of many is worth, in the sight of the Searcher of hearts. How glorious a thing, to be daily growing in grace, daily receiving heavenly

bread, daily partaking of the Divine blessing, and in that, moving and acting towards others in our several duties. It is wonderful to me, how my constitution seems in so short a time to have rallied.

TO A FRIEND.

Bognor, Sussex, 30th of Sixth month, 1825.

My beloved friend,

What a wonderful course have believers to tread in;—how led about, and in all things instructed,—how wonderfully and wisely dealt with! What a process it takes to purify us from self, and completely to redeem. Nothing less than an infinite Hand can do it for us; both as to mercy, wisdom and power, and that continually exerted in our behalf. I feel these things more than ever I did, and feel that I am yet but a child in the experience of them; because that which is attained, is as nothing compared with the fulness that is set before us. I trust we are companions in this path, wherein we are through many tribulations and chastenings and even apparent desertion and death, taught that we are poor creatures, able of ourselves to do nothing, neither to keep ourselves alive in a spiritual sense. It is hard work to endure patiently all that is needful for this purpose, and to accept all the painful operations of the Holy and High One for our good: yet there is no safety for us, but in submitting thus to what may be called the death of the cross; and “if we be dead with Him, we believe that we shall also live with Him; if we suffer, we shall reign with Him.” I continue to feel peace of mind in the step taken or concluded on, when under thy roof. What a shelter, dear friends, it felt to me to be with you; I wish often to be with you in spirit, and to partake of that which refreshes you, and which animates to hold on to steadfastness. My situation since I left you, has been one calculated to discourage; but I trust the Lord is my stay, though little evidence seems extended of that sensible support which poor nature looks for. It has been a sifting, searching time with me; the being thus suspended, shall I say thrown on my back, and my purposes turned aside, causes much scrutiny; but I cannot find that I have missed the way,—nay, the language presents, “It was well it was in thy heart;” yet as regards the future, I am earnest for clearness, though remembering that we are to “be careful for nothing.” Alton quarterly and monthly meetings are to be on the fifth and sixth-days next week; in being at these, I may see further what is best. My health is certainly better for being here, the bracing sea air has been very beneficial; but while this is the case, every day shows me

proofs of my exceedingly delicate state. A religious meeting costs me much travail, much wrestling of spirit; so does going about among Friends occasion much suffering and watching, though often with a cheerful countenance. If we are but kept simple, humble, patient, resigned to do or suffer, nothing can harm us, nor will a hair of our heads be singed or fall to the ground; all that can happen to us will only turn to our benefit, and not one of our sacrifices but will accomplish that for which it is designed by Him, who worketh in us and for us.

Ninth month 15th.—I got well home, with a peaceful mind, empty and low enough, though not so as to be insensible of the powerful hand that had been over me for good, and over all things else, to make them good to me. In the midst of much bitter conflict, which has since been in wisdom dispensed, it is a favour to have nothing to look back upon greatly to grieve or condemn the poor tried spirit, ready as it has been to halt, and to drink in discouragement; and in the feeling of it, one is ready to exclaim, how wonderful is the preservation and condescension handed to the poor instrument, when it has thus given up all for the name of the Lord!—and yet on the other hand, what weakness in any of the Lord’s people can be greater than that which such feel; so that every day and every way they would err and fall, and do evil, were it not that an omnipotent power is ever near to uphold, to prevent and to restore!

The monthly meeting soon occurring, I returned my certificate to my own satisfaction, and I believe that of my friends.

Tenth month.—Low times often: but out of the depths did I cry, and He made these “depths of the sea a way;” He led me through them as on dry ground, and showed me His wonders in them; so that I have been enabled to pass on, leaving them behind, yea, leaving every thing past and to come, in his hands, who can do all things for me.

New duties, new and arduous paths not cast up, no mark, no trace, no footing, but just in His footsteps, who putteth forth and goeth before. O! for a free, simple, entire throwing myself into His care and keeping and disposal in all things, now and evermore! for no one else can deliver or preserve, or carry through, or enable to glorify Him, or bring about things, that so they shall all redound to His praise.

[In the third month, 1826, he quitted his residence at Marazion, and in the fifth month following, he again entered into the married state, and settled at Alton, in Hampshire.]



Sixth month 22nd.—I have at times been almost ready to conclude it a vain thing, to attempt in this way to commemorate the innumerable blessings and mercies from day to day, from week to week, from month to month, which have been heaped upon me; and yet pure desires, I trust are at times known to arise, that others may be induced to come, taste, and see, how good the Lord is,—how wonderful are his dealings to the poorest, most unworthy of his creatures. Words cannot set forth what He is, and will ever remain to be, towards those that trust in Him, and hope in his mercy; and who still endeavour through all that may happen to them,—through all weaknesses, repulses, temptations, and exercises, to strive with a true heart to serve the God of their lives. Oh! what hath he wrought for me, more than in past times, if possible, more than in years that have long passed over! My removal out of Cornwall, my settlement in this allotment (Alton,) my many, many comforts, a beloved and loving partner given me in the place of her, that has been safely landed from this sea of troubles! how shall my soul ever repeat all that God hath wrought for me in these matters? Yea, how hath he preserved my goings out and my comings in, my up-rising and my down-sitting; so that notwithstanding the many haltings, stumblings, slippery and exceedingly difficult places, the Lord hath in good measure been my confidence, and kept my foot from being taken, and my life from being smitten to the ground by the enemy. He hath made for me a way, where I could see none; he hath made that to be possible; yea, brought it to pass, which seemed impossible,—and brought me safely through; so that I can indeed yet praise him for his goodness.

To E. S.

Alton, Fifth month, 1826.

My dear friend,

To say that my soul doth tenderly and deeply sympathize with thee under thy sore bereavement, is saying little at such a time as this; and yet well knowing how wonderfully the Divine compassions are extended in such an hour, I cannot be anxious that my pen should be made helpful to thee. It is indeed a season when “the powers of the world to come,” and the “heavenly gift” are to be tasted and deeply drunk of; for whatever be the nature of man’s extremity, it is then the Lord is most inclined to draw near, and manifest the excellency of his never-failing arm; inviting, nay, urging the sons of men to take refuge under his healing wing. My belief is firm, that it is not only possible but easy,

through submission to this inward operation and aid, for the soul to be raised above the outward, and settled in a holy calm, where it can bless, and praise, and magnify through all, the name of Him, who doeth all things well, and nothing in vain. It will no doubt be thy concern, as it is our duty, to dwell on the various blessings connected with this painful dispensation; that thy dear wife should have reached her home, is one that strikes me forcibly. But there is much of tenderness and gentleness in the Lord’s severest dealings, and in those which seem darkest or bitterest. We know not the end and meaning of many designs, but they are developed by and by, even to our own astonishment and satisfaction. Yet in respect to these, and all other indirect alleviations or abatements to the acuteness of feeling, it may be said, at least for a time, in the language of Jeremiah, “When I would (thus) comfort myself against sorrow, my heart is faint in me.”

Thy dear little eldest child will often, I trust, beguile away a heavy hour of musings and of mourning, and take thee from too selfish an indulgence in what has been termed, ‘the luxury of grief,’—help thee also to cast an eye on the future, rather than to dwell too much or unduly on the past,—and lift thy tried spirit out of the unprofitable depths of sorrow; and her little prattle may sound like a call—lead me to follow her thou mourner.

What a spur to diligence, to increased care in all the allotment of duty, does such a loss as thou hast sustained, if rightly borne, bring with it. If thus I have been favoured to see “the end of the Lord,—that he is very pitiful and of tender mercy,” and that “blessed are the dead who die in him,”—what shall I render, and how shall I live, and what shall I not endure for the sake of “so great salvation,” so excellent a Saviour. Truly, dear E., I look for something out of all this; for the Lord hath done great things for thee, as for her, thy precious partner; and I cannot but think, thou mayst lift up thy head in hope, and go on in the strength of the Lord. For though many may be and must be our remaining tribulations, before it be said to us, “Thy warfare is accomplished;” yet while our dependence and surrender of soul is maintained in even a small degree of simplicity, He whom we serve will never leave nor forsake us, nor fail to make good all that He hath promised.

May the consolations of God be abundant with thee; and may nothing of this transitory world, whether heights or depths, come between Him and thee, to deprive thee of the richness and fulness of his blessing, yet poured on them that mourn.

My dear love attends thee. May we abound

in grace, and every good fruit, even by abiding in the vine, being often purged as fruit-bearing branches, and chastened as dear children. Farewell, I remain thy affectionate friend,  
J. B.

## CHAPTER XII.

[In the eighth month, 1826, he informed his monthly meeting (Alton) of a religious concern to visit the meetings of Friends in Scotland; also, some other meetings in his way thither and in returning; a certificate was granted, and he left home on the 19th of that month, taking the meetings of Newcastle and Edinburgh in his way; he then proceeded to Aberdeen, and there attended the half-year's meeting. The following are extracts from his letters written during this journey.]

25th of eighth month, 1826.—[From Edinburgh he writes:—]How poor do I feel, and yet an engagement of heart in this line of duty—how humbling is it! What but the power of Truth, livingly and fresh communicated can preserve, much more enable to do any thing to the glory of God. I feel my own childish growth, as well as that inability we all share as men and creatures; and I long that the Lord would be pleased to endue me with more skill and capacity to advocate His cause, as well as with simplicity to lay aside every weight, and keep clear of every snare. Do often think of me for my good, and help me with thy most earnest fervent desires to the fountain thereof, that I may be thoroughly furnished for every needful time,—endued with wisdom and an understanding heart, with clearness also of spiritual sense, and with might in the inner man. The Lord direct my way and prosper it, for He knows that in integrity I have sought His will only to do it.

Ury, near Stonehaven, ninth month.—Our meetings (the general meeting,) have been pretty large, and much favoured with the manifestation of the ancient arm of power; so that in the strength thereof a remnant could say,—“one generation shall praise thy works to another, and declare thy glorious name and goodness.” I had, on first-day morning, my time of silent admiration at this, which is the Lord's doing; but in the afternoon meeting, which was very largely attended by strangers, I was led to stand up and open that great mystery, but to us most true ordinance, of waiting on the Lord, with the excellent benefits to be derived from this practice in respect to spiritual attainments. The people were very quiet and attentive, though still flocking in. There were many Friends in the ministry who con-

firmed these things, and further set forth the Christian life and doctrine. Second-day, the general meeting was held, when the Lord was pleased to appear amongst us to our great refreshment: much instrumental labour was bestowed, especially on the unfaithful, who were warned in a solemn manner again and again.

On fifth-day, I was at the Aberdeen meeting, in which I had under a sweet feeling to encourage the little flock to hold on their way. How precious did the Lord work that day; I shall not easily forget it.

This place (Ury) has for some years been surprisingly improved, especially of late, the walks and woods planted by the father of the present proprietor, are beautiful; a bold rushing stream winds not far from the house, through a bed of rocks; and the inequality of the ground is pleasing indeed. It is a sweet spot. The proprietor, Robert Barclay, received me very kindly, and welcomed me. I am made very comfortable here, but must get through my business and be gone: accordingly, I have this morning examined the library throughout, and found already several interesting things; but the correspondence is what I want, and hope to see.

On second-day, I completed my business here to my satisfaction, having brought with me what was valuable.

Fourth-day, 16th.—Was at Dunfermline, where a little solid company sit together: none of them are yet acknowledged members. The Lord was good to us, in bowing our hearts together low before him, and I trust it was a favoured time; pretty much counsel was handed. I thought there was evidently to be felt a good work upon some, and I trust it will stand, even in the face of a crooked and perverse generation of professors of the Christian name, among whom, living, powerful, operative religion is much wanted. On fifth-day, I attended the meeting at Edinburgh in course; I took my seat, hardly knowing any besides the family in which I was received; but the Lord gave me to labour abundantly, for their arising out of their present low state: I rose early in the meeting, going into things very particularly, laying before them the causes of weakness, under which I apprehended they laboured; with much more respecting the only sure foundation and resting place, and what a building on this would make them: the Lord was near to help,—blessed be his name.

At Carlisle, I attended the meetings on first-day; wherein the great heavenly Shepherd's crook was extended, and his care was over us. Wonderful is the help handed to me, to do whatsoever I find to do. Many hearts were I trust humbled that day; for the Lord was surely



among us. I met with some young plants, and made a call on a precious family, and my heart was refreshed in the hope that they are bowing under the yoke of Christ. I sometimes feel a temporary disadvantage in my youthful appearance, until my Master makes way for me in the hearts of my friends. I went to the monthly meeting held at Pardshaw, a country meeting mentioned in George Fox's Journal as 'Pardshaw Cragg:' here, as I went, my friends pointed out the rock, where he preached among the mountains: they also showed where John Burnyeat, John Banks, James Dickinson, and others lived. At this meeting at Pardshaw the Lord was pleased this day to manifest his name, and glorify it, which is as ointment poured forth. O! he worked marvellously, giving His blessing and presence amongst us, who were a large company; so that the flow of exhortation was as a mighty stream. I felt the Lord to be very near, and my poor spirit was greatly refreshed; and my soul somewhat filled with their company: but I find day by day, that former things must be left, and not rested in, that the mind may be free and unshackled against the next service.

To E. S.

Edinburgh, 14th of Ninth month, 1826.

My beloved friend,

On the receipt of thy account respecting our endeared companion, who is gone before to his rest and reward, my heart was wonderfully helped to a degree of quiet acquiescence in the blessed purposes of Divine wisdom and goodness; so that though few, very few were nearer to me than he among the flock of the faithful in Christ Jesus, I could not hold him on this side the grave; but seemed entirely prepared and resigned to lose him, as to the outward; well knowing our oneness was not to be destroyed by death. Ah! dear —, when we can look with anointed eyes on these things, and are permitted to enter into the purposes and will of our heavenly Father, whose ways are higher than ours, who doeth all things well, nor any thing in vain,—what a favour, what a mercy is it, that the message is given to the quickened soul, "Time to thee here is no longer,"—"Come up hither." O! what a release, what a dismissal, what an enlargement to the poor tribulated spirit, labouring amidst temptations and the assaults of the prince of darkness, yea amidst many infirmities, afflictions and doubtings: but how unutterably awful is the voice of warning conveyed in this dispensation to others, among whom that dear servant has gone testifying in his life-time of the powers of the world to come, and of the terms on which alone the

gates of heaven are opened. Surely, my soul said, on first hearing of his illness, this was a seal to his testimony, and a crown to his labours of love, which the Lord hath set; and let his will be done. And now how is such a circumstance calculated to bind us who remain, one unto another, and above all, to the great Head of the church,—to stimulate us to an earnest heed to the things that make for such peace as our beloved Edmund had, and is centred in;—for here is a fresh and indisputable evidence, that "these things are faithful and true,"—that "the Lord is at hand," and watches over us for good,—that "verily there is a reward for the righteous,"—that "in due season even we shall reap, if we faint not." My heart flows in gratitude to the fountain of good, in remembering all that He wrought for our dear E.; for truly the Lord was with him, whatever were his snares or infirmities in common with many of us: my prayer is, "let my last end be like his;" let me only get to the end of this appointed warfare safely as he has! There is a blessing upon those who hold fast the beginning of their confidence in the Lord steadfast to the end; who mourn not as those that have no hope: for as certainly as he who is taken from us, hath "received the end of his hope, even the salvation of his soul," so in due season they also shall surely reap, who faint not; their tribulation will work patience; and though they cannot as yet go to him, yet those who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth, after their measure and testimony for Him are filled up, we well know, will have of Him a place prepared for them.—Wherefore the language runs in me, "let not your hearts be troubled, neither let them be afraid." My mind is often raised secretly in supplication, that this dispensation may prove the raising of some from their graves in a spiritual sense, to glorify the God of their lives, (in whose hands their very breath is,) both in body, soul and spirit. For the Lord hath spoken to them by his servants as yet much in vain; and he hath now given them a sign and token of what He can do, by even snatching them from the earth, it may be in anger and not in mercy, unless they repent and turn speedily, yea wholly unto Him.

I have been to the meetings in Scotland with a certificate. The Good Master is tender to me a poor creature; and while sufficient strength seems to come in every needful hour, I have nothing to spare, being borne along through heavy conflicts and deep baptisms. J. B.

[He returned home the 6th of tenth month, 1826, having attended the meetings in Cumberland, York quarterly meeting, and some meetings in Northamptonshire.]

Third month, 1827.—Attended our spring quarterly meeting at Poole, and the monthly meeting there; also our own at Andover in course. At the latter, we had the company of dear H. and M. M., who had then completed a visit to the families of Friends in our monthly meeting; in which engagement, as far as regards the sittings with the families in this place, I joined them, and had comfort therein, it being remarkably brought about, agreeably to my anticipation. How gracious and tender towards me was my heavenly Father, the Head of his church, in this opening; making a way where no way appeared, and safely leading me forth; so that I trust in this little, but to me arduous service, I could acknowledge that the Lord was near and helped.

Fifth month.—I was favoured to attend all the sittings of the yearly meeting. We had very agreeably the company of dear W. and R. Byrd, on a religious visit to the families of Friends in our quarterly meeting: they stayed with us some days, and the opportunity in our family may my soul ever remember, and take encouragement from, and bless with reverence and humility the name of the Lord.

Eighth month.—My mouth, as a minister, has been so laid in the dust, that I know not what to think of it; my soul has been now a long time plunged into various discouragements respecting my spiritual condition, so that I know not where this dispensation will end. O Lord! preserve and sustain and redeem my poor soul!

Ninth month 17th.—Left home with certificate granted me by our monthly meeting, to visit the meetings in Berkshire, Bedfordshire and Herts, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire.

[Extracts from his letters written when on this service, are here subjoined.]

Wycombe, 20th of Ninth month, 1827.

We reached Reading in time for the select meeting, where was T. B. I was favoured to my unspeakable comfort, to break through the load by which I have seemed to be enveloped for a long season, and had to declare of the goodness of the Lord, in I trust something of the simplicity of the gospel, greatly to my peace of mind; that season appearing like an earnest of future help and guidance. J. P. was there, and he and I went hand-in-hand, being greatly favoured in being so one in our line of labour. The next day, I had in some degree to take the lead; others confirmed the word, to my humbling admiration at the condescension and wisdom of our Holy Head. On sitting down in the second meeting, a sudden exercise came over me about going into

the women's meeting, which endeavouring well to sift, I thought it might be passed by, unless some other had a similar feeling; when presently after, J. P. rose, and said he had such a concern, though without a certificate; he knew not why, but wished to leave it with Friends: they fell in with it, and then I named how it had been with me; when it was fully united with. We went; and I trust the work of the Lord prospered by our giving up thereto. I have been favoured to get along very simply, without reasonings, forethought, or after reckonings; all is made good to me, and my soul dwells in a calm easy way, not over careful about any thing. The Lord does all things well in and for me, and I have no lack; though nothing to boast of, yet nothing to complain of,—blessed be the name of the Lord: and may thy soul continue in this acknowledgment, yea more and more; for what can we render? Time would fail me to say all I could of his mercy to me, even these few days back; so that I hope I may humbly say, all is well, and that I am in the line of duty. My prayer is, that when favoured to meet again, we may be enabled to build one another up in every thing good; and more and more abound therein to our mutual comfort, to the animating of others, and to the praise of Him, who has done great things for us, in helping and sustaining; so that we have not been utterly consumed, though deserving nothing short of it. Farewell.

To J. B.

Wellingborough, 3rd of Tenth month, 1827.

My dear friend,

Truly the feeling of love towards my many dear friends in Cornwall is so expanded, that I thought it nearly impossible to confine my address to any one in particular; thence discouragement ensued, general epistles being much out of date now-a-days. But O! how often do I think of some in particular in your district; yet longing for the preservation, yea, the growth of all. What a noble company is the Captain of our salvation seeking to gather; how glorious would be his arising among you, designed indeed to form part of his "army with banners," and called to be more than conquerors through Him. The Lord remains to be to his devoted servants the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, unless they withdraw from his service: the Lamb and his followers shall now, as ever, have the victory. But some are ready to say with one of old, even to the mothers in Israel, "Except thou go with me, I will not go down;" and the answer to such must be expected to prove not altogether to their honour: for such look too



much to the poor prophetesses, instead of diligently setting themselves about their own business,—which is, indeed, to fight the good fight of faith. The example of dedication set by many in Cornwall, oftentimes refreshes me; and the more I think of them in this way, the more I long that they may “abound more and more;” for yet these many privileges and surely gracious visitations, are to be improved accordingly.

I may now tell thee how wonderfully the Lord’s mercy has encompassed me about, and his aid been afforded me in every hour of need; enabling me to do, I trust, his will in some small measure, while in this awful engagement of visiting the churches in the love of the great Head thereof. O! my heart overflows, when I think how great has been the condescension vouchsafed; whereby preservation has been hitherto known in good degree from the devices of the enemy, and under all the discouragements and provings of the day, which are very many; yea, strength has been known at times boldly and largely to advocate the good and great cause, and to testify of that grace by which we must be saved through faith in its operation in the soul. I have been at all the meetings in Scotland, and at several of them more than once, and have taken some others both in going and returning: they have generally been to my great relief and comfort, and, I trust, lasting benefit; so that my soul is in degree qualified to utter the language, ‘Oh! how great is Thy goodness, which thou hast laid up for them that desire to fear, serve, suffer for, and trust in Thee!’ How thankful ought we to be, dear friend, for all the mercies still handed to us, even day by day; and O! how ought we to walk before Him, who thus deals with us.

To M. B.

Berkhamstead, 25th of Ninth month, 1827.

I feel oftentimes a very poor creature; but we are not our own, nor have we any real occasion of regret or discouragement, that we have given up all for the sake of Him, by whom we enjoy all things. It is a great favour that I am enabled to say, the Lord has helped me on my way.

On sixth-day, I went to Chesham meeting: I trust the Lord was amongst us there in an eminent degree; nor do I recollect often being so enlarged in the heavenly gift. Oh! may the word have entrance and prosper, among a backsliding and halting generation. That evening we returned as far as Amersham, having a meeting there with Friends.

On seventh-day, we went by Jordan’s meeting house; it is well known as the burial place

of William Penn, Isaac Pennington, and Thomas Ellwood; a secret solitude in the midst of a woody and hilly district. I saw some original letters of Isaac Pennington, &c.

On first-day morning, I attended Wycombe meeting, and was favoured to declare the Truth without fear of man. That evening, we reached this place (Berkhamstead,) a newly settled meeting, and were comforted, I hope, together. Yesterday we went to Hemel Hempstead, an appointed meeting, and returned hither. My health is preserved, but at the end of some days’ work, I feel much wearied; it is a comfort to have some evidence, that, however small my measure of labour, it is nearly as much as my frame is equal to; yet the Lord makes up all.

Tenth month 7th.—First-day, I attended the meetings at Devonshire House; was silent in both: glory be to the great name!

First-day, the 14th.—Attended the meetings at Uxbridge; on the 17th, the monthly meeting, and on second-day following, I reached our comfortable home at Alton, through the matchless condescension, goodness, and forbearance of my Maker, Preserver, and Redeemer.

To —.

Alton, 15th of Twelfth month, 1827.

Be assured thou hast my very tender sympathy under the important circumstances thy letter unfolds; and that my best, though feeble desires are, and will be for thy best welfare. I cannot doubt but preservation and sufficient help will be extended, while a simple, upright, unreserved surrender of the will is sought after and abode in. I have thought, in a case of this kind, there is always abundant condescension, gentleness, forbearance, and long-suffering, manifested towards us poor fallible creatures. He that putteth forth and goeth before us, knoweth our frame, and himself took our infirmities: when we take a step a little awkwardly, or with too much forwardness, or mistakingly, mercy is near to hold us up and restore us, so long as we are not wilful, but singly desire to be right in our movements. We may be, and some of us know we have been, long borne with, in much that borders on, and indeed proves to be little better than thorough unbelief and disobedience. We read that “rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft:” we may have held back on different grounds, very reasonable as we have thought; but we have been chastised for this,—leanness and feebleness have come over us, so that when we would afterwards have given up, the Divine sense, strength, and blessing have receded; neither have we enjoyed the answer of, “Well

done." Our situation perhaps has somewhat resembled that of the Israelites, who after refusing, attempted to enter the promised land: there is, nevertheless, forgiveness with Him, that he may be rightly feared, and also plenteous redemption. I believe we are safe in resting under a holy simple fear and caution, as to so awful a proceeding as the first exercise of the ministry; but how far this should be carried, cannot well be defined for another; vessels are variously moulded, and variously dealt with or used;—there may be too much of this as well as too little, for our snares and our tendencies differ. Even though we wait for what we may suppose only adequate strength and clearness for the occasion, this may stand in the way of our having that degree of it, which was intended for us, had we used more self-renunciation, or been more disinterested in our service. It is plain, we are not to expect to have just what evidence would please or satisfy our own feelings, which may have become somewhat morbid by dwelling on things too much. Ah! the simplicity of a true babe in Christ is what we want most, far more than that kind of assurance we covet thus greatly: a little of this goes a great way; it is the faith which pleases God, and removes the mountains; and by which we are to walk, rather than by sight: it leads to look not at self with anxiety, how we shall be provided either with discernment, courage, or what else is needed; but to rest in the Lord, and cast our burden on him, knowing he is ready to sustain such, so that they shall lack nothing; nor are they much moved by what arises to perplex, discourage or prove them, trusting over all in never-failing goodness.

I hope if what is now handed, should feel to thee to be as a word in season, and in any wise coming from the right source, thou wilt not hesitate to accept it through the fear of leaning on man. I consider that when instruments are rightly engaged for the help of others, they act not in their own name: such are ordained and needful in the church; and if our eye be single to the great Head, the giver of every good and perfect gift, and to his inward appearing and sense as to what comes through others, we shall not be in danger of hurt,—bearing always in mind his injunction, "Take heed how ye hear."

### CHAPTER XIII.

SECOND month 9th, 1828, (Alton.)—Thus far brought on my way, through the gracious condescending care and preservation of my God. Since I last wrote in this rough Memorial, how much do I owe for all the mercies

poured upon me every day! Disease has prevailed all around; some of our acquaintance cut down in the midst of youth and health: why are we so dealt with, even in this one respect; and why in all others so blessed? O! is it that we walk more acceptably before the Lord, than those that may have been less privileged than ourselves? No, far from it! who so worthless, so graceless, in proportion to the talent bestowed as myself, in dedication either in my family or in the church! O! how the enemy wounds and smites my life down to the ground! so that my faith is ready to fail, and mine eye in looking upward. To whom shall I go, to whom flee in every conflict, if not to the only resource and refuge? O! that my poor cry may be regarded,—'Let not the enemy vaunt and triumph over me;—let not that which thou hast begun in me, O Lord! the author and giver of all good, be evilly spoken of; and they that hate me rejoice when I am moved.' O God! the strength, the power, the victory are thine; let me at this time return thee thanks out of an humbled and honest heart, for what thou hast hitherto effected, in drawing me out of darkness into thy marvellous light. O! let me hope, that thou wilt henceforth preserve, guide, and uphold my poor soul, amidst the sea of temptation and conflict, in which thou mayst permit me again and again to be plunged. Let me trust thee for mercy, renewed pardon,—and plenteous redemption, yea, for victory over all my besetments and weaknesses; so that I may put on strength in thy invincible name, and under thy holy banner make war in righteousness, against the world, the flesh, and the devil. O Lord! thus undertake and overcome for me, who cannot do any thing without thee. Thou hast been my help; leave me not, neither forsake me, O! God of my salvation. Break my bonds, I beseech thee, and loose my captive spirit, which through thy grace longs for deliverance more and more;—nothing can satisfy my cravings but thy unbounded goodness.

Fifth month 18th.—First-day, during the yearly meeting:—every meeting day, yea, every day, every hour of my life do I stand in the presence of Him, who is the God of the spirits of all flesh, the Master of the assemblies of the faithful, King of saints, the Judge of all the earth! "Fear ye not me? saith the Lord!"

To —.

Alton, 29th of Fifth month, 1829.

Our quarterly and monthly meetings were seasons of sadness and depression, as thou mayst suppose: but some of us were given, through and over all dismay and affliction, to



trust and to cling to that, which yet remains an immovable rock and refuge; and therein to rejoice and be thankful on many accounts, though in tribulation. Surely, the effect of such shakings and provings of the foundation, whether it be the true one, and whether we be rightly established and preserved on it, must be ultimately strengthening and beneficial, at least to a remnant in our poor Society, who desire in some degree of sincerity to be searched and tried, and to be purified even seven times.

[In the ninth month of this year, 1829, he removed to Croydon, within the compass of London and Middlesex quarterly meeting: he had been much engaged in the preparation of works for the press, and he believed the neighbourhood of London would afford him great facilities for such engagements. One work which occasioned him great labour about this period, was the *Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, the original manuscript of which he had discovered at Ury in Scotland;—the decyphering of this manuscript, as well as its preparation for the press, called for much laborious exertion: memoranda frequently occur in his private note book, of his being engaged 'at Jaffray,' 'seven' to even 'nine hours' a day. And though it may be feared such close application was prejudicial to his health and delicate constitution, nevertheless he would often say, that he believed it to be a line of service marked out for him by the Divine hand.

In the eighth month, 1830, he obtained a certificate from his monthly meeting (Kington,) for religious service, in the quarterly meeting of Dorset and Hants, his concern being to visit the meetings, as well as the families generally; with liberty to include the counties of Kent, Sussex and Surry, if Truth should open the way.

In the first month, 1831, he returned the certificate, at the same time acknowledging the gracious dealings of the Lord, in supporting him through this engagement, and in granting the sweet incomes of peace.

The following are brief extracts from some of his letters, written during this engagement.]

Alton, 22nd of eighth month, 1830.—Having now got through this part of our humiliating path,\* and being about to depart on the morrow, I thought I might attempt a few lines to tell thee that we got well here; and we have been so closely engaged, as indeed hardly to leave time for conversation with Friends, or for relaxation of any sort. It is humbling

work indeed, and I have been so low, that it seemed as if I should not have held out; but the water seems turned into wine, beyond all expectation. I have not been silent in any sitting, though nearly so in both meetings this day. Oh! may the Lord continue unto us strength and wisdom; and if it be His will, may He enlarge my poor soul a little, to testify and sing of his power.

Southampton, 25th.—Though I cannot say any thing of heights or of abundance, yet sufficient strength and ability seem vouchsafed to my poor soul, to raise it to a degree of cheerfulness, and of reverent thankfulness. I find wonderful condescension and support administered in all times of need, though the path is a very humiliating one.

Poole, 30th.—The good Master, whom we are longing to serve, though in abundant weakness, is not wanting to extend his help in every needful season; so that from time to time, He raises the acknowledgment of gratitude, and renews the desire to be entirely resigned to His will and disposal. We have been kindly received everywhere, and I trust have been preserved from hurting the good cause, or those that love it. My health and spirits are tolerable; and though the weight of things feels awful, yet eyeing the Lord's mercy, I seem lifted over selfishness in some degree, and am careful for nothing.

Horsham, 1st of Tenth month, 1830.

I trust I do feel, however inadequately, that it is through renewed mercy and favour I am here, and again made willing to do and to suffer, whatever may be meted out for me, if it be but for the Lord's precious cause and to His glory. O! saith my soul, that the dwelling of each one of us may be so near the right spot, that we may not only truly and fully discern, but appreciate, what may make for our own peace, and our progress heavenward. However heavily the hand of the Lord may in any wise be laid upon us, is it not for good, and should we not even kiss it, as well as bear and submit? It is but little, very little, that we can give up, and but for a short season, unto Him, who hath given us all things that we hold dear: O! then, that we may prize and cherish the privilege of lending to the Lord; who will assuredly love the cheerful giver, and restore and enhance his own gifts to such with increase.

We have had a sweet, precious, uniting season together this day, not only in meeting, but since; and though with myself it has not been a high day, yet I have been sensible of that which has stayed and sustained, and even animated my soul to run on with patience. I am intending to be on first-day at Godalming, at

\* He was united with his friend J. F. Marsh in the service.

the interment of a Friend, whose awfully sudden removal will be affecting to thee: when sitting at dinner with her family, she was smitten as it were in a moment, and was a corpse in a very few minutes: I understand a striking silence prevailed with them, from the time they sat down at table.

Guilford, 6th of Tenth month, 1830.

Since I wrote last, I have been favoured to get along comfortably, having been well in health and spirits, cheerful in mind, and wound up in some good degree, I humbly trust, to my business, from hour to hour. I have been enabled to go through what has come before me as duty, even with alacrity; so that often the acknowledgment has arisen, "By thee I have run through a troop, and leaped over a wall." Do not, however, suppose that I am unduly elevated; but am rather preserved in a calm, steady trust, and in resignation to the Lord and to His disposal; desiring only to do all his good pleasure, or that it may be fulfilled and accomplished in me; ever bearing in mind, that I am not yet (so far as I can see of the future) putting off the armour or harness, but have still to fight and to labour still to keep under this poor frail body; and in soul and spirit also to seek to be sustained and subjected in all things unto the end.

I attended the monthly meeting at Horsham, on seventh-day, and was (notwithstanding the flow of doctrine and exhortation we had had the day before) led pretty largely to testify among Friends. I proceeded to Godalming on first-day morning, where the interment was to take place. I concluded to join the mourners at dinner, and attended their evening meeting. We commenced the next morning visiting the families, which we have now concluded, much to my relief and satisfaction; after much exercise and endeavour for a long season to know what might be best as to this service, and as to the time, I believe that I have been well directed thus far. I feel that the Lord will fulfill his precious promises, and be unto me all I stand in need of, while I look unto Him in simplicity and faith, striving to obey Him.

Folkstone, 13th of twelfth month.—We have now completed at Dover, and have entered this day into our labour here. O! surely the Lord is no hard master, and sendeth not any forth at their own charges; but is very graciously disposed to fit out according to his own purposes: thus are removed all sufficiency or dependence on any thing short of the fresh and humbling ability that He gives. We have had some precious seasons, reviving to our drooping spirits, when even at the lowest ebb;

and we are bound to rejoice and give thanks, and go on our way in faith, with alacrity, and patience of soul, come what may.

Canterbury, 18th.—I hope I may again say, notwithstanding low and trying seasons, we are favoured to proceed comfortably on our errand; feeling where our anchorage is, and what we have alone to lean upon. We have been led into some strait places; but have always found in the hour of extremity that which has carried us through. O! it is a comfort, beyond what I can set forth, to be quitting a place, and feeling there is nothing to regret having done or not done. We have had some very precious times, and some have been remarkably melted down, in I trust true contrition.

[He was favoured to return home from this close and laborious service in peace, the 25th of twelfth month, 1830.]

To ———.

Second month, 1831.

Whilst writing, I cannot well forbear expressing something of the sense I often have, of thy deep unremitted interest in the welfare of our Society, and the sympathy which I believe, very many besides myself, feel towards and with thee, under the many exercises and engagements that are thy portion, and which may be said nearly to absorb the whole man. I trust it will not prove unwelcome, if I venture to say how I have longed that thy hands may be strengthened according to all thy need. No doubt thou hast at times occasions of dismay and discouragement on various accounts: but it is consoling and animating, to have the truth of the declared decree sealed afresh to our wearied spirits, "yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion;" and again,—“the enemies of the Lord shall be as the fat of lambs, into smoke shall they consume away.” Be assured there are many with thee, (and with others that desire to be true-hearted labourers,) when and wherein thou little thinkest this to be the case: and though the fathers and mothers in our Israel be removed, without any doubt, it is the same almighty, all-wise hand, who removes these, that is able of the stones to raise up children. It is often remarkable, how from time to time the Head of the church, possibly after a time of treading down and humiliation, raises up instruments and aids in all the different offices, one here and another there; even so, that we cannot find any cause to murmur against “the good man of the house,” although it be according to His own purposes, grace, and goodwill, and not according to our mere human apprehensions of what would be best. Thus he renews the face of his earth spiritually,



and brings forth a song in the hearts of his children, somewhat similar to those beautiful words in Psalm lxxxix. 6, 7, 8, 16, 17 verses. "Who in the heaven can be compared unto the Lord," &c.

1831.—O! the glory, the excellency of the power and wisdom and truth of our God and Saviour! How was he manifested, and his grace and goodness, and plenteous redemption, when the groans and cries of some of his poor oppressed and exercised ones went up as mingled clouds of incense! "For the sighing of the poor, for the cry of the needy now will I arise, saith the Lord." When things are apparently at the lowest,—when our prayers seem to return into our own bosom; when the heavens are wrapt in thick folded curtains of darkness, then the coming of the Lord on high is often as the vivid lightning, enlightening the skies, from the east to the west; in effect declaring to poor mortals, that it is He alone who can create light and darkness,—can cause the light to shine in and out of darkness,—and can turn the night season spiritually into the noon-day.

First month 14th, 1832.—Employed on Jaffray nine hours. Some days this week, I was exceedingly stripped, low, and tempted, almost beyond measure: but on fourth-day, had a good meeting, and a sweet silent opportunity with a young person who has applied for membership. These words were impressed on my mind; "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you."

Fifth month 21st.—I resume these notes, and it is under a sense, greater if possible than ever, of my incompetency to set forth my many feelings and exercises, either in reference to my own condition, or that of the gathered church with whom I associate. I cannot recur in this place to what has transpired, since I last wrote in this little book; suffice it to say, my soul does feebly desire to bless the great name of the Lord, my Saviour, for the very thought and hope now presented before me—that because He lives, I live also. To be preserved alive in the Truth unto this day, and once more to meet with and recognise my friends in the Truth, in the life of it; this is indeed a favour. And to be given to know, in any measure, what has aimed at the life, and is yet seeking to devour, leads to some hope of a complete deliverance from the snares of death. Ever since I have attended this yearly meeting, my mind has been deeply exercised according to my capacity for the welfare of this people. As I proceed in my pilgrimage, I trust my confidence is increasing, that the great "I AM," the King of Zion,

still reigns, and will reign to the overthrow of all his enemies; and that He alone is equal to take care of his church, and to overrule all things for the good of his little dependent ones. Yet, O! how awful do the times appear in which we live; and how awfully critical is our standing among the various professions around us. Doubtless, it always has been so, perhaps more so, than those of any particular age may have thought. Every period has had its dangers, its temptations, its responsibilities. Yet surely ours are, if not new, very specious snares; and when I look around, I am ready to think, who, even among the highest in knowledge, in faith, or in gifts, is not fearfully liable to fall into some of these snares. O! I have this day seen, as I think, in the light of the Lord, the enemy endeavouring to deceive, if it be possible, the very elect. There are baits already laid, golden baits, which, if they are not seen and shunned, will even devour those who devour them. I see not how some, who now take the lead amongst us, will or can escape being carried away, as with a sweeping flood, by that which they are now swimming in; unless the Lord prevent, I see not how this Society can escape being landed, yea stranded, on a rock. Every day, every fresh occasion of witnessing the spirit and proceedings of these times, convinces me beyond all hesitation, that we are fast verging to a crisis,—an alarming crisis, and a shaking sifting crisis, when every foundation will be discovered, every covering removed. And though many will say, "Lo here is Christ, and lo there!" is he not with us, and do we not own him and follow him? Yet a clean separation will take place between the chaff and the wheat, and nothing will be able to endure the refining heat of that day, beside the beaten gold. O! how loose, how crude, how mixed are the views of many: how accommodating, how shifting is the ground they stand upon; how lofty and superficial is their edifice, though beautiful, and apparently solid also. O! for more humiliation, fasting, waiting! O! for less activity, less self-conceit, less taking of the name of Christ in vain! May such a view of things conduce to drive and keep me yet nearer to the Source of all safety and of all succour; that I may abide in Him, and grow up in Him in all things who is the Head!\*

\* These remarks will doubtless appear the more striking to those readers, who can recall to mind the circumstances of the Society in the next and the succeeding three or four years more especially: the publication of the work called the Beacon, which occasioned so much painful excitement in the Society, occurred about the beginning of 1835.

[In the spring of 1833, he was first attacked with an inflammatory complaint in the knee-joint, brought on by a longer walk than usual, but aggravated it was believed by a depressed state of constitution, consequent in some degree on his too close application to the Diary of Alexander Jaffray, &c.,—this left a weakness upon him so as never after to be able to take his former portion of exercise, on which he had felt his general health so much depended; the limb was kept for some time under surgical care, and many means were resorted to for its restoration, but without success.]

To ———.

Croydon, 17th of Eighth month, 1833.

My dear friend,

I must not longer omit assuring thee of the acceptance of thy letter, which was truly cordial to me; evincing that thy mind through all changes has remained, as I trust, firmly anchored on that Rock which cannot be removed; and comfortably proving to me, what I sometimes seem almost unable to assume, that my own poor tossed bark is yet preserved on the top of the waters, and this by the skillful hand of the unerring pilot. Truly it is reviving to know, that we have companions in this wilderness and warfare; that we do indeed mutually desire to walk together by the same rule and to mind the same thing; and that no temptation or strange thing has happened, or is happening to us, but what is common to men, yea, even the best; and that above all, He is with us who can alone do all things for us, and enable us to endure all things through faith, of which He is the author and the finisher.

I earnestly trust that thy mind is too much one with the wrestling seed of Christ, to suffer thee to be in any wise moved away from the humbling engagement of filling up thy measure of usefulness, in whatever way may yet remain for thee, or be pointed out; even that thou art endeavouring to be looking right on, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left; suffering nothing overmuch to absorb, disquiet, perplex, or divert thee from that which makes for peace; and pursuing the simple path of duty, wherever it may lead. Ah! how easy to prescribe all this,—how difficult to get to that spot and to keep there, where the yoke, the burden, the commandment are known and felt to be easy, light, and most pleasant. I rest as ever thy affectionate friend,

J. B.

To ———.

Croydon, Tenth month, 1833.

Thy letter, my dear friend, I believe I have never acknowledged; but be assured it was in

all its parts very acceptable, although it conveyed tidings of a truly mournful aspect. These things, however, must be expected, and those who are entering into discipleship, must bear to hear of what the Master forewarns them they must endure. Though they "hear of wars, and rumours of wars, men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things" that await, &c., yet "see that ye be not troubled;" and "in your patience possess ye your souls," is still the watch word of perfect and divine Wisdom, coincident with the blessed experience of the Psalmist,—“My heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord;” by whom the very hairs of the head are numbered, and every thing overruled for the good of his chosen, now as ever! And they are directed in all their movements, so far as the Master has need of them, in steadying the ark, or bearing it aright, without over much anxiety; trusting themselves and their cause, which is his, to his own keeping. We have signs of the times enough to assure us that there is that at work in our Society, which if not averted, may beguile and corrupt, if not shake us as in a sieve, till we be reduced to a little remnant. O! that we may individually be concerned to know the will of our Master; doing neither more nor less, acting only in the obedience of faith, making faith perfect, as saith the apostle James.

Farewell, my dear friend: think of me for good, that I may hold out to the end safely.

To ———.

Croydon, 5th of Tenth month, 1834.

Most fully do I and many more unite in all thou hast conveyed in thy last; and especially in those clear views thou hast received to give forth (as I believe) relative to the state of the church. My heart salutes thee, and bids thee God speed on thy journey, travail, and service; desiring that no man, nor thing, may hinder thee from doing all that thou hast to do, in thy measure and in thy day, for Him and his glory, for his cause and people, while life and strength are graciously vouchsafed. O! how often have I remembered thee, and thought of thee, as one whom the Lord has made use of in an eminent manner, to uncover and bring out to view the working of the wily enemy, as it is this day; and to manifest the path of the Just One, and the work of God in and among his people. As surely as I believe the views, which we have ever held, to be according to Truth, so I believe, that many up and down are preparing to acknowledge and embrace them; and that the old fashioned testimonies which are upheld in our early



Friends' writings, will come to be admired and sought out. O! surely, there is a goodly company without our pale, who may even take the places and the crowns of those, (be they who they may within the camp,) that desert the cause, which once was dear to them, and which they honoured, but who now seek to undermine, lay waste, or make of none effect; endeavouring also to lower the standard, and make it square with their own notions and practice. It seems to me, that the snares and temptations are more and more seen through by Friends at large, especially the lowly, contrite, little, teachable ones—the poor of the flock.

I have been absent from home three months this summer in Cornwall, &c., having liberty for religious service among Friends, as way might open; and found myself obliged to join hands with a beloved Friend, in visiting the families of Falmouth monthly meeting. I have had much occasion to notice, that, though the standing of many seems in slippery places and on shifting ground, and many of understanding may yet fall, there is nevertheless a worthy remnant, whose hands, though hanging down, I trust will not let go their hold of that which they have truly handled, and which they know to be their only hope, strength and safety. No convulsion apparently awaits us, it might be better for us if it were so;—no, no; the enemy is wiser than to foment this: only let us be induced to give up the true foundation for another, and he promises so gently and peaceably to glide us on it, that we shall not know it; except that it will be less rugged and hard to flesh and blood without any cross or struggle; and there shall be nothing taken from us that we may affect to prize, such as our customs and traditions, our church system, and so forth,—nothing shall be disturbed of all this; and all the professors, and the world too, shall love us the better. How instructive it is to see, that the most eminently gifted instruments are only really useful, while in the Divine hand and ordering; and that the Almighty is not bound to work by them, but as he sees meet: and he can raise up striplings, that no flesh should glory! It is the distinguishing feature of this heresy, that it runs among the rich, and the great, and learned, and the eloquent, and the gifted, and experienced. O! that all who are not with us would even go out from us, and show their true colours; it would be more honourable, than to be endeavouring to insinuate something else among us, which our fathers could not, neither can we adopt,—nay, which we protested against, and came out from, when we became a people.

Thy affectionate remembrance of us is very

precious; and it is our sincere desire, that thou wilt continue to think of us for good, who often feel very sensible what poor unworthy unprofitable things we are, and how we are borne with and favoured! Farewell, my beloved friend; may the Most High be our shield and exceeding great reward, and a very present help in trouble!

J. B.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

To —.

Croydon, Tenth month, 1834.

My beloved friends,

I AM ready to believe you would not attribute my silence to neglect or want of feeling, were I even longer to forbear to communicate by pen and ink. I trust we are too much like epistles written in one another's hearts, that this should have place. Be assured, however, that it is very pleasant to me to salute you from my home.

I visited dear W. Byrd, and found him comfortable in mind; he had lately been taken into the garden, and was placed by the grave of his wife for a short time. I thought him more bright, and clear, and collected in his faculties and memory, than when his wife was living. The retrospect of my journey leaves nothing but peace hitherto; and my only disquietude is, lest I should not duly estimate this blessing, with those also that have attended me throughout. I think nothing has failed of what it seemed given me to expect beforehand would be allotted and meted out. It has been an instructive humbling time; and in this I rejoice greatly, for there is no state, I so desire to be preserved in, as that of pure dependence, fear, and tenderness of spirit. I gave in my report to our monthly meeting, and endeavoured to stir up the poor flagging mind to faith, zeal, and love; but things are flat now-a-days: sometimes under a sense of it, one is ready to say, "My soul is sick with sighing," and "Oh! that I had in the wilderness a lodging place," &c. Yet at other times, when favoured to rise above a selfish interest and anxiety, one cannot but see it is very needful there should be a falling away first, that the man of sin may be revealed, and more and more discovered, and that Zion may be more and more redeemed through judgment, and saved as by fire. O! may nothing in low and trying seasons be permitted to intervene and trouble us unprofitably, either as to our individual lot and state, or as regards our precious fellowship and unity in that which is unchangeable, or as to the state of the church or the world; but may we continue in faith and patience to the end.

J. B.

[In a letter to another friend about the same date, alluding to his late journey, he says:] 'Though the humiliations have been frequent and great, a sense of preserving help has never been withheld in the needful measure, and at the needful time. I have found no wonderful enlargement; but in my little way, have endeavoured to sympathize with the suffering seed, the wrestling remnant, who are concerned above all things to maintain the testimony of Jesus, by dying daily to themselves. And the Lord will still keep these in the hollow of his hand; and, amidst all exercises and tribulations, such will grow. May we ever be counted worthy of taking our lot among this number, drinking into one spirit.'

To ———.

16th of Twelfth month, 1834.

Unless we have forfeited our privileges as Christians, and are utterly lost to all right feeling of Divine help, is it not natural and likely, and consistent with the provisions of Divine wisdom, that as our day is, so should our strength be. And O! the invincible, the unutterable strength of the true faith, even but a grain;—it is calculated to overcome the world and the transient things of it; as embraced and laid hold of, and cleaved unto, it makes us heirs of life, and gives victory over death. O! then, what cause, and also what ability may we find, even to "rejoice evermore, and in every thing to give thanks," as John Woolman told his attendant,—for this is, indeed, the will and purpose of God in Christ Jesus concerning us, that thus we should 'glorify him in the fires.' Our business is to stay ourselves upon the Lord, and fully to realize the truth, that all things will be found to work together, and to have happened, for the very best, to those that above all things desire to love and serve Him. May we more and more exercise ourselves in these views, that we may in no wise be moved by these or any afflictions; but that the further we go, the more we may witness of the Lord's wonders in the deeps, and be confirmed in the experience of his mercy, faithfulness, and strength; though it should be continually made manifest and made perfect in our abundant weakness. The times and the seasons are well left in his hand, who ordereth or overruleth all things well. And in the present low and trying state of things, it is not to be wondered at, that oppression and obstruction are permitted to be felt, to the bowing down of the very souls of some!

To ———.

Croydon, 5th of First month, 1835.

Thy communication of the 6th ult. was very welcome and refreshing to us. O! how

remarkable are the ways of omnipotent Wisdom, infinite love! As Penington somewhere says,—if its outgoings are stopped in one direction, it will break out with proportionate beauty and force in another. O! what can the enemy do, to hinder the glorious arising and irresistible spread of the gospel of Truth and salvation? He may vaunt and do great things for awhile, such as may, if it were possible, delude and carry away the very elect; and all the world may wonder at the beast; but the Lamb and his followers must and shall have the victory; and the kingdom and dominion are given to the saints, even the tribulated witnesses and partakers of that power and faith of Jesus Christ, against which the gates of hell itself shall never be able to prevail. Though it would be very pleasant to be personally near to thee, and to the numerous company whom thou and I have seen coming forth of the barren wilderness of professions into the green pastures of life, and into the quiet habitation where none can make afraid,—yet it seems as if my right allotment for the present might be far otherwise; and with that and every condition, I am desirous to be well content, in the hope and assurance, that while in this state of resignation, nothing can be better for me, and all things shall turn to my good, and tend to His honour, who is all worthy for ever.

It seems indeed as if the Lord was mustering his host for the battle,—his little remnant, whom he ever delights to hide in the hollow of his hand, while they are singly given up to serve Him in true-heartedness: sometimes also he signally commands deliverances for them, though the enemy may seem to be coming in as a flood, and ready to devour all before him. But what, as thou writest, shall we say to these things? Is there not occasion for us, through all that we meet with here, in every thing to rejoice and to give thanks. "The Lord liveth, and blessed be our Rock;" "because He liveth," whose mercies are so renewed to us, do we 'live also' from day to day, and have at times a precious degree of hope given to us, that we shall outlive all that can happen to us here, and be safely landed in the end, where joy and peace abound for evermore. O! then, may we each in our allotment of labour, suffering, or rejoicing, fill up our measure; and work with a good heart, while it is day,—while we see the way open before us,—in full assurance of faith and love; turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, and endeavouring (for we cannot always succeed herein,) to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of sound and true peace. I rejoice in every opening and appearance of good among any people; but I cannot rejoice in finding a falling short of that, in which divine



grace would establish all who know its teachings. Some of us seem to be made more use of, in the way of inviting, attracting, grafting and gathering,—others in proving, confirming, settling and furthering those, who are brought into the fold or planted in the enclosure. I long that none of the labourers, among you more particularly, may interfere in their own will and wisdom with the services of others, that our comfort in the Lord, and one in another, may not be marred. May we all be builded together, and seek also to build up one another, in the main thing—our holy faith, which stands in power, in truth, in love, in peace, and in the abasement of the creature. O! may this blessed work, with you and everywhere else, go forward, notwithstanding all opposition or misgivings; and may all that would let, with every weight, be laid aside, and removed out of the way, saith my soul!

Whatever may be the good pleasure of Him, who raised us up by the breath of his word, with regard to our undisturbed enjoyment of those sweet privileges of fellowship together, as a visibly distinct body, of which we have so long and so unworthily partaken,—it is more and more clear to me, that the faithful, and those that humble themselves in the dust before Him, will never be utterly forsaken or forgotten;—that these will never be altogether disappointed of their confidence, though they have the bread of affliction and water of adversity administered for a long season and in large measure:—the Lord will still have a people peculiarly formed for Himself, who shall purely show forth his praise, and be enabled to lift up His standard to the nations. Those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in very truth, not feignedly, and who in proof thereof are given up to follow him in the regeneration and daily cross, I trust will not be permitted to be moved by afflictions, nor carried away by delusions, nor exalted by abundance of revelations, nor turned aside by the business or the pleasures, the cares or the riches of this life, or by love of other things; but these are concerned to lie low before the Lord, and to be crucified with Christ; that so they may say in truth, “I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth” and moveth and reigneth “in me.”

J. B.

To —.

12th of First month, 1835.

I understood — to say, that she believed, from the extensive opportunities she had had of judging among all kinds of churches and professions, that the enemy was busily at work to scatter and divide; and that, therefore, we had great need of care, that we do not his work, by giving way to unfounded or unnecessary surmi-

sings, or misgivings, or apprehensions as to the existence of defection in doctrine among us. So far from uniting with this sentiment in an unqualified manner, it seems to me, that though the enemy is busily at work, as has been said, this is not all; but that the Lord also is at work, breaking up the false rests and old formal settlements of people; and saying to many, “Why seek ye the living among the dead?” and his design in all these shakings, and siftings, and overturnings is, that that which cannot be shaken may be manifested and may remain; that men may see, that it will not do any longer to go after the Lo! heres, or Lo! theres, in this or that system of observations; but that the kingdom and power are to be found within. And so is Christ’s own language fulfilling,—“I came not to send peace, (that is a false peace,) but rather division:” he is separating, and will make a clean separation, between the precious and the vile; and is purging away all old leavens, of refined error as well as open evil! And we, who look for all things being made and kept new, pure, and of God, and who desire all old things to be done away that are not wrought in God, should not shrink or be afraid. We that desire to be searched and tried, also to prove all things, and to be wholly given up to the Lord and his guidance, should not give way to unreasonable or unwarrantable fears, lest we be doing the enemy’s work; but simply to eye our Captain: and if He show us the enemy at work, attempting to insinuate poison into the church, and put us upon resisting and withstanding him and those deluded by him,—this is not the work of the enemy which thus engages us; for Satan never yet did cast out Satan. The giving place to such fears, would lead us to esteem the guidance and instructions of our holy Head by his Spirit uncertain and questionable: whereas the way of the Truth is a plain way, so that the wayfaring man, though a fool, is not to err therein; that is, as he looks to the Lord alone, and does not lean to his own understanding.

J. B.

To —.

8th of Second month, 1835.

May the blessing of heaven above and of the earth beneath attend you and yours,—the blessing which makes most truly rich, and adds thereto no sting of sorrow! This has been my secret petition in some of my best moments, when thinking of you; and surely I shall be excused for telling you so. There is that which crowns all other blessings, as you well know: there is that, (let the thoughtless, the unfeeling heart say what it may,) without which our very blessings are of no bene-

fit to us, and every gift of Divine providence and grace is liable to be perverted and abused; instead of being faithfully held in trust, and duly appreciated and applied, to the enduring good of ourselves, and of all with whom we have to do. This is nothing less than a sense of the presence, counsel and aid of Him, who giveth us all things richly to enjoy, and will graciously condescend to show us how we may use these things as not abusing them; how we may no longer live to ourselves; but whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, may do all to His glory. May this, my dear —, be the first object in our eye, the very business of our lives, in all we undertake, in all we have to pass through. Then shall we not fail of that inheritance, which our dear Lord and Saviour purchased for us by his coming and by his death; then shall we be Christians indeed; and when our little moment of probation is over, the eternal weight of unmingled joy and glory shall follow. J. B.

To —.

Croydon, Sixth month, 1835.

No sooner was my eye opened to see the excellency there is in the Truth, now just above twenty years ago, than I began to appreciate the blessed experience recorded by those worthies, (our early Friends;) who in the same line of testimony were counted worthy, as it were, afresh to cast up the way and revive the ancient simplicity of the gospel. Since that time, poor and feeble as I feel myself, and unworthy to bear the precious name by which we are called,—in the midst of blushing at my own dwarfishness and abundant occasion of humiliation and of exercise; I may say, that this feeling and love to the pure cause of Truth, as professed by our Society, has never slackened. How animating it is, and comforting to believe, as I have done at this time, in the reading of thy letter, and observing your exercises and efforts [in America] on account of this most precious cause,—that the Lord hath not forsaken those, who desire to cleave to him, with full surrender of themselves; that He is still near to help in the needful time, to limit the power of the enemy, and lift up a standard against him, and to overrule all for the good of those that fear Him. O! how little do we know of the designs of His wisdom and goodness to his church:—His people are permitted to be bowed down, afflicted, oppressed;—He chastens them, and minishes them; and then (as the history of the church sets forth,) He raises them up by his own arm of power, beyond all expectation;—He even works by poor, little, feeble instruments, and in unlikely ways; till

he has effected, through suffering, the enlargement, strengthening, and glorifying of the house of his glory. Isaiah lx. lxi., &c.

It is remarkable, that there is a numerous body of scattered and hidden seekers, who have tried all other ways, and retired from them more or less; and who are sincerely looking to the spirituality of religion, and to us as holding up this view. By these the most primitive productions are increasingly sought and prized.

With regard to cutting down some of our Journals, &c., I have always looked upon this as a delicate or difficult matter to do unobjectionably. We are too apt unconsciously to ourselves, to choose that which in our present state and turn of mind we are impressed with, or that which the present tendencies and exigencies of the times seem to us to call for; and possibly (for often it has been so,) to the unequal upholding of divine truth, or a partial exhibition of the character and line of testimony, which a Friend in his life-time maintained. This, doubtless, can be much guarded against by a judicious hand, and under best direction: but still I have been afraid of paraphrasing upon, or extracting the experience of others; we may so readily give an aspect or colouring different from the original document. There has been, in my opinion, ever since the creeping in of degeneracy, a correspondent endeavour to refine upon, to remodel, and soften down the rugged plain truths delivered by these ancients; and I think I see this in many of the publications that have of late years issued from the press. The more pure days of the church yield to me much the most interesting and impressive experience. O! how is the simplicity overborne, even in dedicated minds, now-a-days; how refined, how self-indulgent, and full of reasonings are we! At what a low ebb in many places is our ministry; even strangers noticing the change, and the approach to their pulpit eloquence: Scripture words indeed there are, yet often attended with but little of that authority, weight, savour and life, which tends to baptize and bow down the spirits of all, and to humble the creature under the mighty hand of Him, who worketh all in all. Surely, among many causes, our being so mixed up with all sorts of people, sometimes for purposes very good in themselves, has contributed to this state of things:—"strangers" to the life of Christ inwardly revealed, have "devoured our strength."—Hosea vii. 9. I must conclude with saying, may the Lord by his power interpose, and show us whence we have fallen, and preserve us from falling still more generally and utterly!

Farewell! I shall be pleased to hear from



thee, whenever thou hast occasion or liberty to address me; and sometimes, at least, think of me as one that longs to endure to the end, to hold fast faith and patience, till the Lord say, it is enough. I remain a poor and weak brother.

J. B.

[In the third month of this year, he became very ill with a severe attack of influenza, and was reduced to such a feeble state of health, as to afford little hopes of his recovery, either to himself or to those around him. In this very weak condition, he was desirous of being removed to the Isle of Wight for change of air, which was accomplished by slow degrees and great care; and at the end of ten days the improvement was surprising. During the summer of this year, by frequent change of air, he was favoured to regain nearly his former state of health; but in the ninth month, in returning with his wife from a journey in the west of England, he was again attacked with inflammation in the knee-joint, which was so severe, that he became from that time almost wholly deprived of further use of the limb: great pain and suffering came on, and it was not until many weeks after, that he could be removed home. During this affliction, whilst laid up at the house of a Friend at Melksham, who with his wife, were very kind and most attentive to him, he wrote thus:—]

I hope there is no cause for discouragement on my account up to this time: I trust I have some sense of the tender mercies of Him, who deals gently with me! But I think, there is no need to express much to thee, as to my feelings and state of mind, in reference to this dispensation of Providence. Thou knowest I wish to hope the best, and to prepare for what may seem the worst,—to be prepared for all that may be in store for me: and this is what I desire for all who are near and dear to me. How much occasion there is to possess, as though we possessed not, and as those that are liable to be cut off from any of these enjoyments at a moment! May we be strengthened to take every cup as at the Lord's hand, and he will not fail to sweeten it. J. B.

To ———.

26th of Eleventh month, 1835.

“Day unto day uttereth speech;” and while every day brings with it its peculiar duties and trials, there is enough of mercy and help manifested, to give abundant occasion for the engagement; “While I live will I praise the Lord; I will rejoice and give thanks while I have any being.” Oh! that you may have

found, and may always find, the Lord near to you in the time of need, as your bow and battle axe, your shield and refuge! I feel persuaded the Lord would do wonderfully for you, and make you a blessing to many; that he waits and watches over you for good, to build you up, and to enable you to build one another up in the most holy invincible faith; to animate and strengthen each other in the good work,—to hold the beginning of your confidence steadfast unto the end,—to endure hardness—run with patience—war a good warfare, and win the unspeakable prize of salvation. Faithful is He that hath called, who also will accomplish all that He hath promised, if we do but cleave close to Him, and trust in Him at all times, pouring out our hearts before Him, and giving up all, even what is most near and dear to flesh and blood. How much hath He brought about, how great things hath He wrought;—the strong men, the high towers and fenced walls, and pleasant pictures hath He marred, and the lofty city laid low. He hath in exchange given to apprehend the simplicity, the excellency there is in the Truth. What a high calling; what a talent is consigned to us! See that thou magnify His work, said one: and O! that our desires may be from day to day renewed, that Christ and his thorough work may be exalted over all, in and by us, come life or death, come wintry storms or genial sunshine across our path.

J. B.

To ———.

13th of Twelfth month, 1835.

I hope you both live in a thorough willingness to come up to the help of the good cause. What a self-saving, self-serving spirit is abroad; shrinking and skulking, instead of exposing all, life and reputation, laying down all for the brethren, for the church, for the Truth, for the Lord! May you be strengthened and animated to know what is your part and duty; for some are to be saviours on mount Zion, to turn the battle to the gate. He that saveth his life shall lose it,—he that hateth not father and mother, &c., yea and his own life also, cannot be Christ's disciple;—how awful! Why have we not that holy zeal, and weighty concern, and true call, to break down the altars of Baal,—to warn, to rebuke sharply, to cut down deceit!—O! that I may be found, during my few remaining days, fulfilling this course; and through all, dying daily! J. B.

To ———.

Stoke Newington, First month, 1836.

My dear friend,

I have delayed, longer than I wished, to answer thy brotherly communication of eighth

month last; one indirect cause of which, perhaps I may say, has been my own invalid condition; which has laid me by on the sofa for more than three months, a cripple reduced to crutches; and suffering some considerable pain at times, but far more from restlessness, helplessness, and various feelings of infirmity, not readily enumerated. Inflammation which had attacked my knee-joint nearly three years ago, and by which I had been greatly tried, was renewed upon me; and notwithstanding all means used, I have not been able to bear any weight upon the leg, nor to lift it off the other, when lying across it, except by hand. Thus situated, wearisome days and nights having been my portion; attentions to the poor body have much taken me up, and perhaps shut me out from much active participation in many things that have been passing. Yet this only in a certain way;—for never have I had a livelier interest, and as I think a clearer sense of the state of things up and down. As ‘the tidings’ reach me in my chamber, of different movements and circumstances that transpire, my mind seems permitted to travel on into the future, and to see what some are contriving and concerting to strengthen their cause, and to possess themselves as it were of the strong-holds and the passages.

O! the deceit and the workings of that spirit, in those that despise and forsake the light of Christ in their own consciences! Yet through all, though I have sorrowful cause to believe some of understanding must and will fall, yea, many tall and beautiful cedars, I never felt more strongly confirmed in the ground taken by our early Friends, and in the belief that all will be made (as thou expressest it) to work together for the good of the poor little remnant, who are concerned through all sufferings to keep to this ground. I often feel inwardly cheered and animated, in the midst of the most gloomy prospects: for the power of Truth is the same that ever it was; and the Lord can confound, even by feeble instruments and unlikely means. It matters not through whom help comes, so that it comes from Him that made heaven and earth, and has set a bound to the roaring waves.

I often think of the language of one of our ancients on his death-bed, ‘The Spirit that now lives and reigns in me, shall yet break forth in thousands:’—and this is my full belief, even if the number of active and influential members in our yearly meeting, were greatly diminished or even swept away. The Lord can turn the fruitful field into barrenness, and make the desert to blossom as the rose.

J. B.

To ———.

Stoke Newington, 2nd of Second month, 1836.

I can truly say, that with me often there has been no want of feeling and sympathy, where I have been but little drawn forth into expression, perhaps checked in myself from it: not that there are in the mind unpleasant reserves in such cases; but on the contrary, this course naturally leads to great plainness, undisguised simplicity, and honesty towards all. It is in my view of much importance, to endeavour to maintain entire the “uncorruptness,” the genuineness, the unsophisticated artlessness, which is of the Truth. Every little habit, every compliance with custom in things that are thought indifferent, and which trenches upon these, endangers the tender principle of life; and indirectly, perhaps almost imperceptibly, lands us in bondage, impedes us in a straight forward, unaffected course of acting, thinking, and judging. Thus the mind and character become involved and prejudicially affected. The character of George Fox is as good an illustration as I can give, of what I desire in this respect for myself and for my friends. If I might venture to throw in a little counsel, who am sensible that I also am not above the need of it most certainly,—I would say, in a very tender feeling with thee, under whatever occasion of disquietude, ‘Look not so much at them, as for the poor mind to be much taken up therewith; endeavour to look over them up to Him, who orders all things that concern us, and will not lay any thing out for us to pass through, but what is really needful for us. Do not let us dwell too much upon anything that happens to us; but let us simply seek to be conducted through the circumstances that attend us, and our allotted conflicts, with filial simplicity of submission, and in a cheerful surrender of our all into the hands of our tender Shepherd and Preserver, our Father, and ever constant Friend. When we reflect upon the low condition we are in, it is seen to be a great mercy, that we are not left to ourselves; but are led about and instructed by many painful dispensations. And when we look at the trials of the faithful in all ages, bitter almost in proportion to their faithfulness; also at the sufferings of the church as well as of the Head of the church; what are we that we should be spared,—or rather what are we, that we should be honoured with them? How light are our grievances, how great are our privileges and mercies, how gently are we dealt with: we are as wayward children, that are ready to complain, if aught be taken from us, with which we might have injured ourselves. Ah! like as a father or a mother pitieth a babe, so doth He, who watcheth over us for good!

J. B.



To ———.

8th of Second month, 1836.

"I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake;"—and great tribulations must be passed through, in order to have our garments washed and kept clean, in and by the blood of the Lamb: these have often the sentence of death in themselves, that they should not trust in themselves nor in any other, but in the Lord Jesus Christ. Bonds and afflictions may, and must await them; yet none of these things move them, for they know they are appointed thereunto, even as it was appointed unto their Captain to be made perfect through suffering. Indeed it is by these dispensations they live; that is, through their submission and faithfulness in them; and in all these things, the spiritual life is exercised, maintained, and even raised; though they, as poor worms, may be trampled upon and be very low in their own estimation, and may be ready often to say, 'Surely I shall go softly all my days, in the bitterness of my spirit.' I long greatly for thee, as for my own soul, and for every one that is raised up to stand as a monument of mercy, truth and righteousness, in and unto the church,—that neither heights, nor depths, principalities, nor powers, things present, nor things to come, may ever be able to separate us from that clear manifestation of Divine love, in which we have felt near to Him who has visited our souls, and one to another. May we, my dear friend, and all that are near and dear to each of us in the covenant of light and life, go onward in that faith which gives the victory; laying aside every weight, every hindering thing, every discouragement; enduring and holding out to the end of all these bonds, trials, temptations, humiliations, fastings, bruises, or occasions of disquietude, that may attend, esteeming nothing strange, which may prove even as a fiery trial; but rather counting it all joy, that we are found worthy to suffer in anywise for His cause, who suffered so much before us and for us, that He might open us a way out of this prison-house and place of proving. My dear friend, my mind is enlarged, and my eye opened to see something of the excellency of that quiet habitation, where none can make afraid; where the Lord is "our peace," having ordained peace for us, and being the portion of our cup: though the earth be removed, and the mountains carried away, our hearts are then fixed and stayed; though a host encamp against us—"though thou thyself slay me, yet will I trust in thee;"—"though I walk in the midst of trouble, thou wilt revive me;" "though I pass through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil," for even

there shall thy right hand lead me, and help me, and save me. It is in my best moments, when such considerations as these weigh duly and fully upon my poor weak spirit, that I feel that the present afflictions are comparatively light indeed. However dark may appear to be the heavens above, however inclement the elements around, though the proud waters may seem to come in unto our own souls as individuals, and the church labouring and tossing like a little vessel in the mighty deep; yet the Governor being on board, the Controller of winds and waves, He is engaged to conduct her safely through all that He permits or appoints; and not one of those who commit themselves to Him, is made desolate. Doubtless many will fall on the right hand and on the left; for it seems a time of sifting and shaking, and but only just begun. But I must not distress thee,—cheer up; for if Jerusalem become as heaps, our holy invincible Head can raise up the stones of the street to be children, can comfort all her waste places, and make the streets thereof full of boys and girls playing, as the prophet says:—"therefore," adds he, "love the Truth and peace;"—so will I save you, and ye shall be a blessing: "fear not, but let your hands be strong." J. B.

To ———.

Stoke Newington, 19th of Second month, 1836.

My dear friend,

It is a pleasure to greet such as thyself and dear husband, with others in your parts who retain, or are endeavouring to maintain, your integrity uncorrupted, uninfluenced by the changeable principles, and shifting, manœuvring, unworthy motives, and line of action, so manifestly prevalent in our day, and in our borders. I have thought, (and the thought springs up afresh while I write,)—what made them what they were, and what alone can preserve any? If they deny and turn away from this holy principle of light and life, what must they not come to, whoever they be; whatever station, gifts, &c., they may possess, or have possessed. And is it any thing very strange, that the consequences should be commensurate with the cause; and that wherever a wrong spirit is let in, it should eat as doth a canker, and spread as a leprosy? Well, these things are come to pass, as some foresaw and foretold; and unless stopped or limited by an overruling hand, they seem likely yet to extend. It is not Beaconism merely, any more than it was Hicksism alone, that the enemy has a preference for, as if he had no other forms of delusion, or removes from the Truth, and semblances of it, wherewith to tempt the church. When discovered in one shape, he will put on another,—any thing, it

matters not how refined, beautiful, and apparently excellent,—if it but be not the very “Truth as it is in Jesus.”—But I trust and believe you know this; and are perfectly and sufficiently taught, according to your need and according to your measure, to be aware of his devices. No divination can prevail against the humble, teachable followers of our Lord: they are preserved in the hollow of his hand, and under his wing; and he delights to tabernacle with them. O! that nothing may turn these aside from following on to know the Lord in the way that he leads, the good old way, in the footsteps of the flock; whose faith they may safely follow. J. B.

To ———.

19th of Third month, 1836.

Thy last called forth many a fervent aspiration for our mutual preservation, support, and advancement. Ah! we must cleave to our only sure refuge, our strong-hold, our very present helper,—and then all will be well; and we shall be conducted through all our exercises and strait places, receiving the end of our faith. It is sweet to be permitted in travelling along this weary land,—to give and receive a greeting in spirit,—to be refreshed together as before the Lord, and to be made to feel that we are members one of another; that we are not without companions in warfare and suffering; and cheered up by the countenance of a friend, by even a few lines, or by a hearty extension of the right hand of fellowship. It reminds me of David, and of his friend Jonathan, who “strengthened his hand in God;” and we may instructively, and without presumption, refer to the circumstances of these individuals, with some degree of application to our own case. O! the trials and strait places, in which some of us are placed in the present day:—and how clear does it appear, that if we flinch not, but are faithful to all that the Lord requires of us, to be, to do, and to suffer for his cause and people, we shall be made instruments, in our measure, to carry forward his good work, to stand in the breach, and to be (whatever we may think of ourselves) as saviours on mount Zion, to judge the mount of Esau, yea, to turn the battle to the gate. The Lord will assuredly, in his own time and way, send deliverance for his little ones, for the Lamb and his followers must have dominion and victory. Those who are engaged on the Lord’s side, and bound to stand by and uphold his pure cause, cannot escape the peculiar notice of the all-seeing eye of the Captain of salvation; who will not fail to promote, to honour, to make use of, and to dignify, His true-hearted, firm-handed sol-

diers. So look ye to it; and O! my soul, look thou to it,—that we lose not any portion of that weight of glory, which the Lord designs for us; any portion of that line of usefulness, or of suffering, which should devolve upon us. Let us not plead any excuses, whether it be trade, family, our own meanness or insignificance; nor yet like one of old, say to the servant of the Lord, “If thou wilt go with me, then I will go;” &c.—lest it be said, “the journey,” or the proceeding “shall not be for thine honour.” O! for an unreserved sacrifice, and a going on in the strength of the Lord, which is made perfect in weakness; and also a standing still in the true faith, to see and to wait for his salvation revealed, and his arm made bare for our help. I may assure thee, my dear friend, that thy exercises and self-humiliating baptisms are only such as are common to us all, and no more than needful for the best of us,—to drive us home to the preserving power, to lay us low and keep us there; and are rather marks, how tenderly and closely our holy Head and High Priest, our keeper and shade upon the right hand, hedges us about, as Satan said was Job’s favoured lot; not leaving us to ourselves, as we are ready to suppose; but constantly interposing with His fatherly chastenings and stripes;—because He loves us, and hath a purpose of his own glory in our close proving and refining, as his choice jewels and gold of Ophir. Dear ———, believe it is even so, in all thy overturnings and tossings. Would He have received a burnt-offering at our hands, and would He have shown us all these things, if He were displeased and ready to reject us? as Manoa’s wife pleaded. Yea, though He slay thee, trust in Him;—humble thyself low before him, and in due season all will work together for thy exceeding good; for thy great enlargement in the things of God. Therefore, be patient unto the coming, and through all the dispensations, of thy wonderful Counsellor. I believe the little ones have no cause unduly to fear, or to let in discouragement and doubts. However, though we may be permitted to be trampled upon and broken to pieces, yet the blessed Truth will outlive it all.

To ———.

Stoke Newington, 29th of Third month, 1836.

My beloved friend,

It is a blessed privilege to be given to drink into one Spirit, and to be renewedly baptized together; so that, whatever apparent occasions of interruption come between, or clouds of temptation, floods of affliction, mountains of opposition, wild wastes and howling wilder-



nesses,—we know that the Lord is over all; we know in whom we have believed;—we know we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren; and we know that He is able to keep that which we have committed unto Him. Although since thou wrote, I have had my portion of trial in many respects, more than my outward allotment seemed to bring with it; in looking back, however, although my tears have at times been as it were my meat day and night, yet the Lord hath not been wanting to command His loving-kindness in the day time, and in the night season too; His song has been with me, and my prayer has been to the God of my life. I am even ready to think, that it is through the prayers of many, more fit to plead prevailingly than myself, that I am now in the land of the living, bodily and spiritually too;—and as earnest and as willing at least, if not as able as ever I was, to wield the weapons of our warfare, in a cause dear to me as life itself, because crowned with immortality and blessedness. I cannot say, “I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord;” but I can say, “while I live will I praise the Lord; I will sing unto my God while I have my being.”

My general health is wonderfully upheld, and I have no suffering in my knee, apparently nothing but debility from disuse and disease; yet this I am continually sensible of, that my times are in His hand, and He who has laid low, can do as it seems good in His sight, even “raise up and confirm the feeble knees.” O! what encouragement to present and commit ourselves to Him under every dispensation, and thus to be allowed to feel, that whether we live or die, we are the Lord’s. Under precious feelings like these, when unable to attend meetings, I have longed to be preserved, but as one of the wrestling seed of worm Jacob; who, when he had rested on the pillow of stone, did not forget to place it up as a pillar and a testimony to the Lord, who appeared unto him, and spake comfortably to him; even that He was with him, and would keep him in all places whither he went; and would not leave him, but would fulfil all He had spoken to him of. But what shall I say, “Though bonds and afflictions” abide; yet through all, some of us are encouraged beyond expectation, and are obliged to hope against hope.—“I will leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people, and they shall trust in the name of the Lord:”—“a deceitful tongue shall not be found in their mouth; for they shall feed and lie down, and none shall make them afraid.” “It is enough for the servant to be as his master:”—“where I am, there shall also my servant be,” whether in tribula-

tion or otherwise. It is a fine lesson to learn, in whatsoever state we are permitted to be therewith to be content,—every where and in all things to be instructed.

The only time of late that I have been out to meeting, was last first-day week, when I had a sweet time; my mind was clothed with grateful and humbling feelings, to which I had to give utterance;—“O how great is thy goodness,” &c. There may be, thou knowest, a great door, and an effectual one opened, where there are many adversaries. I am privileged with many visits from Friends, visitors or strangers, and sometimes have to speak very plainly to them on our duty in these times, which I believe is, to be honest, firm, and uncompromising. I have nearly exhausted my paper, and a person would hardly know from it that I had so many near and dear to me in your county; yet they know it, whether they see these lines or not, and whether I expressly address them or not: we are as living epistles to one another, while and so long as the ministration of the Spirit is impressed upon our hearts. I cannot easily forget how my poor, dull heart was made to yearn towards your dear family, from one end to the other.

Parents peculiarly have to plough and sow with tears, often feeling their own infirmities, and how little they can do: but the Lord often interferes for their help; and perhaps, when they are laid in the dust, brings about and fulfils all their petitions, even to the letter. My love to Friends, and to the poor of the flock, who wait upon the Lord for mercy; grace and peace be renewed unto them at all times. Farewell; thy affectionate friend,

J. B.

To —.

22nd of Eighth month, 1836.

Thy last seemed to convey a low account. “Behold we count them happy that endure;” the spirit of glory and of consolation is specially provided for these: and however bitter the chastening may be at the time, yet afterward it cannot but yield peaceable and blessed fruits, to those rightly exercised, and endeavouring to be given up thereto. The furnace is even made and heated for the gold, and for nothing else but that which is worth refining: therefore what a blessed thing to be counted worthy to be chastened, as a dear child of the Lord, and not to be left to one’s self. Thou knowest not what are the all-wise, all-merciful intentions of our Wonderful Counsellor towards thee, and how he would work in, and for, and also through, thee. Nothing is too hard for Him; and all things are possible unto his simply obedient children who believe,—He is able to do all things for them; these He will

never leave nor forsake, but keep in the hold of his hand, and as the apple of the eye. Not one trial, not one pang will such have to pass through, more than there is a 'need be' for, or more than will be made to work for good unto them, both here and for ever. My secret petition is, that you may each discern what his good pleasure is concerning you, and concerning each other, lest in any wise you mistake it; and thus miss of any thing that really belongs to you. May you be wholly given up, and give up each other freely to His ordering and service, whose gifts you are to one another; lest if there be even the shadow of a withholding and drawing back, the Lord should withdraw his hand so full of blessings temporal and spiritual. We may easily reason away the tender gentle touches of his hand, so as to doubt, whether they are the requirings of the Lord; and those who are very jealous of his honour, or clear in their discerning respecting the standing and steppings and outgoings of others, have the greater occasion to beware of placing so strong a guard against all outgoings, as to cramp or cripple either themselves, or those with whom they have influence. These are days in which the enemy would persuade some of us, that we had better do nothing, lest we should do wrong, or in our attempts to aid the cause, only give pain and trouble to the rightly exercised by our meddling. But O! how otherwise is the fact! what preservation, what help, what direction, and qualification, have the simple hearted received, whose strength is made perfect in an humbling sense of their own weakness;—out of weakness they are made strong. My beloved friend, I must go further, and urge on thee to weigh well, (but without undue carefulness, discouragement, or distrust,) whether there is not a call upon you to double diligence in coming up, in a noble, disinterested, unbending, and unblushing way, to the help of the Lord and his church,—to stand in the breach, and fill up your ranks, as those that are deeply concerned for the spreading, as well as the upholding of the testimonies of Truth. Ah! it is high time that all who have been awakened to a sense of the state of things in our poor church, were 'up,' to retrieve and turn the battle to the gate. The enemy and his willing instruments are busy indeed; we see the fruits springing forth on every hand; and there are few given up to withstand him in a true-hearted, uncompromising plainness and boldness. May we then join in an unqualified surrender of our all, to the disposing of Him, who would work in us and for us, and also through us mightily, to the subduing of all within us that would choose, or refuse, or chalk out our own line for ourselves, entrenching ourselves in

the rectitude of our own wills and counsels: whereas, we should be tender as the growing vine, and teachable as the weaned babe,—no fretting,—but with mortified wills even slain and nailed to the cross. The time is verily come, when men shall be, and are, lovers of their own selves, I know; but the time is also coming, when, if I have any true vision of what shall be the end and issue of these shaking times, men shall not love their lives unto death; but lay down their lives for the brethren, forego their ceiled houses, their "pleasant bread," and their couches of ivory, their boats and their nets, and their father, to become fishers of men, and count all things but loss.

## CHAPTER XV.

[In the course of the summer and autumn of 1836, J. B. passed some time by the seaside, with benefit to his general health. Whilst at Brighton in the eleventh month, under an apprehension of religious duty, he addressed his monthly meeting as follows:]

### TO GRACE-CHURCH STREET MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS.

Brighton, 9th of Eleventh month, 1836.

Dear friends,

In the love of our heavenly Father, my soul at this time salutes his faithful children among you, of all degrees, who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and can call him "Lord," and bow before Him: desiring that an increase of all spiritual blessings may be known amongst us through Him, our Head and High Priest, and only hope of glory.

It seems best for me to acquaint you, that while at this place for the benefit of my health, a weighty feeling of duty has revived and fastened on my mind, to pay a religious visit to the Friends in this place from house to house; a work which, as regards a considerable portion of this quarterly meeting, I was enabled to perform some few years ago, but did not then see my way further, so as to embrace this particular meeting, and a few others. Should you, on a solid consideration of my concern and situation, think it right to make way at this time for the relief of my mind herein, it may be safest for me to request the liberty to extend the family visit, should this seem required, to a few small meetings in this quarterly meeting.

Desiring we may all be kept patiently and diligently attentive to the voice of the true and tender Shepherd, I bid you affectionately farewell.

J. B.



[In the twelfth month, he returned to his monthly meeting the certificate granted for the above service; acknowledging the goodness of the Lord in helping and sustaining him on his way, and in favouring him with the reward of peace on his return home. He paid visits to nearly all the families of the particular meeting of Brighton, under circumstances as regarded his infirm state of health, calculated to excite much sympathy on the part of his friends of that place; he entered house after house, supported by his crutches, and it is believed his visits were peculiarly acceptable generally.

To —.

Stoke Newington, 3rd of Twelfth month, 1836.

Ah! dear —, as thou well knowest, home is home, after such engagements and causes of absence from what is dear to us in this outward state and lower region: and home is home, in a higher and better sense, blessed be His name, who maketh heaven a home: for without Him, where is the rest, where is the refreshing to the poor, craving, immortal part? These feelings, and such as these, while they moderate or sanctify the use of earthly objects, heighten and refine. There is truly nothing here worth living for, without the good presence of our "Everlasting Father;" but with that, and in subjection and resignation to Him, every thing is to be received with thanksgiving, and used with joyfulness,—come pain of body, or conflict of mind, loss of wife or children, or dearest friends, or house, or food. This is our calling,—this is our privilege; and O! that we may hold it up to others as such, both in life and in death.

J. B.

TO A YOUNG FRIEND.

24th of Twelfth month, 1836.

Rely upon it, my dear —, these associates of thine, whoever they be, even if they stand high in general estimation, are no friends to thy true interests, thy best welfare, however plausibly they reason. The very circumstance of their endeavouring to undermine, or upset the almost unformed views of so young and artless a person, is a proof their unworthy purposes. By thy own account, they are in "the seat of the scornful," as David said; and when the subtle poison that is under their tongue, is in danger of being rejected and exposed, they can turn off the conversation with a laugh. But if thou art favoured to withstand their crooked twisting arguments, be also very careful lest their ridicule move thee in any wise from the serious ground, the safe because lowly abiding place, of the real Christian. My advice to thee is, avoid such com-

pany, shun such associates, trust not thyself to dispute with them; thou wilt not be likely to get good by it, nor to do them good, but to receive harm in ways little suspected. Thou art not to be supposed, nor shouldst thou for a moment presume thyself, to be competent to enter the lists of controversy; it requires one to be well grounded, rooted and settled in the right way, to meet all the objections and cavils, that may be urged by persons of more or less corrupt and uncontrolled minds, who despise the truth and its simplicity; yet who would, even with the semblance of truth, beguile others from the reality of it.

"Be not conformed to this world," said the Apostle, who knew that the fashions and customs of it are vain, and pass away. To a mind disposed to avoid the very appearance and approaches to evil, this text is alone sufficient to induce a hesitation, a scrupulousness or tenderness; knowing that for every idle word he must give an account, and that every thought must be brought into subjection to Christ. But these libertines, who would think their own thoughts, and choose their own ways and words, and also wear their own apparel, must needs have things so cleared up to their blinded and darkened understanding, that, like the lawyers, no express (much less implied) prohibition of Scripture, would have satisfied them: they would shuffle from it and fritter it away, bending it to their own wills. Whereas the spirit of Christianity testifies, and has ever testified, against such things, not only among Friends, but more or less, and in different ways and degrees, wherever sufficient clearness has been arrived at, even from the earliest ages.

Picture to thyself any set of people raised up to a deep sense of religion, and carrying out their watchfulness and self-denial to all branches of their conduct, and endeavouring to follow that exhortation, "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation,"—and whatsoever ye "do in word or deed, do all to the glory of God," &c. Would they not soon come to be distinguished from other people, who follow the course of this world, or who secretly yearn after their own heart's lusts, and comfort themselves with trying to think there is nothing in this and the other little thing, and that religion does not consist in these things? Would they not soon find themselves to be "a peculiar people," a singular people, a very simple people;—their outward appearance, their manners, their very gestures, restrained and regulated after a mode totally contrary to the generality of those around them? According to that striking passage in one of the Apocryphal writings, setting forth the language of the ungodly respecting the righte-

ous, so will it be respecting such a people or person as I have described;—"He is not for our turn, he is clean contrary to our doings; he was made to reprove our thoughts; he is grievous unto us even to behold; for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion."\* Indeed it has never been any wonder with me, that a people gathered and settled and preserved, as I have hinted at,—or as Friends were, when they found themselves estranged from the world at large, and eccentric through this process of following their convictions of duty,—should value this their privilege, and these outward badges, which tend to keep up this desirable distinction and separation from the world's spirit. But they never set up a rule as to dress, or any particular colour, cut or fashion, on the same footing as the livery of the Monks, or religious orders of the Papists, &c.; they only left off their ornaments, and such things as were a burden to them as unnecessary and unsimple:—it was the ever changeable tide of fashion, which did the rest, and in time caused their dissimilarity and strangeness to appear. But as to the bare assertion, that George Fox and the early Friends, would have changed with the times, it is a conjecture which has its origin in the mere caprice and inclination of those who say so; and the contrary may be as flatly and broadly asserted upon far stronger grounds, even upon the actual facts of the whole tenor of their dissent, as exhibited in their lives, and especially in their writings. The common consent spoken of, is the very conformity they objected to,—a consent of worldly men, upon worldly principles; not the consent of men redeemed from the earth. On the other hand, all that have ever rightly given up to make a plain appearance, and to speak the plain language, &c., have done it on the very same sound ground, and not merely because George Fox and others did it. They, the truly convinced, have continued to feel on the subject, as he did; and though the instances are rare, as the mercy is great, and the work marvellous, and no light and superficial one, such instances are yet from time to time occurring; they are the result of cleansing the inside of the cup, that the outside may become clean also. My case is, I trust, one of these, and, perhaps, rather an unusual one; for I was brought up, as thou knowest, in the entire disuse of, and I even cherished a real contempt for, such singularities; until I came to see that there was "no peace to the wicked,"—and that "great peace have all they who love" "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus." Then as I yielded my

mind to be in all things led and guided thereby, nothing offended me but evil;—nothing seemed too hard to give up unto, nor anything to be slighted as insignificant, which in anywise contributed to this heavenly peace and progress in what was esteemed so supremely excellent. The cross of Christ, that yoke he puts upon his disciples, was very easy and sweet; and peace was the reward of being faithful in ever so little. It is in this way, I have been made ruler over more, and not by despising the day of small things; which is the sure way of falling "by little and little:" of this we have most painful instances now around us; and even some, who have deservedly stood high in our Society, as teachers and examples to the flock, but who have even come to question, or have lost, all their former impressions and tendering convictions,—those are, it seems all gone, and almost forgotten, as the early dew that passeth away,—and they have turned, as the dog or the sow, to that which they once loathed and rejected. And truly it is a striking and unanswerable fact, that there has not been one individual, who has risen to any eminence for religious dedication in our Society, but has had to tread the narrow and strait path; and has had to attribute his progress to giving up, in the ability received, to obey the secret monitions of the Spirit of Christ, even in little things: nor has there I believe, been one who has swerved from this course, that has ultimately turned out better than the salt that has lost its savour. "The fashion of this world," my dear —, does indeed pass away; and as thou sayest, custom is capricious and changeable: but Truth is the same that ever it was—unchangeable, and never faileth: and it will always stand by and bear out those, who are of it, and who keep to it. "Wisdom," we read, "is justified of her children," and of few or none else; and the natural man cannot understand or receive the things that relate to the Spirit and kingdom of God, they are mere foolishness unto him, while in that state; for they are ever hid from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed unto babes. Therefore, may I not fitly wind up, by subjoining to that scripture with which I commenced, the language which follows it,—"Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your minds, that ye may prove what is that good, acceptable, and perfect will of God."

I would earnestly urge thee to press through any indisposition or inertness of mind, and to sit down at thy vacant moments to read Penn's No Cross, No Crown;—redeeming thy time from idle gossip, avoiding occasions of exposure to unsuitable conversation, and either re-

\* See Wisdom of Solomon, ii. 12, 14, 15, 16.



tire and go aside, or boldly and simply take up such a book, and go through it perseveringly; entering into the spirit of the writer, and bending thy mind to the subject. The latter part of Jaffray, which contains the history of Friends in Scotland, is another book which would really interest thee. But after all the helps to be derived from books or instruments, I trust, my dear —, thou needst not to be reminded of the inexhaustible unfailing source of all strength and goodness; who alone, if applied to, and the mind truly turned to Him in secret exercise and breathing desires, is able to solve all our difficulties, to relieve us of our doubts, to deliver us from temptation, to aid our drooping resolutions, and quicken our souls to run with patience the race set before us, and to hold out to the end in well doing. J. B.

To ———.

6th of Second month, 1837.

When the will is slain,—when we can say, “It is no more I,”—then how easy is the task of dedication, and how clear are the pointings, how light the burden of the cross of Christ. Then self is of no reputation indeed, and all crowns are laid down; nor does any snare of the enemy prevail.

The most unanswerable arguments, we of this day can give to the gain-sayers, is, to live down their mis-representations: and the best argument perhaps for the early Friends, as was the case with the primitive Christians, is their life and conversation. At times, the low standing and feeble state of those that have a love for the cause of Truth, and the shortcomings of most of us, depresses me. Those who live within the hearing of the shouts of the Philistines, are taken and perhaps disturbed by them. I trust, such as —, however, know better than to give up to every “Lo here” and every hue and cry, or to be afraid with any amazement. We must keep low, keep quiet; minding our particular calling, our inward condition, and feel the Lord inwardly as the Rock and Sanctuary, where none can make afraid. Undoubtedly it is a trying day, a sifting time,—and I think must be yet more so; for though a few leaders of faction and of error have left us, and have swept away a number of followers, whom they have deluded, and who were not settled in the faith, and some of these hardly knowing why they belonged to us;—yet of those who remain, what a remnant really are one with us! And unless wonderful mercy, wisdom, and strength, be manifested towards the unstable, as towards all of us,—what can hinder their being scattered and driven away. Though

the Society seems somewhat relieved, yet grievous exercises remain to be borne,—and a great deal to be worked through and worked out, before this once self-denying and redeemed people, can be reinstated to their former brightness and ancient purity. The Lord waits to be gracious, and I believe will hasten this work in his time. And O! that we may be so preserved and strengthened, as to be made willing, through all baptisms, to be instrumental in our day, in ever so little a way or degree, to bring about the period when the salvation of Zion shall go forth as a lamp that burneth! J. B.

To ———.

Stoke Newington, Third month, 1837.

Time rolls on, and manifests things and persons apace. So many matters have transpired, even since I replied to thy letter of eleventh month, that I can hardly recur to circumstances: but may we not say, dear friend, that all our views and feelings have been fulfilled and realized, or are fulfilling, as to the state of our poor Society. The conflict and contest is pretty well over, with what was called Beaconism; but there are those still remaining, who occasion the true Friends great exercise; being unwilling to go the whole length with our ancient primitive worthies, but can readily find them in fault. I trust this also shall in due season be broken up, and the testimony of Truth, in all its completeness and simplicity, rise and shine over all opposition. Modified Quakerism cannot stand the fire.

May we, or such of us as are permitted to continue in the warfare, be preserved firmly and truly bound to the good cause, as we have ever received it from the beginning; and may we be perfectly knit and united together in the same mind and in the same judgment; even though we be left as a little remnant, and as spectacles to the world. J. B.

To ———.

Stoke Newington, 31st of Third month, 1837.

How many and awful have been the warnings and the tender chastenings of the all-wise hand of Divine Providence of later times; all (I sometimes think) concurring with and bearing upon, and bespeaking somewhat in relation to the spiritual aspect of things in the church and in the world. “The wine of astonishment,” indeed is given us to drink, in various ways: yet the meek and patient followers of the Lamb, who know in whom they have believed, and that He is able to keep their all, which they are engaged to commit to his keeping, are not left desolate,—are not

suffered to be swallowed up of over much emotion of any kind; they cannot be unduly "afraid with any amazement;"—nay, truly, "all these things," they well know, "must needs be, or come to pass;" and they are so far from saying with one, "This evil cometh from the Lord, why should I wait for the Lord any longer," that they rather feel, "It is the Lord,—let him do what seemeth good to him;" and so in patience are engaged to possess their souls. May then the peaceable and peaceful fruits of righteousness, be more and more brought forth in us, my dear friend, through and by means of all the losses, crosses, overturnings and humiliations; so that not only we may be rendered more meet for, and more earnest after, that fruition of the end of our faith, which is endless, uninterrupted, and perfect;—but even here below may be the better qualified to fill up our measure of service, and glorify the good cause and blessed name of our holy Redeemer. There is indeed great occasion to believe, though the evidences and tokens are, now as ever, sufficiently obscure to try the faith of God's dear children,—that His glorious cause is, through all discouraging circumstances, still going forward; and that His wonderful and all-righteous purposes are fulfilling in the earth. That this is substantially the case, should and must be matter of joy to us; and even make us at times, when we are given to see and appreciate it,—exceedingly "joyful in all our tribulation;" even though we should be pressed almost out of measure, beyond strength or hope, having fightings and fears without and within. This has been the portion of the faithful, more or less in all ages; and I believe it will be so, till the end come.

Be assured, my dear —, I do much sympathize with, and have often thought of thee in several respects, both before and since we heard of thy bereavement. I cannot doubt thou feelest thy loss greatly, at times perhaps too much, though I hope not so. Surely sufficient support and consolation will not be wanting, if thou dost not "refuse to be comforted." I want thee, my dear friend, to endeavour as much as may be, to look beyond thy loss, at the tribulated state of the church, stript of many a son and daughter,—promising and once thriving branches, but now withering and corrupt, more or less dying and dead, yea, twice dead!

J. B.

To —.

Tunbridge Wells, 16th of Ninth month, 1837.

May you be strengthened and animated from time to time, and your drooping faith sustained and increased, to run with all patience and

quiet confidence, the wearisome journey that is yet before us. In due season our reaping time and shouting time will come, for which we have sown in tears; laying down as it were our all, (O! that it may be our very all,—) surrendering every thing that the Lord calls for at our hands,—casting into the treasury even our mites, of our penury, being content to see ourselves to be very poor, helpless, worthless, fit to be pitied, mere pensioners, and dependents on the Lord's free mercy and renewed blessing. This is the state that draws down the Divine regard, and, as it were, commands the rich outpouring of those good and perfect gifts, which dignify and adorn poor fallen human nature;—which raise up the brother and the sister of low degree, from lying among the pots, among the things that perish with the using, yea, from the dunghill of pollution;—and from sitting like poor Job among the ashes of despondency, to reach forth, to mount up towards that inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and which never fades away. It is prepared, it is reserved, it is laid up in store, for those that are faithful unto death, who are kept by the power of God through faith, and are not moved away from the blessed hope of the gospel; continuing steadfast, immovable, not soon shaken in mind, nor shrinking from suffering, nor afraid of temptations or abounding tribulations;—but enduring to the end.

I have been much comforted, while from home, in reading many precious letters of our primitive worthies of the first rank, who loved not their lives unto death, but gave up all, that they might keep a conscience void of offence, and be clear of the blood of all. I hope (if life be spared, and strength given,) to hand some, yea, many of these for the perusal of such as can receive and profit by them.

J. B.

To —.

Stoke Newington, 27th of Eleventh month, 1837.

My beloved friend,

My poor and often tribulated spirit does salute thine, even as deep answers deep; for I am ready to think, thou hast from time to time to drink into that cup of suffering, which the living exercised every where up and down, in this day of treading under, of rebuke, and of scattering, have more or less to partake of. For, indeed, how can it be otherwise, when those who have been as leaders and way marks to the flock, and have seemed to be pillars in the house of the Lord, are ready to stagger and to stumble, to be snared, and to be broken. But I must not here expatiate on my feelings, as to the state of things in regard to our still favoured Society; but I will refer thee to my



Preface to Pike's and Oxley's Journals, to other parts of J. Pike's Journal, but especially to his letters, and some of Deborah Bell's, which show that times of trouble have befallen our Society before now, in rather a similar way and degree. The same power can rescue his tribulated remnant, and restore the waste places; nor will He ever own proceedings which are not according to Truth and uprightness. I am inclined to think that many have been, and are, endeavouring uprightly to retrieve their outgoings; seeing the palpable extremes and consequences of the track they have been on: but others seem not sufficiently warned and instructed to return, in honesty and in earnest, to original principles and practice, but are feignedly, and in part only, doing so; retaining so much of the wisdom of the flesh, and so much of self in a refined form, as they think will make the Truth more palatable to our own people and to others; thus shunning the shame of the cross, and the humiliating process thereof. It will not do: our all-conquering Captain will discover and make bare all coverings, and find out all his enemies, and pursue and overtake them in all their retreats in the precincts of and backways to Babylon.

J. B.

To ———.

29th of Eleventh month, 1837.

I may truly and sincerely say, that we participated in a sense of the loss, which many (doubtless) even among the more distant connexions and friends of the deceased, feel they have sustained. Do I say loss, do I speak of deprivation, when those who have humbly endeavoured to love and follow their dear Redeemer on earth, are taken from suffering and probation, as we trust, to their resting place in glory? Ah! we have them still, if the apostle's language applies to us, if we are indeed come to Mount Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem, to the innumerable company, to the spirits of the just made perfect, to Jesus our Mediator. May we then not sorrow as those who have no such substantial enjoyment of things hoped for, and evidence of things not seen. May we be quickened on our way, and animated by the cloud of witnesses with which we are encompassed, still to persevere and run with patience; looking unto Jesus, learning of him, leaning on him in pure dependence and childlike simplicity,—loving no one, nor any one thing, better than him. Being thus made willing to lose all, in and for him, we may be assured of the fulfilment of his gracious promise, of the hundredfold even in this life, besides the heavenly inheritance.

J. B.

TO ONE OF ANOTHER PROFESSION AND A ZEALOUS MINISTER.

26th of First month, 1838.

My dear friend,

It is time I acknowledged thy favour of the 21st ult., which has not been lost upon me. I accept thy kind and sincere notice of me, and also of my books, with, I trust, the like genuine Christian feeling. That we have been made somewhat acquainted one with another has been cheering to me, as one of those many providential marks of favour shed upon us, through our whole lives by the Author of mercies. It has seemed to me sometimes, as though our dear Lord and Saviour, in condescension to our frequent breathings to him, the Head of his own church, for the spread of his blessed gospel of peace, truth, and righteousness in the earth, and our jealousy for his honour, (according to our measure of light and discernment,) had caused us to come across each other's path; that he might renewedly show us, that he has other sheep who are not of this fold, where we have been accustomed with joy and comfort to feed and lie down. That we should find, on near inspection of each other's views on sacred things, many and important shades of difference, will not assuredly either stumble or surprise us. The ways of God in his works of creation are higher than our highest thoughts of them, as are also the acts of His Providence; how much more then must we expect them to be so, in his dealings and dispensations with the soul of man individually, and with his church collectively. Truly the workings of his grace and power in and towards us, are infinitely diversified. But through all, what He looks for in us all, however variously situated, dealt with, and gifted, is,—that our hearts being quickened and renewed by Him, should be turned towards Him, and knit to Him in faithfulness, in true uprightness, to serve and to trust in Him, with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind. Ah! how He touches, softens, humbles these proud, hard hearts of ours, these fallen, but aspiring natures, these forward, wayward tendencies; and woos us to be wise indeed, by learning of Him how to be simple as little children,—submitting, bearing, and taking His yoke upon our spirits. How prone we still are, to take back the government into our hands, by leaning to our own understanding, by consulting with flesh and blood,—while we profess to be asking counsel of God and of Christ; and thus practically we shrink back, and shun to offer up our all, as a whole burnt-offering; but even keep back the best part of that, which is often called for unequivocally at our hands.

Alas! in reference to divine things, who is there that follows the Lamb whithersoever he leads, or looks to the puttings forth of the Shepherd's hand, and waits to hear his voice? Who is there, that in all his proceedings and speculations, or opinions, says, "That which I know not, teach thou me;" "lead me in thy Truth and teach me, for thou art the God of my salvation, on thee do I wait all the day?" Who is there, that takes up the daily cross in religious points,—casting down imaginations and selfish reasonings, despising the shame with the fear and favour of man?—Who is not conformed to this world even in little things, but transformed by the renewing of the mind, and in this way proving what is the Divine will? These effusions, which arise whilst responding to thy communication, I trust, will not be deemed obtrusive, if they are superfluous.

After all, my dear friend, how near one to another are all those, who being once afar off, are brought nigh by the blood of Christ; who love him, and his appearing, and who follow him in the regeneration. They are brought near to each other in Him; they are baptized by one Spirit into one body, and are given at times to drink into one cup. Have these not abundant occasion to forbear one another in love, if they do not wilfully transgress against knowledge and beyond faith; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin. Surely those that are zealous for the fulfilment of what they understand to be the command of Christ and his apostles, have great need to see that they follow up all that is commanded—such as to resist not evil, to respect not the persons of the rich, as in the epistle of James; and many other precepts, that are very generally made of none effect by religious professors, and reasoned away.

To be able to say with the apostle, "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life that I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me," &c.; how full,—how supremely desirable! Then the wisdom of man becomes fully subjugated, where the gospel, the power of God, has free course.

Farewell! the Lord be between us, and with us, henceforth and for ever. With Christian love to thee and thy wife, and sister. I remain thy friend,  
J. B.

#### CHAPTER XVI.

[In the eleventh month 1837, he laid before his monthly meeting, a religious concern which had rested a considerable time on his mind, to pay a visit to the families of Friends of his own particular meeting at Stoke Newington: much sympathy and unity prevailed on this occasion, and he received the encouragement

of his friends. Under his very infirm bodily condition, he could proceed but slowly in this service. In the second month following, he believed it right to address his monthly meeting: a copy of his communication will best explain his views and feelings on this occasion.]

#### TO GRACE-CHURCH STREET MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS.

Beloved friends, brethren and sisters,

Having now held a minute, granted me by the monthly meeting, for above three months, setting me at liberty to visit the families of Friends at Stoke Newington, it seems to be upon me as a duty to communicate with you on it. In the movement I made towards obtaining it, by an application rather unusually sudden, and in that respect unexpected by myself, I had, and up to the present time have had, sweet peace,—an ample reward, (however unworthy,) for a sacrifice which cost me no small degree of resignation of my own will. I endeavoured to give up "in simplicity and godly sincerity," to that which seemed to be manifested as present duty in the Divine sight; and dared not look outward in any sense or manner; and therein I desired, if a spectacle, to be also an ensample to the whole flock; for not one among us can, in my apprehension, do better under any circumstances. On proceeding in the weighty engagement before me, I may acknowledge, that, although no wonderful outpouring of Divine power was my portion, I was mercifully favoured, during the few days that I entered upon the work, with such a sense that the Lord preserveth the simple and the upright, inasmuch that it was as my meat and drink, to be thus among my friends: hard things were made very easy, and bitter things full of sweetness; a gently flowing stream of heavenly goodness being extended in every hour of need, though in a way humiliating to the creature, so that nothing of the flesh could glory.

Endeavouring to look closely to my stepplings and to my Master's pointings as to them, I did not see it my place to join any brother or sister, fellow-labourers in the ministry, similarly exercised; yet truly rejoicing, that the Lord of the vineyard should be pleased to lay his hand upon any, and open their way before them. With regard to myself, the burden seemed greatly withdrawn, and removed from me, even before I was wholly laid by with indisposition; and ever since, my mind has been altogether released from any further obligation to pursue the visit, and now at length in a way that makes me believe it safest for me to inform the meeting to this effect, and to return the minute to your hands. I cannot place this conclusion to any outward



account, though my health and constitution seem more than usually affected, so as for a long time entirely to prevent my getting out to meetings; but in my best moments, I have the comfortable persuasion and trust, that He, who is no hard master, and lays no more than is meet on any of his exercised children, has an equal right to call in as to put forth;—to bring out his own purposes in his own ways, which are higher than ours; and none of us should demur against his good pleasure, or say “what doest thou?” and the wonder and the mercy is, that any are made use of.

In conclusion, it seems with me, my dear friends, to express to you my belief, that we have from time to time ample encouragement, as a meeting, in patience to possess our souls, to hold on our way steadily, and to lift up the head in hope. Although occasions of discouragement and deep conflict have attended, and may yet await the faithful and the honest hearted, these keeping the daily watch unto prayer, will be preserved and sustained, abiding in Christ, and being under his peculiar notice: after they have suffered awhile, he will stablish, strengthen, and settle them more and more; and will give them to reap in due season the fruit of their often hidden exercises, both on their own account, and on account of others. Thus, those that hold the beginning of their confidence stedfast unto the end, are made indeed partakers of Christ; and the remnant who escape the tempter’s crooked Leviathan, again take root downward, and bear fruit upward. Isaiah xxxvii. 31.

Desiring we may truly cease from man, and lean wholly on the Beloved of souls, with the salutation of love in our Lord Jesus Christ, I remain your friend,

J. B.

Second month 19th, 1838.

P. S.—Should this concern return upon me, with weight and clearness, Friends may believe, I shall not hesitate to cast myself upon them again.

To ———.

First or Second month, 1838,

It is little we can do for one another; yet let us be willing to do that little which offers. I often think how short may be the season, wherein we may be permitted, or may have occasion for, the comfort, aid, and support, one of another. Many opportunities for giving a hand of help or a cup of cold water, we do not embrace; but we suffer them to go by unimproved, or fritter them away in our intercourse one with another, even with those nearest and dearest to us in an outward or inward sense. Everything indeed proves what poor creatures we are, and what a low, mixed, imperfect state the present is;—at times favoured with a few drops of comfort, of strength,

a little grain of faith, of hope, of qualification to struggle on, administered in the hour of need, and in such a way, as utterly to hide pride, and take away all occasion of boasting on the one hand, or repining on the other. If we did enough cultivate our intercourse with heaven and heavenly ones and heavenly things, and avail of our privileges, remember our heirship and calling!—Why need we tarry here; why should we grovel below? instead of lifting up the soul, and resting in the beloved!

Farewell! onward, onward,—the time is short, my brother and my sister;—we linger for one another:—let us press forward;—and in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.

J. B.

To ———.

1st of Fourth month, 1838.

Dear friend,

Thy letter of the 13th seems, in conjunction with my own feelings in reading it, to encourage me to salute thee in Christian freedom. It was animating in this wilderness to read such lines from one unknown, trusting that we have but one object in view, and are endeavouring to be found running the same race; though occupying possibly very different posts, according to what has seemed to be committed to each, respecting the things of the blessed gospel and spiritual kingdom of our Lord and Saviour. My dear friend, thou knowest not what a poor thing thy correspondent is every way,—enfeebled in powers and constitution, though but forty years old; a cripple on crutches these three or four years, by a disease of the knee joint, and still longer disabled by the same disorder, at times threatening amputation, and always bearing about a most delicate shattered frame in other respects. May I not say in every sense, ‘By Thee have I been upholden from my birth,’ “My times are in thy hand!”—therefore while I live will I praise the Lord, and by his help keep my heart and order my conversation; and all my bones shall say, who is like unto thee, who hast abundantly, and art yet, restoring, renewing, and redeeming my life, my best life, from destruction.

If we do but hold fast the beginning of our confidence stedfast unto the end, cleaving to the Lord, who first loved, and quickened, and had mercy upon us; He will never leave nor forsake us; but will perfect all that which concerns us: and He will enable us to hold out to the end, in faith, patience, and well-doing. I have had for a long season a strong persuasion, that our dear Lord has a precious people in your country; and though many may be the impediments and snares and discouragements, how do I long that there, and in every place, “a pure offering” may be rendered, with as little of creaturely policy or worldly wisdom intermixed as may be.

But as to the chief occasion of thy letter, I am able to give thee scarcely any information as to the Jaffray family, beyond what my book with its notes sets forth. I have from circumstances, and perhaps by providential ordering, got into a channel which I often indulge in, to search out primitive zeal,—primitive faithfulness unto death,—the path of the just, of whom the world was not worthy. I do not love old things because they are old, but because they are often more intrinsic, less superficial. I delight to restore the ancient way-marks, the foundations of many generations,—to hold up the scattered and obsolete testimonies to ancient purity under every name; many of which are purposely put into the background, slurred over, distorted, and destroyed by historians and the theologians of these degenerate days. I have a commonplace book for my collections, but my bodily and mental ability is growing less and less, and my opportunities are few indeed. O! that Christendom might return to that state she once knew,—might recur to first principles; then would her reformation and salvation go forth with brightness, she would be fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners; and all iniquity and infidelity should stop their many mouths.

Whether we ever meet, or write again, or are as epistles in one another's hearts in certain respects and to a certain extent,—may we, “whereto we have already attained, walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing,” and follow the things that make for peace; and if any thing be further needful, I believe God will reveal even this to us, supplying all our needs by Jesus Christ; who is with his faithful followers, delighting to reveal unto them the abundance of peace and truth, but in his own way, and time, and as we bow to his yoke and deny ourselves. I remain sincerely thy friend,  
J. B.

To —.

Stoke Newington, 10th of Fourth month, 1838.

My dear friend,

I am on the eve of leaving home for Brighton, if able; for I am very poorly, “feeble, and sore broken” outwardly; though I trust alive in my spirit as ever, and resigned to all that may be in store for me. The enclosed packet came to my hand; so I take this opportunity of conveying my dear love to thee, in that which changeth not—the everlasting Truth.

Though unable to mingle with my Friends in person, when they come together for the sake of this blessed cause, to endeavour to strengthen one another's hands in God, and to build up one another in that holy faith once and still delivered to the saints,—my poor mind is as deeply, as strongly concerned as ever, that every part and parcel thereof, with

all its genuine accompaniments and fruits in practice may be maintained inviolate, and that nothing be foreborne, or let fall, or slighted, through our degeneracy, and dimightedness of that which our worthy ancients upheld through suffering. What has our refinement, religious or civil, done for us? and what has an approach or a condescending affinity thereto done for us?—weakness has inevitably followed, and even the strongest and the wisest have been utterly laid waste. Some are not sufficiently warned and humbled by these things; and if they are, they should openly acknowledge their error, and forsake the very appearance of this track.

I am cheerfully confident, that if those, to whom we somewhat look, as watchers, as seers, as standard-bearers, as counsellors, are removed, (and they are removing,) to their rest,—or, if any of these that remain, should not keep their habitations firm and undeviating, but turn aside in any respect from the ancient testimony,—that He who raised up such a people as we were at the first, will never cease to raise up others, and put forth some into the foreground—into the very seats of the unfaithful. I have seen it wonderfully in my short day,—I have read it of those that have gone before: and therefore, let none ever throw away their shield, and weakly compromise the trust devolving on them.

Farewell, my beloved friend; may the Lord preserve us purely to his praise. With love from thy affectionate friend,  
J. B.

He left home on the 11th of fourth month, reached Brighton without much difficulty, and seemed revived by the change. Soon after his arrival, he consulted a physician, who gave a somewhat encouraging opinion of his state, thinking that with the returning spring his bodily strength would increase.

During his residence at Brighton, he occasionally appeared to rally; and at times seemed so animated and cheerful about himself, that his near relatives, long accustomed to the sight of his crippled condition, were little prepared to suspect that deceptive disease, consumption, (as it afterwards appeared,) was making its sure and rapid inroads upon his delicate constitution.

Our beloved friend, Daniel P. Hack, of that place, who evinced to the last the kindest and most tender solicitude and care respecting him, thus wrote at a subsequent period concerning him:—

‘When our beloved friend came to Brighton, it was evident to his friends, who had not seen him for a considerable time, that his general health was much impaired; and it soon became so much so, as to excite apprehensions



in their minds, that the life and labours of this devoted servant were fast drawing to a close. His mind, however, still retained its vigour; and the precious savour which was to be felt in his company was instructive and sweet, to those who had the privilege of sharing in it.

‘His concern for the cause of his dear Lord and Master, which had so long showed itself in fruits of self-denying dedication, continued unabated. It was evident to those who had the most frequent opportunity of observing, under the pressure of rapidly increasing bodily ailments, that the object nearest to our dear friend’s heart was, the spread of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ;—even of that kingdom which is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, and which stands not in word, but in power.’—(1839.)

He continued to decline, and very rapidly so during the latter part of his stay at Brighton; and on the 8th of the fifth month at his own urgent request, and with the approval of his physician, he was removed to Tunbridge Wells; where he survived but three days. The day after his arrival, in the course of some conversation with his kind friend, D. P. Hack, it was evident that he believed his day’s work was nearly accomplished; and in the evening, on retiring to rest, his wife only being with him, under a precious sense of the overshadowing of the Divine presence, he supplicated thus: ‘O gracious Father! if it please Thee, spare us to each other a little longer, and make us more entirely devoted to Thee and to thy precious cause of Truth in the earth: nevertheless not our will, O Lord! but thine be done.’

He continued to sink, but apparently without much bodily suffering. On the 10th, he repeated these passages,—“I am the light of the world;”—“That was the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world;”—and then remarked,—“it does not say, that we shall all at once know all things, but as we can bear. O! it is because they want to know all at once, not as children learn, that the light is taken away!” And again,—“They say there is no revelation; but that which is made manifest to us as our duty, as the Lord’s will, is revelation:—this is my belief,—I am sure of it.”—“They slight revelation; but it shall prevail; and the Spirit of the Lord shall reign over all;” (often repeated, with) ‘the Truth shall prevail,—the Truth shall reign over all.’ ‘None that trust in the Lord, shall be confounded; but they shall be as Mount Zion, which can never be moved,—for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.—Praise, where it is due, and thanksgiving, and melody!’

At another time he said,—“You all know my desire to be preserved near the Lord,—to be strengthened and upheld by the Lord,—to be found in Him;—this is the way of peace.”

Again he said,—“Simple texts of Scripture contain a great deal: “Walk before Me, and be thou perfect;”—beautiful language! Such texts involve much,—comprehend the whole of a religious walk,—the whole of what we are in the habit of referring to in a religious life. We must be faithful to what is made known,—to the smallest discoveries of the light of Truth. I trust we shall be animated and strengthened to go through our day’s work; then we shall find mercy at the hands of the Lord.”—“Let us then look to the Lord for strength at all times, and under all circumstances.”—“The Lord will be your Lord, and a sure refuge and hiding place.”—“Cleave unto the Lord, O! cleave unto Him; love Him with all your heart.”

To his sister, who was seated beside his couch, he remarked,—“The quiet habitation! dear Lydia, thou looks as if thou loved the quiet habitation: O! how desirable!” with an allusion also to faithfulness and greater dedication.

His difficulty of articulation was great; he often spoke of the great thickness he felt upon him, that he could not express himself clearly: and once he was heard to say, ‘This shackled state!’ and—‘ready to be offered!’

The latter part of this day his voice was lifted up in a constant melody, and for many hours together, like a song of praise; during which these words were clearly distinguished, and often repeated;—“O Lord! dear Lord! come;”—“I bless the Lord,”—“I am the Lord’s for ever.” The name of ‘Jesus’ was often to be heard; and the word ‘Halleluia!’ was for a long time uttered.

He many times said, ‘Let us all be still and quiet. Let us be retired in our minds.’ And again, after some little attention to his comfort,—“Now, shall we have the Lord with us? if not, we shall have him by and by;” and again sunk into the same sweet melody.

On sixth-day, about an hour before his departure, he roused a little from dozing: on receiving some nourishment from his affectionate wife, he took the cup; and she asked him, if he knew her?—he replied with a sweet smile, ‘Yes, my Mary’. She then asked him; had he any pain?—“No, not any.”—was he happy?—“Yes; very!” He then lay down again, and gently drew his breath shorter and shorter, till he quietly and peacefully breathed his last, about four o’clock in the afternoon of the 11th of fifth month, 1838; and we reverently believe, is, through redeeming love and mercy, entered into the everlasting joy of his Lord.

## MEMOIR OF SARAH MORRIS,

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

SHE was born in Philadelphia, about the year 1704. Her parents, Anthony and Elizabeth Morris, being worthy Friends, were concerned to educate her in the fear of the Lord, in the diligent attendance of religious meetings, and in an early acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures; and she often in after life acknowledged the benefit of their pious care in these respects. Through the Lord's blessing on these means, and the preserving power of Divine grace, she was kept from many of the follies to which youth is incident; and her father, when near his end, remarked respecting her, that she had never disobeyed him, but been a comfort to him; an example worthy of imitation.

Being endued with a superior understanding and an affable disposition, her company was much sought by such as were esteemed the wise and great; but her mind was religiously inclined to prefer the society of those who exceeded her in age and experience; and through the merciful regard of her heavenly Father, she experienced preservation from the levity and vanity by which many young persons are captivated.

In a short account which she left of her early visitation, she gratefully acknowledges the advantages she enjoyed from the pious and watchful concern of her parents, and adds; "but what was far beyond all outward blessings, the Lord in his mercy was pleased to make very early impressions of religion on my soul, by his immediate grace and good Spirit, and made me sensible of the touches of his love when very young; by which I was in a good degree preserved from the evils of the world, and not only so, but comforted and supported in every time of difficulty, as there was a regard to that good hand, which will ever be the help of all those who trust in it.

"It pleased God, by the death of a sister whom I entirely loved, to give me a fresh instance of the uncertainty and unsatisfactoriness of all temporal blessings, and to strengthen my desires after the enjoyment of that which is eternal, and fadeth not away; and strong cries were raised in my soul, that I might be brought to a nearer acquaintance, and a more constant abiding with the beloved of souls, who had raised in me such a hunger and thirst after righteousness, that my soul could not be satisfied short of it. After it had pleased God thus to incline me to seek a more full enjoyment of that inward life and virtue, which is conveyed to the soul through the illumination of the Holy Spirit, I was vi-

sited with sickness, and had so near a prospect of eternity, that I seemed just entering into it. O then, the emptiness and vanity of the world, and all the pleasures and friendships of it, appeared in a clear and strong light: nothing but the hope of an entrance into the kingdom of heaven seemed of any value, and that hope the Lord was pleased in some degree to afford me. Yet I thought I saw a great deficiency, [in my past conduct] and desired of the Lord, that if it was his will to restore me, he would enable me to live more closely attentive to his teachings, and to follow him more fully than I had hitherto done. But in order to this, I saw that a work of greater mortification than I had ever experienced, was necessary. Great distress of soul and affliction of body was I brought into; and such temptations and buffetings of satan, as I had until now been a stranger to, were suffered to beset me, in the absence of spiritual comfort and refreshment. But in all this the Lord was very merciful, and let me see that his dealings with my soul were in order to qualify me for his service. O then, I was willing to enter into the solemn engagement, if thou Lord wilt be with me in the way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, in a spiritual sense, and bring me to my heavenly Father's house in peace, Thou shalt be my God, and I will serve thee. And the Lord, who knew the tenderness of my heart, for it was his own work, was graciously pleased to shower down the heavenly rain of his kingdom, by which my soul was greatly comforted and refreshed, and in a true sense of my own nothingness and inability to do any thing that was acceptable in his sight, without his assistance, my spirit was greatly humbled before him, and a resignation wrought to be given up in all things to Him, who had thus enabled me to praise his name, for deliverance from great and sore conflicts and troubles, unknown to any but himself. Then was the Lord my refuge and hiding place, and under the shadow of his wing was I kept; and in the sweet enjoyment of divine love, light and life, was at times made to say, surely nothing shall ever be able to separate me from the love of God in Christ Jesus. But alas! this lasted not long; for when it was clearly shown me what was required at my hand, which was to bear a public testimony for God, and to declare unto others what he had done for my soul, then consultations with flesh and blood began; doubts, fears, and reasonings increased, so that great darkness and distress came upon me. I could



not now apply with the same confidence and trust as formerly, to Him who alone can help, but began to disclose something of my condition to others, from which time I was sensible that my strength decreased. All this time I was willing to hope that a fresh visitation might, sometime, be afforded, for without it I saw my state to be very dangerous. What would I not then have done to recover my former condition? I went under great distress and perplexity day and night for some months; the comfortable refreshments and divine openings, with which I had been so plentifully favoured, were withdrawn, and I left in unspeakable anguish. I cried unto the Lord to show me his will, and enable me to perform it; but the sense of his love was so far withdrawn, and fears and doubts so prevailed, that I began to question every thing; and by degrees the unwearied adversary has so prevailed, that I am, according to my weak apprehension, left very much to myself, stript of inward comfort, and not able to take pleasure in any thing this world can afford."

Through the mercy of the Lord she was preserved under this close probation, and in his time graciously relieved by the quickening virtue of his divine presence and power; and in deep abasement became resigned to his holy requirings. She was brought forth in the work of the ministry about the forty-second year of her age, in great mortification to her own will; and it became evident to the sensible and feeling members of the church, that she was rightly called and anointed by her Lord and Master for this weighty work. Abiding in humility and faithfulness to her gift, she increased in religious depth and experience, and became an able minister of the gospel, being sound and pertinent in her doctrine, and careful to adorn it by a pious and exemplary life and conversation.

Her labours in the work of the ministry were chiefly confined to her native city; yet under the constraining power of divine love, and the putting forth of the heavenly Shepherd, she visited many of the meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, &c.; and when near seventy years old, she yielded to an apprehension of duty, which had long rested on her mind, and paid a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain. In the ninth month, 1773, she returned from this engagement, much reduced in her bodily health and strength; but during the following winter, united with Mary Leaver and Elizabeth Robinson, (two ministering Friends from England,) in a visit to the families of Friends in Philadelphia, in which service she was eminently favoured with divine help.

In the fifth month, 1774, she visited Friends of New York and Long island, and attended

the yearly meeting there; and during the summer and fall of that year, some of the meetings of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, being favoured with a lively and edifying testimony in most places; thus evincing a commendable zeal and dedication to the Lord's service, when far advanced in life, and under much bodily infirmity.

She manifested a steady and godly concern for the advancement of the precious cause of Truth and righteousness, and the preservation of her fellow members in true Christian fellowship, not only in the exercise of her gift as a minister, but in her daily walk and conversation, as well as in meetings for the maintenance of church discipline, a service for which she was well qualified.

For several months before her death, she was afflicted with the dropsy, which rendered it difficult for her to go out of her house; yet such was her love to God, his truth and people, that she made great exertions to get to meeting, and when unable to walk, was several times carried there.

During her last illness she had to endure great bodily suffering, and at times depression of spirit, yet was at seasons much favoured, through the Lord's mercy, with the lifting up of the light of his blessed countenance, and uttered many comfortable and edifying expressions. It was a time of great civil commotion in the land, and she one day heard the sound of a drum passing, on which she remarked, "The Spirit of Christ is the Christian's glory and strength. It makes us humble, meek and wise; it is the teacher that cannot be removed, a guide into that righteous way, which, if lived in, would have kept off this impending storm. O that they would even now, humbly seek to learn the Christian warfare, and be earnestly engaged to fight under the banner of Christ, to know their own hearts lusts totally subdued."

At another time, being in great pain, she said, "O sweet Lord Jesus, that thou wouldst be pleased to give me a little ease, who am an unworthy creature, undeserving of thy sweet presence; but thou art merciful, and thou, O Lord, knowest that nothing else can ease and comfort me; thy living presence is all I want." Her fervent petition being granted, she broke forth after this manner; "O how good is my God, thus to hear my feeble cry,—how sweet is this ease. All my pains are eased by one look from thee! O that I could be thankful enough for this favour, this sweet though short quiet, which we cannot get at but when thou, O Father, pleasest. O that the people would but believe, that in thy peace their strength consists, and that they would seek to know it before it is too late. Many are contented without witnessing the

frequent renewings of divine love, in which only there is life: if they are but preserved from gross evils and go on in prosperity, they sit down at ease and think all is well. O that they may not too late find their mistake, and that they have pleased themselves with favours which they have unthankfully received; and stopped short of greater, by not desiring them, and more frequently than the day waiting to know the renewings of that life, without which there is no life to the truly begotten children, and which would not only show them what they ought to do, but give them strength to do it."

Seventh month 2nd.—Several Friends sitting in her room she said in substance, "I have seen the necessity, after having done the will of God, of waiting in patience to receive the promise of Him, who is the same to-day as yesterday, and will so continue forever. Many are the comfortable assurances in holy writ, to those who keep the word of his patience: I will keep such, saith he, in the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the earth, to try them that dwell therein. I have many times been glad to feel a little opening of strength with my beloved friends, and may say, I am thankful for this solemn quiet opportunity, for great have been, and still are, my trials, and close may be your provings. I don't speak it to discourage any, but I find without the renewings of Divine love and life, we are incapable of keeping the word of his patience, being so frequently beset with weakness and infirmities.

"May you, my dear friends, who have been called and anointed for services, witness a renewed supply of holy oil, whereby your lamps may be kept burning and your lights shining, and experience the law to go forth from Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. May you remember your covenants, made in the day of deep distress; and may you be supported through every future difficulty and trial, and I through the present conflict, that when every other channel of comfort shall be dried up, and all human help be found unavailing, we may find Him to be near, who hath promised, that for the cry of the poor and the sighing of the needy, he will arise: cry mightily unto Him, that we may know him to do so for us, for I find, without sensibly feeling his love, which opens and enlarges the heart, we cannot apply those gracious promises to our comfort. And when he draws let not the cares of this life, or slavish and unnecessary fears prevent your following him faithfully, whatever afflictions may attend. O may we be so preserved in his holy hand, as that nothing may be suffered to pluck us out of it, and be assisted so to conduct ourselves, as that we may be found among the happy number who have come through many

tribulations, where all sorrows and sighing will be done away, and all tears wiped from our eyes, to join those who can acceptably sing the song of praise, having their robes washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb."

On the 3rd, with some difficulty of utterance she said, "Though the floods beat high at times, and the waves roar, I am sensible of Divine love being present, and in that love I salute my friends;" and added, that as she hoped each one there had in a greater or less degree known the sanctifying power of religion on their minds, she very earnestly and affectionately urged them to a more close and solemn attention to this important work, and not to rest satisfied short of witnessing a daily advancement therein, that when this earthly tabernacle was dissolved, they might have a well grounded hope of a house eternal in the heavens, whose builder and maker is God. She then mentioned "that our blessed Saviour had told his immediate followers, that in his Father's house there were many mansions, and he went to prepare a place for them, that where he is, they might be also; and although the sensible enjoyment of Divine love is much withdrawn from many, who formerly were eminently favoured with it, yet she desired such not to be discouraged, for living faith in Christ Jesus, though but in a small degree, is abundantly sufficient for our strength and safety: and that as the Lord's love still continued with those who are far advanced, and as on the verge of time, He would also be the guide, and blessed guardian of the younger in years, as they humbly and steadily kept on the watch, and were obedient to the instructions of his holy Spirit."

During the last night of her life, she was in much pain and under some discouragement of mind; and being reminded of some past seasons of divine favour, she lay a while in awful silence, and then exclaimed, "I see now to my comfort, that the Lord hath been with me through all this illness, and at times I knew it not." "She soon fell into a quiet slumber, and on awaking much refreshed, remarked that she had not slept so sweetly during all her illness, for she had been in company with her father's God, her mother's God, and her God; and after slumbering again, she said, "It seems strange I should sleep at such a time as this," but being told that her work was done, and it was a favour she could sleep, replied, "I believe it is, and I am thankful for it." About three o'clock in the morning she raised her hands as if engaged in fervent prayer, and uttered some words, which were not intelligibly heard; soon after which she quietly expired on the 24th of tenth month, 1775, in the seventy-second year of her age, and thirty-first of her ministry.















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