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THE
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COMPRISING
JOURNALS, DOCTRINAL TREATISES, AND OTHER WRITINGS
OF
MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

EDITED BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS.

VOL. IX.

CONTAINING
MEMOIRS OF JAMES GOUGH.—LIFE OF WILLIAM RECKITT.—MEMOIRS
AND LETTERS OF SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.—LIFE OF JOHN
GRATTON.—DIARY OF SAMUEL SCOTT.—LIFE OF WIL-
LIAM CATON.—MEMOIR OF THOMAS UPSHER.

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MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE, RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES, AND LABOURS IN THE GOSPEL,
OF
JAMES GOUGH,
LATE OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, DECEASED.

~~~~~  
COMPILED FROM HIS ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, BY HIS BROTHER JOHN GOUGH.  
~~~~~

PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

THAT biography which describes the lives of such as have steadily directed their course through this world to a better, in piety toward God and goodness of heart and life among men, seems, in an especial manner, to claim our serious and attentive perusal. Some of these good men, from a view of being helpful and serviceable to mankind, when they shall be no more in this state of mutability, have left behind them lively monuments of their experience of the work of sanctification and saving grace in them; reciting not only the occurrences of their lives, but the motives of their actions, and the effect of those occurrences on the state of their minds; unfolding the gradual operation of the grace of God, for their redemption from evil, and showing forth the fruits of the spirit, out of a good conversation. Herein leaving, as it were, the prints of their footsteps to lasting felicity, for their survivors to trace the path to the like glorious inheritance.

Of this kind of biography, we have had several tracts published in our Society; and having perused them with much satisfaction and advantage, and been thereby animated to an ardent desire of treading the same path to blessedness, I am induced the more readily to forward the publication of the following sheets, and to recommend them to the solid attention of my friends, particularly to the youth of this generation. Reading and study, as well as every other occupation of our lives, are most properly and profitably employed in the pursuit and acquisition of those virtuous dispositions, whereby we may please our Maker,

fill up our stations in life with propriety, and be good examples in our generation. It is a matter of importance to all, but especially to this age, to be very careful and well-directed in the choice of the books they read, as well as the company they familiarly associate with; that they be such as may make profitable impressions upon them: these silent companions of the closet, communicate a good or evil influence, according to the subjects they treat of, and the manner in which they are treated, and have a secret, but powerful effect upon the tender mind; and the apostle's observation, that, "evil communications corrupt good manners," is, in my opinion, applicable to corrupting books, as well as to corrupting companions.

From the clear sense they had of the pernicious tendency of such compositions, our friends, both in a private and collective capacity, have been frequently concerned to recommend a care in parents and guardians, to prevent and caution youth and others, to restrain their inclination to read "such books as tend to leaven the mind into vanity, profaneness and infidelity,"* under which description are comprised, "plays, novels and romances, and all those which have a tendency to lead the mind from piety, and to oppose or reject the divine authority of the holy Scriptures." This licentious age, which has produced an inundation of fictitious compositions, romances and novels in abundance, presents an occasion to revive the caution to our young friends, to beware of touching the unclean thing, lest their minds be imperceptibly defiled thereby.

* See yearly meeting's Epistle, 1723, 1762, &c.

Such writings being adapted to the depraved taste of an indolent and luxurious generation, afford no profitable instruction or real improvement in morals, in understanding, or in the temper of the mind; and the time employed therein, is in general mispent, or spent to a bad purpose. "There is but little need to drive away that by foolish diversions, which flies away so swiftly of itself; and when once gone is never to be recalled. Plays, balls, treats, romances, music, love-sonnets, and the like, will be a very invalid plea, for any other purpose than their condemnation, who are taken and delighted therewith, at the revelation of the righteous judgment of God." William Penn's No Cross No Crown, chap. 15, sec. 7. None, I believe, are better or wiser, for the hours they pass in perusing such productions. The greater part, being the invention of corrupt minds, have a very corrupting influence. And those which appear most plausible, are too generally formed to fill the head with romantic ideas and airy imaginations; to flatter our pride, infuse a taste for sensual pleasures, nourish our propensity to worldly grandeur, and the desire of great possessions, and to bring the mind into a dissipated state; operating in a direction opposite to the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, and teacheth us to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts; and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.

For these reasons I am induced to cast in my mite to this concern, of the Society I am connected with in religious fellowship, for the preservation of their members from these hurtful pursuits; desiring they may receive the word of exhortation to refrain from unprofitable or prejudicial compositions, as well as to peruse with seriousness, such as tend to impress the mind with religious considerations, and influence it to the practice of piety and virtue.

I have reason to believe it was a practice with the author of the ensuing pages, to take frequent reviews of his life, keeping an account thereof, in order to take a more minute retrospection, and to form a more precise judgment how he was prepared and preparing for the final account; a profitable, rational, and religious exercise, which it might be advantageous for all to employ themselves in, every day of their lives. At three different periods he commenced a review of the whole, I imagine, with a more extensive view; but had proceeded only a little way in the last, when he was removed from this life. I have traced the last as far as it was carried forward, and the second to the end; and from that period, having collected what authentic

memorials I could, have in a supplement, continued the narration to the end of his life.

I have also annexed an epistle to friends in Ireland, which I found amongst the papers from whence the following memoirs are compiled, which seems designed for publication, and in which there are many observations well worthy the attention of those to whom it is addressed, and of others into whose hands it may fall.

—

A Testimony, from the Men's Meeting of Dublin, concerning James Gough, deceased.

It having pleased divine providence, to remove from us by death our worthy friend James Gough, we feel our minds impressed to give forth the following testimony concerning him.

By authentic accounts we find he was born at Kendal in Westmoreland, in the year 1712. And, in his young years, was made sensible of an inward monitor to reprove his propensity to evil, and convince him of the error of his ways, which made, at times, profitable impressions on his mind for a season. But, through the instability of youth, these impressions proved not deep enough to be lasting, till about the twenty-first year of his age, when he removed from the north of England to Bristol. It pleased divine Goodness to favour him with a fresh and prevailing visitation of his love, whereby he was made willing to give up, in self-denial and circumspection of life, to yield obedience to his requirings, who in his fatherly loving kindness had thus visited his soul; and by the gradual operation of the divine power therein, he experienced a growth in the work of sanctification, and was thereby formed into a vessel prepared for the Master's use.

About the year 1738, he removed from Bristol, and settled in Cork, and soon after he came forth in a public testimony to the virtue and efficacy of that truth, which himself had experienced the beneficial effects of; and growing in his gift, he became an able minister of the gospel, and an instrument of service in the church.

His first journey, in the work of the ministry, was in the year 1740, to the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and part of Yorkshire. His next to Leinster province; and in the summer of 1743, he visited the meetings of Friends through the principality of Wales, and many parts of England; in the course of which visit, he attended the yearly meeting of Wales, with those of Bristol and London. Soon after his return he thought it his duty to remove into Leinster province, and fixed his residence in Mountme-

lick, where his service became extensive, being in the centre of a large body of Friends. He almost constantly attended our province, quarterly and national meetings, where he was often drawn forth in the pure streams of gospel love, to the refreshment, and edification of Friends. In the year 1774, he settled in this city, where he was well received, and well beloved, his innocent life and conversation adorning his gospel labours amongst us, being filled with love to mankind in general, and in particular to the flock and family with whom he was joined in religious fellowship.

He followed his occupation of schoolmaster for sometime in this city, but, in his advanced years, not being sufficiently able to bear the fatigue and confinement attendant on that employment, and being desirous to be more at liberty for the exercise of his gift, he gave it up; and for the last three years of his being a member of this meeting, travelled much abroad in the different quarters of this nation, visiting the meetings, and in many places, the families of Friends, to stir up the pure mind by way of remembrance, and to provoke to love and good works.

Being on a religious visit to Friends in the province of Munster, and having proceeded to the city of Cork, where he was engaged in a visit to the families of Friends, and had with much diligence nearly finished the same, it pleased the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, in whose hands our lives are, there to put a period to his labours, and to remove him from works to rewards. Being seized with indisposition, and following the service before him too closely, as was apprehended, it increased upon him to such a degree as brought on his dissolution, and he quietly departed this life, at the house of our friend Joseph Garratt, in said city, where he was affectionately and tenderly attended and taken care of during his illness, we believe in peace with the Lord, and much regretted by Friends here and elsewhere, amongst whom his zealous labours will be much missed.

We desire that the removal of faithful labourers, may be so laid to heart by their survivors, as that they may be incited to copy their examples, tread the same steps to blessedness, and thereby be qualified to fill their vacant places with propriety. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace."

He departed this life the 6th of the tenth month, 1780, and was buried in the burying-ground belonging to Friends of said city, the 9th of the same. Aged sixty-seven, a minister forty-one years.

Signed in and on behalf of our Men's meet-

ing held in Dublin, the tenth of the fourth month, 1781.

John Bancroft,
Robert Clibborn,
Benjamin Byrne,
Henry Astick,
Robert Freeman,
Thomas Fayle,
Thomas Thacker,
Benjamin Glorney,
William North,
John Smithson,
David Newland,
John Robinson,
Joshua Forbes,

Thomas Bewley,
John Dawson Coats,
Joseph Williams,
Joshua Clibborn,
John Robinson,
Jonathan Hill,
Joseph Pike,
Joseph Sandwith,
William Jackson,
William Knott,
Thomas Bewley, Jr.
Samuel Russel,
Thomas Barrington.

INTRODUCTION.

For my own future benefit, and for theirs too into whose hands it may fall, I am induced to commit to writing the following review of my days, now in the sixty-sixth year of my age. Since we are launched on the ocean of life, our principal care ought to be to steer our course through it to the port of rest and unmixed felicity, though it be through hardship and self-denial; since, if we fail of this at last, it is then too late to amend it.

Could all the pleasures and advantages of this life, be attained and enjoyed perfect and unmixed to its close, they would be no compensation for the loss of happiness in a future and immortal state. But those pleasures and advantages never can be so enjoyed by any one, unless his passions and inclinations are subject to the government of God, who alone ought to govern his creatures, and who discovers his will to the humble attentive mind.

The temporary enjoyers of the good things of this life, may show an appearance of pleasure to ignorant spectators, while they seem to float, without interruption, in the midst of gratifications and amusements; yet a secret worm is often felt by them, gnawing at the root of their exaltation and grandeur.

It is the universal regard of Omnipotence, which rebukes them for letting loose the reins of their lusts or eager inclinations, designing thereby their timely reformation for their everlasting good. He often opposes the ambitious and proud in their career with the unwelcome discovery, that they are engaged in other pursuits than those that heaven designed for them; not applying their precious time and talents to the great and good purpose for which they were given. Sometimes He displays the beauties and benefits of rectitude, deserted by them; and sometimes the horror and sad consequence of persisting in the neglect or violation of du-

ty thus discovered, on the one hand, and counteracted by them on the other.

Hence too generally, disliking the check to present ease and pleasure, such as are intrusted with the means of doing good, and helping others on their way, turn their attention from this omnipresent monitor, this faithful bosom friend, they fly to tempting vanities, to soothing deceptions, to amusing recreations; they bear their heads aloft among the envying multitudes, and seek to drown his salutary admonitions in splendor, noise, intemperance and dissipation.

Many such I have known, who are now gone to their long homes, whom in my younger years I envied.

I have been so foolish as to transfer my envy from them, after they disappeared, to their vain and short-lived successors; many of whom are also gone, and so will it be with the rest ere long. And then what follows to those that have left their heaven behind them; who assuming to themselves the direction that was due to God, have refused to reverence and obey his laws? Ah, then the enviers and the envied, like the blind led by the blind, fall into one abyss. Unfit for the regions of pure love to God and each other, of perfect peace, of joy unspeakable and full of glory, they are debarred from admission into them. Associated with rebellious spirits, their bitterness, envy, resentment, eager desires ungratified, unceasing vexation and anguish descend with them, in an unbodied state.

A sensual earthly mind is too much vitiated to relish the pure joys, or to suit the society of the spirits of the just made perfect. Goodness is painful to the wicked, being so contrary to the depravity of their nature. Heaven would be no heaven to them.

A change of heart is necessary to be experienced by every man, from a state of nature to a state of grace; from earthly and sensual dispositions and affections, to holy and heavenly, in order to be fitted for the fruition of, as well as the admission into, the kingdom of heaven. It is then the greatest wisdom, while time and opportunity are afforded, to use all diligence to attain that state of mind in which we may be prepared, when all the transitory delights, amusements and desirable objects of this world fail, to be received into everlasting habitations. Our hearts ought to be filled with thankfulness to God, who in his universal love to mankind, hath provided for them a physician, able and willing to heal all nations, to create clean hearts, and renew right spirits in all who submit to him and follow his directions.

But in order to attain this desirable state, we must make a total surrender of ourselves to the divine will revealed to us, in daily self-denial and fidelity; persevering therein to the end of our days, ardent in desire to do good, and to be conformed to the mind of our Creator.

The less we look unnecessarily into the world, or covet its honours, favours, friendship and greatness, and the more we look to God with a single eye, and covet his honour, favour, friendship and riches, the more shall we experience a growth in the very root, and in all the branches of the divine life, that we may be as a chaste spouse to Christ in every desire and aim, in every motion of the mind, and its companion the body too. Surely he ever merits it from us, even he who has graciously visited, and from day to day invited, and called us out of the spirit and ways of the world, to join himself, in order to partake with him and his, of pure peace and joy in the present life, and infinitely in a future state. His call is "come out from among them, and be ye separate; touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you, and I will be a father to you," &c.

By this call were our honourable predecessors in the beginning, separated from the spirit and ways of the world, and incited to refuse touching the unclean thing or whatever sprang from an impure source, what persecution soever that refusal might cost them; knowing that he whom they obeyed and in whom they trusted, would carry them through all opposition, which they experienced to their unspeakable joy, to be fulfilled, and many of them testified it to the world, both living and dying.

Those happy men and women, through their faithful labours with the divine blessing upon them, left the Lord's vineyard well fenced and clean, having gathered out the stones thereof, and abounding with the excellent fruits of the holy Spirit of Christ.

After this, degeneracy stole in, a revolting to the world, imbibing its spirit, resuming its customs, language and manners; which has since widely spread and overflowed like a deluge, broken down the fence, and introduced an unhappy change in the state of our society.

Yet there is no change in God or his laws. O then, that we may speedily return back to him and them, and to that state from whence we have fallen, else great it is to be feared, will be our condemnation.

Having premised these brief observations, I now proceed to the narrative of my own life.

MEMOIRS OF JAMES GOUGH.

I WAS born at Kendal, in Westmoreland, on the 27th of twelfth month, 1712, and my parents, John and Mary Gough, professing the truth as held by the people called Quakers, I received my education in the same profession. My mother, who was an industrious, careful, well-minded woman, taught me to read; and when I was a little turned of five years of age, I commenced a scholar in friends' school in my native town, under the tuition of Thomas Rebanks, at which school I continued till my fifteenth year. Having a good genius, and a propensity to learning, I attained with facility and readiness, the Latin and Greek languages; and my quick proficiency therein,—I being of little stature for my age,—excited admiration, procured me the fame of a great scholar, vastly magnified my little stock of attainments; and also introduced me to the notice of several persons of eminence in the town, who would frequently question me in respect to my learning, and were generally pleased with my ready answers.

In particular, a distinguished justice of peace, with his wife, took a singular notice of me, admitting me, young as I was, to free conversation with them, and introducing me, at times, into grand company which frequented their house. The said justice would say, that if my parents would give me up to him, he would send me to the university to receive a proper education. This flattered my ambition, as it was what at that time I heartily wished for.

By these means the seeds of wild nature, the noxious weeds of pride and vain conceit, the produce of every soil, received strength and nourishment in my early minority, and shot up high for my childish age.

But in some sort to counterbalance these incentives to pride and airy notions, I had the advantage of receiving my education in a place, in and about which there lived many worthy friends, whose exemplary lives and religious care and labours, often in my early years, made good impressions on my mind, which, though my own propensities soon effaced them, left fixed upon my breast an honourable esteem for those truly good men and women, with painful reflections under the sense of my own infidelity, and secret wishes for

that happy condition, which I really believed them to be established in, by Christ their Redeemer and Sovereign.

My understanding was enlightened when very young, to see both my own deficiencies in duty, and those of many others more advanced in years; and I thought, if I lived to be a man, their harms should be my warnings.

I remember a worthy minister, Joseph Jordan from Virginia, having had the small-pox at a friend's house in Kendal, and being raised up again; at the first meeting which he got to after it, was drawn out in such a moving manner in his ministry, that the meeting in general seemed to be impressed with great tenderness under it; and I then, though but very young, had a share therein. The desirableness of living so as to obtain divine favour, seemed to be very clearly and strongly set before our view. And the opportunity had some good effect upon my mind for a short season.

Here we may remark the advantage that accrues to religious society, and to meetings, where they are favoured with a number of faithful elders, living ministers, and spiritually-minded friends; men of truth, "fearing God and hating covetousness." The liveliness of their spirits; the clearness of their sight, and the uniformity of their conduct and conversation, qualify them to show the people how they should walk in the pursuit of peace, both by precept and example; precepts drawn from the living spring of experience, and examples formed by a watchful attention to the pointings and limitations of truth. I remember some whose very countenances seemed to command awe, and impress observers with serious consideration; as the salt of the earth, seasoning those amongst whom they walked, with a sense of the truth which lived and predominated in them; under the powerful influence thereof, these kept up meetings both for worship and discipline, and were enabled thereby to keep things in good order, as themselves were a good savour in their allotments. On the other hand, we may observe that where the elders and active friends are not under this qualification; but under the form, are suffering their hearts to go after their covetousness, secretly departing from under the influence of this divine principle, the cause and

prevalence of truth too often decline amongst the different ranks of the people, "as in the day when a standard-bearer fainteth."

My mother made it her maxim in her plan of education, to accustom her children to useful employment, frugal fare, and to have our wills crossed, in order hereby to render us better fitted to undergo any future hardships in life, that might be allotted to us. And I have reason to think that her care and endeavours, with the examples and labours of good friends, were to me as "bread cast upon the waters," which appeared after many days. In the intervals of school hours, she would be for employing me in one useful occupation or other. This I thought a great hardship; and being much mortified thereby, I exerted my wits to evade it, often feigning pretences of school-tasks and exercises, set me by my master, and such like groundless excuses.

The great duty of education, to discharge it rightly, needs divine instruction and assistance, as much as any duty in life, and therefore parents have need fervently to pray for it, and faithfully to follow it when received. Otherwise they may be in danger of falling short, and the deviations and miscarriages of the children, at least in part, may lie at their doors.

But if my mother might seem to err on the one hand, viz: that of severity, it is to be feared that the far greater number err on the other hand, that of indulgence and connivance; and that though the former be more painful for the present, yet the latter generally proves more pernicious in its effects and future consequences. I verily believe, I have enjoyed a better state of health, from being brought up in a hardy way, as my constitution was but weak and tender.

Upon a review of my state at this age, my recollection represents it as a complication of ambition, envy, craft and deceit; but even then, a divine monitor was near me, to manifest and reprove the corruption of my heart and the evil of my ways. I was sensible of my mother's anxious care for my preservation from evil, and attainment of good; but I eluded as much as I could, the confinement which she thought conducive thereto, in keeping me under her own eye, and out of the way of corrupting company. I loved liberty; I sought it with eagerness, frequently got it by craft, and abused it to my hurt, as inexperienced young people are apt to do.

In this state, I well remember, I was afraid and ashamed to meet with good friends, such as I loved and honoured, being inwardly convicted from the consciousness of my own vile and unguarded conduct. Sometimes I received from some of them the reproof I de-

served; and sometimes I thought their very silence rebuked me. At other times in their company, the love and desire of goodness revived with a strong force; but being withdrawn therefrom, yielding to temptation, often reinstated vice in its wonted seat in my heart, and in the direction of my conduct.

I easily and clearly saw the wide difference between good and bad company, and how much the former was preferable; yet the powerful allurements of the latter, forcibly drew me into, and held me fast in a wretched captivity thereto, manifestly contrary to my better judgment, which I fear is the case of many others.

There being a large body of friends in the county of Westmoreland and the adjacent parts, many of our general meetings were very largely attended; and as it was the care of the elders, and other friends concerned for the welfare of the youth, to encourage them very early to attend the meetings of discipline, for their improvement in virtue and sobriety; I attended many of these large meetings, but too frequently without reaping any share of the real benefit intended by them, or receiving any other impressions than those of vanity and airy ambition; so that however such meetings were favoured with divine virtue and power, the dissipation and absence of my foolish, roving mind, rendered it like the barren heath, not profiting by the fruitful shower, or cheering beams of the sun.

There is reason to fear that this may be the case of too many young people, who are pleased to go to these large meetings from other motives than those of piety, and forgetful of the intent and design of them, indulge their corrupt inclinations in very unseasonable gaiety and festivity. What the faithful labourers in the church endeavour to build up, these in their unguarded conduct pull down, and sometimes bring reproach and disagreeable reflections on their religious profession.

Had these meetings been constantly beautified with a uniformity in the conduct of professors, consistent with the divine principle of truth and the doctrines of its faithful ministers, they would have proved of much greater service. For as the truth is in itself unspotted, and its excellency unchangeable, the glory and dignity thereof would have shined forth very amiably and attractively in the eyes of the nations, had not the misconduct of its professors frequently and extensively eclipsed its genuine lustre; which merits the solid consideration of all, who have been educated, or have joined in profession with us; both when they attend such meetings, and at all other times.

1727.—Being arrived at my fifteenth year,

my mother was anxious to have me put to some business. Through her persuasion, my father, in the course of his travels, spoke to David Hall, the memoirs of whose life are extant, and for whom my mother had an honourable esteem, and agreed with him to take me as usher to his school, desiring no other terms for me but my board, and such instruction as he might see I yet needed; which gave my mother great satisfaction.

She accompanied me to his house at Skipton in Yorkshire. Here I experienced the advantage of the education she had given me, for thereby I was prepared to submit more willingly to continual employ and hardship. And though many of the boys coming from full houses and plentiful tables, thought their fare here mean, as indeed the price for both boarding and tuition was but eight pounds per annum, yet to me it was in general otherwise.

There happened to be in the family at this time two youths, whose cases or events in life, I think not improper to mention, by way of caution; but their names I would wish to be buried in oblivion, unless they may yet be favoured with repentance to salvation.

The one was a lodger in the house. He was a valuable pattern and very helpful in the family. I esteemed him to be in a happy condition, and still believe he was so at that time. He had a few words in the ministry, and grew in his gift; but afterwards becoming exalted, and too fond of applause, he fell into the snares of the grand enemy, and brought a reproach on the truth, and on the ministry. What need hath he that standeth, or thinketh he standeth, to take heed lest he fall!

The other was at that time an apprentice to David Hall. He was afterwards a minister, well esteemed among many friends; but alas! he also shamefully fell. And what renders the case of these my formerly well-beloved friends, still more melancholy, is, that though there is balm in Gilead, yet they and others, whom the enemy has thus wounded and poisoned, will not turn to the physician there, but rather endeavour to have their wounds deceitfully healed.

I remember to have heard one, who had basely fallen in an unguarded hour, boasting a few years after, that he had been washed in the bottom of Jordan, and had brought up stones of memorial; and this in an affected ministerial way, when it appeared not to be the case to any but himself; but rather that the poor man was still under the deception of the crafty enemy, willing to deceive himself, and wanting to deceive others, while he was at best but very superficially washed from deep defilements. Judgment had not had its per-

fect work, though he was very willing to think, and to have it thought by others, that it had; and to evade that awful consideration, that the most pure and righteous God is jealous of his honour, and requires our going clean through all that humiliation, labour and patience, which his light in the conscience discovers to be necessary for repairing the dishonour incurred. All palliations or softening excuses; all arts to conciliate human compassion and favour, are but like fig-leaf coverings, through which the nakedness of transgressors is manifest to such as are endued with true sight, and like daubing over destructive breaches with untempered mortar.—But enough of this digression, wishing it may prove useful where needed.

1728.—When I had staid in my service at Skipton a little more than a year, my master gave me leave to return to Kendal to see my relations. He made me the bearer also of a letter to my father, wherein he signified, that considering my years, he approved of my qualifications and conduct, and offered wages for my future service. My mother took little notice of the offer; but was exceedingly rejoiced at the other part of the letter, as giving her better hopes on my behalf than she hitherto had.

In the course of the succeeding year, by agreement between my father and my master, I spent three months with Richard Kennedy, writing master in Liverpool, to improve myself in writing, and learn some branches of the mathematics. One seventh-day while here, having always a great propensity to see towns and places that were new to me, I went to see the city of Chester, and lodged two nights at Peter Leadbetter's; in my return by Eastham ferry, which is five miles across to Liverpool, an elderly gentlewoman having got some play-books in the boat, I offered to read for her: as I was reading, some horses in the boat grew unruly, which terrified her very much; so that she put by her play-books, and while we were in the boat, would no more touch them herself, or suffer me to touch one of them.

Many remarkable preservations I had in my younger days; but the most remarkable was during my residence at Liverpool, which happened as follows. One first-day, in the afternoon, I went with some other boys a boating in the dock, which, by means of flood-gates, was kept so full of water as to keep the ships afloat, when the tide was out. We rowed several times from one end of the dock to the other. At length some rude boys, that were stronger than we, took from us our oar, or oars, and this in all probability proved the means of our preservation. For now we

found ourselves obliged to work our way with our hands by the ships to the upper end of the dock. Just as we reached it, we heard a noise as of the loudest thunder: climbing up from the boat unto the quay, we soon found that the dock gates, being grown old were broken down. The water rushing out in a rapid torrent, bore down all before it, oversetting and greatly damaging several vessels that lay near. The frightful nearness of such a danger, and narrow escape from it so affected my mind, as to invade my sleep that night, and repeat itself again to my imagination with aggravations of horror.

At the expiration of my three months here, I went to Kendal yearly meeting, where my father, being just arrived from a journey, in which he had made his way through Skipton, informed me that he had agreed with David Hall to bind me to him for four years longer; this was no agreeable intelligence to me, for although I honoured my worthy master, yet every thing else was not as I could wish it. I thought I could foresee much hardship to be unavoidably my lot; yet as my father had so agreed, I thought it my duty to comply. I endeavoured to put a good heart and face upon it, and so entered upon my part. During these four years my master was frequently abroad at meetings. He did not often miss the quarterly meetings at York, and sometimes attended the yearly meeting at London, and then the care of the scholars in and out of school lay heavy on me.

Both before my coming to Skipton, and while I was there, I often had fresh desires kindled in my heart after redemption. I was clearly shown the necessity of it, and the danger of delays in a matter of such consequence; so that I left off playing for a time, thinking it great infatuation to squander my precious hours in play, when in danger of my life, and that too for ever. But the most particular reach I had, was at a meeting in our school-house, under the baptizing ministry of John Fothergill, whereby I was awakened to vigilance for a season, rising early, and carefully attending to every step in my business, and the duties of my station. But soon, the fervour of this sacred flame abated, and I gradually fell back, and became just what I was before; yet I did not forget or wholly lose the sense of this day of my visitation; but often privately lamented my revolt, and I continued still to maintain a good character amongst friends.

I do not remember much more than what I have already intimated in general of these four years, save that one time, when my master was abroad, I thought myself hardly and unreasonably used, and thereupon conceived

a design to run away by night, it being moon light; but that kind Providence whose fatherly care was over me, when I was too little careful for my own well-doing, withheld me. When the time proposed for putting my design in execution arrived, the pernicious consequences of such a procedure, were so clearly manifested to my mind, that I was discouraged from the attempt; and therefore concluded patiently to endure what might be permitted to befall me, till the termination of the time contracted for, might bring me my release in a reputable and conscientious way.

Near the expiration of my time I wrote to some of my friends, acquainting them, that I intended to try some new place, and received a letter from my good friend John Wilson of Kendal, signifying that Alexander Arscott of Bristol wanted an usher, and offered twenty pounds per annum. Which offer I readily embraced.

1733.—Leaving Skipton, and the yearly meeting at Kendal approaching, I went thither, staid a few days with my mother, and then set forward for Bristol. In my way at Wolverhampton, standing at the door of the inn where I alighted, I saw a crowd of people passing by, and heard it was a Quaker's funeral; whereupon I went to it, and our friend Joshua Toft, whom I do not remember to have seen before, attended it, and was raised up in a large and living testimony, whereby I was afresh reached, and considerably tendered, and thence proceeded on my way, under renewed impressions of good upon my mind, to Worcester. There I met with William Beesley going to Bristol yearly meeting, with whom I went in company to Gloucester, but my horse being tired I was forced to leave him behind, and walk the greatest part of the remainder of the way in my boots. In a few weeks after, that worthy minister and elder, John Richardson, of Yorkshire, landed in company with Robert Jordan from Pennsylvania, who bought my horse for the same price it cost me.

My good master Alexander Arscott, was like a kind and tender father to me. He was the eldest son of the parson of Southmolton in Devonshire, and himself educated at the university of Oxford, with intention to fit him for the same function. But when he was just ripe for preferment, and might have had a fair prospect that way, his father being well beloved and respected among the great men in that country, he turned his back on all prospects of this kind, being convinced of the blessed truth. This was a great mortification to his father and mother, who would both sit weeping by him in the bitterness of their hearts, as I have heard him relate. This, he added, pierced him deeply, as he sincerely desired to

be a dutiful son to tender and indulgent parents. A cloud came over his understanding, and the enemy in his own breast suggested that he was acting quite wrong. But as he humbled himself before the Most High, exploring his direction, he received a fresh sight that he must forsake father and mother for Christ, and be faithful to the manifestation of his will, through all events. His parents became afterwards better reconciled to his change, when he was settled in good business in Bristol, where he kept a school for the children of friends and others, from that time till his decease, being about thirty-five years, and proved helpful to the rest of his father's family, in procuring them by his interest, places for getting a livelihood.

I came up to Bristol quite plain in my garb, as David Hall would not suffer any other in his family; and it being the time of the yearly meeting, at a friend's house I fell in company with some well-minded friends, one or more of whom observed to me, that sundry young people had come up in the same way from the north of England to the southern parts, particularly to London and Bristol; and after being there a while they ran into the fashions of those places, till they even outstripped the native inhabitants.

I had not only been educated in plainness, but also been inwardly convinced of the foundation on which it stood; and upon hearing this account of the ridiculous folly and instability of my country folks, I was sorry that they had given occasion of such remarks to their dishonour, and took up a resolution to continue steady in my old plain way. I do not know that I suffered any external disadvantage by it; but if I had, the cause of truth is worth suffering for, and the Almighty rewards patient suffering in a good cause. But I found that good friends seemed to love me the more on this account; and even others, who were conscious of their degeneracy seemed to respect me, as apprehending me to be better than themselves; and I had most peace of mind in continuing in my wonted plainness, though I was like a speckled bird, there being even then very few plain-dressed young people or others in the meeting of Bristol. I have observed that deviating from this path of plainness, which Truth leads into, and making departures in dress, opens the way to intimate connexion with young people out of our Society, or libertines in it; and so leads further and further from a due subjection to Christ's kingdom and government, often making them forget and lose the good which they formerly professed, and consequently draws them along into the utmost danger.—Whereas adhering to the truth and its plain

path, opens the way for safer and more profitable and edifying connexions, as I often found here, to my solid inward satisfaction, which I hope I shall never forget.

I was now removed far from all my connexions, my parents, relations and the place of my nativity; and was here as a stranger in a strange land, having at first little or no acquaintance in my new residence. In this solitary situation, it pleased divine Goodness to take notice of me, and to favour me afresh with a merciful and reaching visitation of his love to my soul, and more clearly to reveal his Son in me, whereby I was given plainly to see, that my safety here and happiness hereafter, depended upon my yielding faithful obedience to his requirings, as manifested by his light in my heart; and that his requirings would be only what tended to my real good and lasting welfare.

This was a day of my soul's espousal to Christ Jesus. I was overcome with his love, and with admiration of his condescending goodness to such an unworthy creature. It being the day of the Lord's power, I was ready and willing to do any thing that I saw I ought to do.

Having a strong inclination to poetry, I had sometimes at Skipton indulged my fancy therein. But now when the Lord's power took hold of me, I sacrificed all my idols and burned all my collection of poems, even though some of them were on what would be called good subjects; for they had too much attracted my mind, and engrossed my thoughts. I was made sensible that these poems were not my proper business, that they took the place of what was really so, and therefore I gave them up. I now saw that I must shut out and leave behind me what others generally crave and pursue, viz: the vain desires and delights, which lead away the mind from that great Being, who woos us to true happiness.

And indeed my whole delight was in the company of Christ my dear Lord and master. I was directed by him to do all things well, and to bear all things with meekness. As on my part I carefully regarded and practised his directions, my soul enjoyed the sweet sense of his approbation. I preferred this before all the world, which I saw to be of little value compared with the favour of its Almighty Creator. To please him I thought well worth all the toil and suffering of the day; and the desire of doing it, increased my industry and strengthened my patience. Thus I enjoyed a good time, and was often overcome with the love and kindness of my dear Redeemer.

In him I had now a father, a guardian, and a friend, and an excellent one indeed, who embraced me with the most engaging affection,

when I applied myself to do every thing rightly. All friends and relations, with all kinds of enjoyments seemed to centre in him alone, for he alone amply supplied all, and having him was having every thing that was good. In his presence there could be no want. It was then no hard matter for me to deny every corrupt desire, for his sake; and to renounce the objects which had formerly pleased me too well, and of which I had been foolishly fond; and yet for the rejection of these things, which had done me no good, but harm, I ever found him a rich rewarder.

In his presence I could envy no man, however rich, eminent or seemingly happy; but I loved all men as his workmanship, and wished that all would come to him, and in and with him be truly happy for ever.

Bidding farewell to the world and its vanities, whose beauty and alluring lustre were tarnished and eclipsed in my eyes, through the superior brightness of the Sun of Righteousness shining in my heart, I loved solitude that I might seek him, who was now become the life of my life, and wait for his fresh appearing to me, who brought with him not only light to show me my blemishes and defects, but animating fortitude, fervent desire, and divine help to withstand and surmount corrupt habits and propensities, and vigilantly, in the secret of the soul, to guard against the first rising of any imagination, or inclination, that was not consistent with the pure holy discoveries of his blessed Spirit. Thus, with the royal Psalmist, Psal. xvi. ii. "In his presence I found fulness of joy." My mind was moulded into a divine frame, a new creation of pure love to God and to men, wherein the heavens and the earth in a sweet harmony, seemed to show forth the power, wisdom and goodness of the one good Father and preserver of the whole. I rejoiced that I had lived to see such a day, wherein I had a sure evidence in my own bosom, of being translated to a better world, to live for ever united to him and his, if I should then be snatched from this.

Happy had it been for me, had I continued on steadily in my progress towards perfection, through following his guidance towards it; but being in a great city, I sometimes looked out, and thereby again raised sensual desires, which demanded to be gratified, and were too often obeyed, when in my power, by which I again did harm to myself, and gave away my inward strength and fortitude for walking faithfully, as Sampson gave away his to Delilah. Yet I still bore a good character, and many looked upon me as a young man of steady conduct; but by a painful feeling of my own instability I knew myself better.

A good condition is easily lost, for want of duly observing our blessed Lord's direction to watch and pray, lest we enter into temptation. While I observed this, I daily and hourly found the benefit of it, in my rising up and lying down, and on my bed in the night season, having my heart and affections wholly set on Christ, and the great end of his having given me existence, blessing his name for so revealing his goodness to me, renewing covenant with him, and watching against every thought that had a tendency to carry away my mind, and separate it from him.

I rose early, implored him to direct me how to spend every part of the day, most to the honour of his name; and to aid me to exert myself in the full discharge of my duty every way; and O! many times in the day, great peace and solid satisfaction flowed in my soul for attending to and following his internal directions. Every thing went well and in proper order, through this constant care to walk exemplarily, and act faithfully in the duties of my place and station in life. And many times in the evening of a well-spent day, my soul overflowed with the sweet earnestness of the heavenly and everlasting reward, reserved for perseverance in well-doing.

Sometimes to every body that I saw, I felt great love to rise in my heart, and a tender well-wishing desire for them, that their souls might partake with mine of the hidden treasures of the unutterable love of Christ, and the joy of his salvation.

May I never forget the day of this his most engaging kindness, and of my espousals to him. I may say *truth is truth*, unchangeably excellent, holy, pure and perfectly good. It leads to every thing that is best, and upholds in it, and rewards for every act and instance of self-denial in obedience to its dictates.—Ever worthy to be admired, adored, revered, loved and served by all the nations in the world, as that which alone would make all happy in true love, and preserve all in pure and spotless order every where. So would earth resemble heaven, and its inhabitants be linked in a holy, blessed society with Christ, with angels and the spirits of the just made perfect, in enjoying together the brightness of his presence, in whose presence is joy, and at whose right hand are rivers of pleasure for evermore. For this our Lord prayed to his Father on behalf of his disciples; "sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth."

I continued in Bristol upwards of four years, living with my worthy master, for whom I had a great and deserved esteem, as assistant or usher in his school to the time of his death, which happened the latter end of my fourth year there, he being seized with a

disease, which gradually weakened him, till at last in a sweet frame of mind he departed this life, generally regretted by friends and others, having been a man remarkably serviceable, not only as a member of religious, but also of civil, society. His character for integrity being so universal that he was very much employed in determining differences between his fellow citizens, either as arbitrator or umpire. So that to the blessing of the peacemaker, he might seem to have a title above most. His funeral from the Friars meeting-house was attended by a very great number of friends and others. Four friends appeared publicly to a very crowded audience, viz. James Tylee, Daniel Badger, Isaac Sharpless and Thomas Gawthrop. The next day the men's meeting elected Jonathan Nelson, schoolmaster of Reading, to succeed him, and desired me to keep up the school till it might be convenient for him to come, which I did, and at his coming resigned it to him.

1737.—Being informed that friends at Cork in Ireland, wanted a schoolmaster, I agreed to go thither to serve them in that capacity; so calling to see and take leave of my brother, who lived with Thomas Bennett at Pickwick, in Wiltshire, in the station of usher to his school, I went from thence to Gloucester, and was at the two meetings there on first-day, which were poor small meetings. On second-day I rode to Worcester, and staid there at my kind friend William Beesley's over third-day. The week-day meeting there, was to me a tendering season, both in silence and under the lively ministry of old John Corbyn: towards the week's end I reached Kendal, where I stayed two or three weeks; during which stay, my father took a fever and died. A day or two after his funeral, I left Kendal and returned to Bristol, from whence, after waiting sometime for a wind, I took shipping for Cork, in company with doctor Rutty of Dublin, who had been at the yearly meeting in London, and amongst his relations in Wiltshire, and was also waiting for a passage to Cork.

I was affected with an awful impression on my first embarking; which put me on considering on what foundation I ventured my life upon the water. On that head I was soon favoured with inward satisfaction, and resignation to divine Providence.

The wind being unfavourable, we had a very tedious passage, being ten days on the water from Pill to the cove of Cork. It was late at night when we landed at the cove, and next morning went up in a boat to Cork, where I lodged about two weeks at Jonas Devonsher's, a friend of a large estate, his two

sons being under my tuition; and afterwards boarded in a friend's family till I married.

The meetings of friends in Ireland, and particularly in the province of Munster, not lying so contiguous as in many parts of England, could not so conveniently be joined several together, to constitute monthly or men's meetings of discipline, for transacting the affairs of the church. In these parts each particular meeting was a men's meeting in itself, and some of the meetings being greatly reduced in number, it became the concern of friends to recommend to the larger meetings nearest to them, the care of visiting these little meetings frequently, to inspect their state, and help them by advice and counsel, as occasion might require. Two of these meetings, viz: those of Bandon and Youghal were under the care of Cork men's meeting, which was constant in appointing visits to them at the stated times.

Being now a member of Cork men's meeting, to which I was recommended by certificate from Bristol, it fell to my lot in company with other friends, to go upon a visit to the meeting of Youghal; where I met with Mary the daughter of John and Martha Dobbs, of said town, a plain and orderly young woman. I found my affections closely engaged towards her; and having proposed to her parents my desire to address her in order to marriage, and obtained their consent, after sometime we were married there, according to the good order used in our Society.

John Dobbs, her father, being convinced of the truth while he was a student at the university of Oxford, was for his fidelity to his religious convictions, disinherited by his father, Richard Dobbs, Esq., of Castle-Dobbs near Carrickfergus, of an estate worth several hundred pounds per annum, he being his eldest son.

His father left it to a younger son, who was to pay my father-in-law ten pounds per annum out of it, which during the lifetime of that son was but indifferently paid, and by his prodigality the estate was involved. But his son Arthur Dobbs, late governor of North Carolina, succeeding to the inheritance thereof, voluntarily doubled the said annual sum, and paid it punctually. My father-in-law having studied physic at the college, practiced it with good success, and great Christian charity to the poor, so as to save little from his income that way.

He had been the favourite of the family, but upon his joining in society with friends, and giving up his whole heart to follow the discoveries of the light of Christ in his conscience, he was treated by his father with

great severity as a rebel, and then cast out as an alien. So that he might well be said to have forsaken father and brethren, and sisters, and houses, and lands for Christ's sake; and like faithful Abraham, to have offered up to the Lord whatever was dearest to him in this world, and to have trusted in God, which was doubtless counted to him for righteousness.

Being beloved by friends, he was urged by some to have recourse to the law, for the recovery of the family estate as his birthright, which he had done nothing to forfeit, and assistance offered him for doing it. Whereupon he was prevailed with at length to make a beginning; but not having that inward peace with Christ which he preferred before all the world, in the first step of contention, he put a stop to all further proceedings, and rather chose to confide in God without it.

For a more particular account of him, see the Collection of Friends' Sufferings, vol. ii. and doctor Rutt's History of the Rise and Progress of Truth in Ireland. Of him I have only to add, that he made a joyful and happy exit out of this world, in an exceedingly thankful and triumphant state, with a full assurance of going to live for ever in a better. He died about seven or eight months after our marriage.

His wife Martha Dobbs, was convinced of the truth before their marriage, by the dying expressions of that handmaid of the Lord, Deborah Sandham. She had a few words of public testimony in meeting, survived her husband some years, and died in a good old age, having been a heavenly minded woman.

Previous to my marriage, a small lot of ground offering for building on, which was very convenient to my school, and the carpenter reckoning he could run up a neat small house for a sum I could then spare, having in my employment in Bristol and here saved so much, I adventured in conjunction with a friend, to take the ground and build upon it, and the house was finished a few weeks after our marriage; but the cost of it came to double the sum the carpenter had proposed it might be built for. This and some other things filled me with gloomy apprehensions, and I became very dejected in my mind in consideration of my circumstances, finding I had gone too far, and owed what I was not able to pay. However, as my intentions were honest, and my anxiety great that I might not by any misconduct blemish the truth, which I had been instructed so highly to prize, by industry and frugality, and through divine assistance, in some time I got over this difficulty, and paid every farthing.

It may perhaps appear to some, that the recording of such transactions, is of little importance or edification to uninterested readers; but it hath not appeared so to me. The account of these difficulties, which for want of due care and forethought, and a constant, and deep attention to the unerring guide, we fall into, though more humiliating, may perhaps be no less useful for caution, than those experiences, which we can review with more heart-felt satisfaction, are for encouragement and imitation. Truth hath ever led to integrity, punctuality and upright dealing in our outward affairs, and to limit ourselves to few wants, and an humble condition in life, rather than invade or risk the property of other men. We cannot all get a deal of the treasures of this world, nor is it necessary to our well being. "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth," but we may all live on a little, if our minds be kept humble, and the sensual appetites be subjected to the cross of Christ. My view in relating how I was, undesignedly indeed, involved in embarrassed circumstances, is for a caution to inexperienced young persons, to be very considerate and careful in their expences, that they be neither lavish on things needless or superfluous, nor in things otherwise convenient and lawful, in a measure disproportionate to their ability to support clearly out of their own, with honour, reputation and a good conscience; for in this circumstance things lawful in themselves are not lawful or expedient for them, that so the profession of truth may not suffer reproach by their miscarriage, as it hath done by that of too many others, to the great regret of the honest and right-minded of our religious Society. Furthermore, the narrative of these difficulties and anxieties, that attended my first setting out in the married state, seems to me to convey this instructive lessons to all single young persons, who have not good patrimony, or are not yet well settled in some business, proper to maintain a family, that if they would do well in the world, they should not be hasty in this weighty affair; but consider wisely before they proceed toward it. While single they have only themselves to care for, and if they keep their hearts staid upon the Lord, which is far easier for them to do, than when weighed down under a load of care and encumbrances, and come up faithfully in the way of their duty, they will be happy. And by all means let them beware of entering into this most interesting engagement, which is for life, on which the happiness or unhappiness of this life very principally depends, and by which that of the next may be very materially promoted or retarded, till

they see that the Lord opens their way, and conducts them in it. Then the marriage will be honourable, the married will be like minded, standing in the counsel of best wisdom, will be truly helpmeets to each other both in their temporal and spiritual concerns; joining together with united and prepared hearts in religious and family duties, and strengthening each other's hands for every good word and work; minding the inspeaking Word, more than the attention or opinions, the approbation or censures of the world. Such if they have but little of earthly treasure are happily married. But on any other terms, whether married or unmarried, people are not in a good way; and it is infinitely better to be married to Christ, than to be married ever so grandly in the world, out of the divine counsel and covenant.

As I had a religious desire in my choice, and that I might be rightly directed therein, I had reason on the whole, notwithstanding these outward discouragements aforementioned, to hope that I was so. For my wife was the child of good parents, from whom she had received a religious education, of orderly conversation, innocent and well inclined, and we were in a good degree favoured together of the Lord, she being free to give me up to every service I thought it my duty to engage in.—Upon my first visit to her, the sense of truth and the solid edifying conversation of her worthy parents, deeply fixed the best impressions on my spirit, so that in my return home to Cork, twenty computed miles, my thankful heart was like a cup filled, the tears of divine joy overflowed, and ran down my cheeks the greatest part of the way. In this thankful frame I reached Cork, and my friends there, who generally had a love for me, were pleased to see me, and to hear such account as I had to give. But then this good went off, and the instability of nature succeeded in a great degree, though still mixed with a reverent view to the better part.

1739.—About four months after our marriage, being at a meeting at Youghal, my heart was bowed in reverent fear, and filled with the sweet influence of God's universal love. It then appeared to be my duty, in the clearness of that light and the strength of that love, to call to, and invite those present to come to Christ, and yield grateful obedience to his laws. I had been for several years before, fully persuaded that this would be required of me as a duty, and had desired never to dare to venture upon it until it should be so required.

Upon this duty being clearly presented to me in this meeting, discouragements and obstacles poured into my mind in abundance, such as, that if I should deliver the words

imperfectly, I should be exposed to much speculation, and become the immediate subject of conversation among such as love to catch and propagate matter of amusement; that perhaps the like duty might never be required of me again, and in that case I should be likely to be talked of for many years, as one who had begun and not gone on. Instances occurred of such as had preached amongst us for a time, and had either dropped it and fallen away, or had on one account or another, incurred a public and general dislike or disgrace, and that therefore it might be safer and better for me to rest quiet with good wishes for the people, and to exhort in a more private way, as I might have opportunity, and a fresh concern on my mind. These grounds of hesitation detained me till a friend kneeled down to conclude the meeting in prayer.

I then saw clearly, that if the meeting should break up without my uttering the exhortation, which was fixed with so much weight upon my mind, I should unavoidably incur the stings of conscious guilt, and the crime of disobedience.

Therefore not attending to the friend's public prayer, my mind was earnestly and closely exercised in mental supplication to the Almighty, that he would abilitate me to be faithful. I had a hard struggle and conflict on this occasion; but at length the power of divine faith prevailed, to the shutting out and putting to silence all manner of discouraging apprehensions. And when the prayer was ended I durst not sit down, fearing I should not have power to rise again in time; but turning about to the meeting, and seeing some of the people staring me in the face, such was my weakness, that I raised up my hat, and holding it before my face, I spoke the words, which had lain with weight on my mind, and sat down. A flood of divine joy poured into my heart, and filled it all the day; I went in this frame of mind into several friends' families, and my heart being still melted with divine love, the tears of joy and thankfulness flowed down my cheeks, which some ignorantly mistook for trouble of mind, saying one to another, they pitied me.

It was indeed a memorable day to me; for I seemed to myself to be raised above the sordid and sinful inhabitants of this world, and to be admitted a partner of the blessed society of saints and angels, and spirits of just men made perfect, through entire obedience rendered to their God.

I had a full assurance in myself, that if then sudden death should seize me, I should immediately go to that blessed society, to live in a holy and happy communion with them

for ever, to adore that God and Sovereign, who had so infinitely favoured us: And this is the very nature of that truly excellent religion, with which our dear Redeemer came to bless mankind.

I might give some account of my services and of good effects arising from my obeying the divine manifestation; but accounts of that kind I leave to those who have steered more steadily than I have done, and think it more proper for me to look to the other side of my case, and that with shame and confusion of heart, mixed with humble admiration of divine goodness, which has hitherto been great, and blest me with a few heavenly and good days, wherein I should not have been afraid of death, or of the awful and tremendous judgment which is to follow it. Oh! that I may, through faithfulness on my part, attain the like again, and that my last day may be my best day. But alas, a consciousness of unfaithfulness in divers respects is my present companion, though not with my will, or by design; but through want of maintaining a proper vigilance and devotion, and thereby losing the fortitude which I have sometimes been invested with.

Many of our dear, honourable friends of the first generation in our Society, appear, from the time they were drawn to the pure fountain of light, life and love, to have adhered thereto with immovable steadfastness to their last moments; and a few I have known in my time who have arisen, and steadily persevered, considering the degeneracy of the age, in a faithful attachment of soul to that grace and truth, which is come by Jesus Christ; and that have washed their robes white in his blood, and have kept their garments unspotted. But very few have come up to this height, and so continued as with their feet fixed upon Mount Zion; very few have got over the opposing mountains of human respect, selfish regards, sensual appetites, desires of the ease, honours, or profits of this world; all which tend to debase the soul, darken the judgment, eclipse the brightness of heavenly light; blunt the edge of godly resolutions, and contract the corrupting leaven and spirit of the world.

It is lamentable to reflect how many in our age, even of the anointed sons and servants of the Lord, have by these means gradually declined and dwindled, and at length totally fallen off, as Judas did from Christ, and Demas from his faithful apostle, and made shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, and brought lasting disgrace on themselves and that good cause in which they had been humbly and honestly engaged. Yet truth changes not; it is the same still, and still able to pre-

serve from falling, to build up, and to give an inheritance among the sanctified.

I remember that the above considerations made me earnestly pray, that since I had given up, and put my hand to the plough, I might never look back to Sodom again, like Lot's wife; but rather suffer any thing in this world, than disgrace the cause of truth and righteousness.

Encouraged as above, I proceeded to minister in public meetings, when I had something given for that end, through which exercise my gift became gradually enlarged. But alas! I too often made false steps in my public ministry, as well as in my thoughts, words and actions in private conduct, for want of self-love being more mortified and subjected to the spirit of Christ, which teaches divine wisdom.

Being of an active natural disposition, it became a cross to me to be silent, when it was best to be so. And sometimes after I stood up I continued too long, till the testimony as to the life of it, flattened and grew tedious to the hearers. I wanted too, to imitate some others, who I thought, preached finely. Thus the enemy of man's happiness continually seeks to tempt every class in the church militant. As the eye is kept single to the holy Head, and the body full of light, in the light he is discovered in all his approaches and transformations; but I was not constantly enough on my guard against his stratagems, and therefore was sometimes seduced even to think I did well, when I was zealous, though not according to true knowledge, nor to the honour of the great name of Christ our Lord; for he is most honoured by the subjection of self; and by divine love, coupled with humility and patience.

Among the many good institutions which the discoveries of celestial wisdom have established in our Society, is that of faithful elders appointed to watch over the flock, and over the ministry, which has been found to be very useful. And though the love of self-honour made me sometimes bear hardly the reproof of a friend; yet I have afterwards, as in the cool of the day, discerned the expediency of it, and been induced to desire to be more careful in future, and to be willing to receive advice, as well as to give it.

O ye, whom Christ calls into the work of the ministry, or any other office, give up your lives to him and it, both to do and to suffer what he may order or permit; for the vessels of the Lord's house are to be of beaten gold. Every son whom he loves he rebukes and chastens. Then ever receive with a good mind, the counsel or the reproof of a friend.

If others revile and taunt in bitterness and

wrath; in haughtiness and insult, as whoever will live goddily in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution; yet all things will work together for good to them that steadily abide under Christ's government. Our nature having in it much dross, and by long habit contracting an increase of it, cannot be refined from it, but by fiery trials, nor have its evil humours purged out, but by drinking the bitter cup. Applause pleases the creature, but greatly endangers it. Suffering in spirit, though more painful, is more safe.

O then! ye who have rightly begun, and favourably advanced in the work of truth, or of the ministry, look well to your standing, and guard against the transformations of your unwearied enemy. When we first began, our single view and desire was to obtain divine approbation, and that peace of soul, which results from it; to die to ourselves and all the world; to know no man after the flesh, nor be known by them; but only to know the Lord, and to walk and act under his immediate notice and approving favour. But afterwards there hath mingled herewith, the desire of human notice, of popular applause, of worldly advantages and indulgences.

Thus some ministers, as well as others, who have given up their names to follow the Lamb, have slipped into a mixed state. In them the spring once pure, hath become muddy, and the sacred fervour hath dwindled. Though they have retained the form of godliness, yet its conquering power and fortitude have gradually died away, and left them as weak and unable to resist temptations, as those who have never assumed that form.

This has been the case of many dry worldlings and sensualists in our Society, who, far from helping the cause, which they professed a value for, have greatly hurt it, and given a handle to libertines to make both it and them, the subject of their derision.

When the humble regard and love of God singly presided in my heart, then I have been disposed to receive the advice or the rebuke of a friend, in the love in which it was given, and to bear with Christian meekness, the taunts and insults of insensible hearts and unguarded lips, undisturbed thereby; but when I have slidden off this foundation, then they have discomposed my mind, and agitated it with selfish and uneasy resentments.

I have not so often met with this kind of returns to my ministry, as applause, which indeed is an intoxicating and pernicious cup for any to drink without great fear. It raised the spirits with a false alacrity; elevated the mind with self-conceit, and an imagined superiority to others, leads into an evil emu-

lation, and even to slight those who are in a much better state, dwelling in the valley of humility, subject to Christ the beloved or their souls.

It is hard for the creature not to be pleased with praise, and to offer it to him, to whom alone it is due; or after being at any time signally honoured, to return like Mordecai, dismounted, stripped of the royal robes, and to sit in a silent, abject condition, at the king's gate, waiting on him in poverty of spirit.

As applause is dangerous, so the affections of the people, if not kept under proper government, both by the minister and his hearers, have a snare in them, as indeed hath every object of our senses, without maintaining an inward watchfulness; these things not being the proper mark or prize of a minister or a Christian. It is base to play the harlot with corrupt self, and deck it with the Lord's jewels. For if we take these rewards of our labours, we are in danger of losing that which he gives to the faithful, which is the one true and durable reward.

The spirit of the gospel directs us, to submit ourselves, or give way, one to another, to be abased, and prefer others; the strong to take the weak by the hand, and all to imitate the holy pattern of Christ, who was meek and lowly in heart, and stooped to wash the feet even of his disciples and servants.

It was he by his Spirit, who not only raised up a living ministry in our Society, but by the same spirit animated our faithful predecessors to establish a salutary discipline therein, upon the same foundation; and raised up and gifted men and women for valuable services, conducing to the edification and strengthening of one another in piety. Often have I sat in meetings of discipline greatly humbled, tendered and revived in my spirit, with fresh resolution to renew my diligence in my journey heavenward.

One branch of this discipline, viz: the institution of meetings of ministers and elders, I highly regarded. For when we have, in a sense of our entire inability without his help, prostrated ourselves together before the most high God, he hath graciously vouchsafed to open the living springs of counsel, suitable to the several states and stations present, tending to stir up to diligence and devotedness in his service, and pointing out in the opening of gospel light, the snares and dangers way-laying the spiritual traveller in his journey.

Often have these meetings, when we have been thus prepared for them, cemented us together in an humble engagement of soul toward God. Tender love hath abounded, which hath made us dear one to another, as children of one family, and fellow-labourers

in the highest and best cause. Christ our Lord has favoured us with his presence and sovereign power, and made us partakers together of his heart-tendering goodness, and of a near communion and divine fellowship with him through his Spirit, and with each other therein, renewing our ardent concern for the honour of his Name, and the promotion of his truth.

But when this preparation has been wanting, and inattention and absence of mind have taken place, then we have been barren as the dry heath; and like the earth, covered with darkness, without form and void, when the spirit of the Lord moved not on the face of the waters. Both the immediate and instrumental springs of lively and clear counsel and consolation have been closed up, and the edification and watering of the flock withheld. This hath caused living zeal, and even the attendance of those meetings to decay, and to yield to temporal affairs and temptations, to the hurt and loss of many.

May these considerations move ministers and elders more particularly, to seek after the preparation requisite for assembling in the name and power of Christ, and under a renewed concern for their individual preservation, as well as for that of their brethren and sisters, that they may thereby be comfortably enlivened, and enliven one another to all goodness, as men and women redeemed from the world, and fellow-citizens of the New Jerusalem. Then, of great and valuable benefit indeed, would these solemn meetings be, as heretofore, when faithful labourers in the Lord's service, dignified, adorned and upheld them.

When I had resided about three years in Ireland, my brother John, whom I left in the service of Thomas Bennett, at Pickwick, Wilts, as noticed before, being desirous to fix his residence in the same nation with me, at the expiration of his fourth year there, resigned his place of usher to that school, in order to remove to Ireland; and going first to see our mother and relations at Kendal, she concluded to accompany him in order to pay us a visit of a few weeks, and about the middle of the summer, 1740, they both arrived at Cork. After about five weeks abode with us, my mother inclined to return home; and I having a concern on my mind to visit my native country in the service of Truth, my brother's arrival opened the way to set me at liberty—he willingly taking charge of my school in my absence. I concluded to accompany my mother in her return; and having laid my concern before the men's meeting and obtained their certificate, and soon meeting with a vessel bound to Whitehaven, we embarked there-

in, and had a favourable passage, being only about forty-eight hours from port to port.

This journey took me up about five weeks, in which time I visited the meetings of Friends pretty generally, through the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire, and part of the north of Yorkshire, being frequently much favoured by the Master of our assemblies, and often enlarged in the love of the gospel amongst my former relations, friends and neighbours, many of whom were glad to see me, and I was nearly united to them in the unity of the one spirit, the bond of peace.

* I was at a general meeting at Crook, about four miles from Kendal, which was eminently favoured, and after it, went to lodge at Lydia Lancaster's, a valuable min-

* Here a sheet of the original is lost, which I have not been able to recover; I regret the loss, not only as it occasions a chasm in the narration; but by the recollection I have of my brother's epistolary and verbal relations of this journey, I apprehend we are deprived of some occurrences, worthy of preserving. One in particular I have heard him relate in terms so lively and affecting, as indicated it had fixed a deep impression on his mind; so that, I think he would not pass it unnoticed. When he came to Pardshaw meeting in Cumberland, he received intelligence that our ancient valuable friend, that faithful minister of the gospel in his day, James Dickenson, was then confined by sickness, and apparently near his close, whereupon he went to pay him a visit, and found him in such a happy, heavenly frame of mind, as made the opportunity very tenderly affecting and edifying. Raised above the world he was departing from, and well prepared for that celestial mansion, he was favoured with a lively hope of being shortly admitted into; in this his concluding scene, amongst other affecting expressions he related of his, I recollect the following, in purport; "I have served the Lord and his truth in my generation, and now I feel the blessed reward thereof: the accuser of the brethren is cast down as to me, and my peace with God is sealed forever." This, he related was delivered in such a feeling, powerful and affecting manner, as greatly tendered his spirit, and left the best impressions upon it, animating him to fresh and ardent desires, so to fulfil his ministry, and walk through life, as that he might die the death of the righteous, and that his last end might be like *his*. And indeed, what scene in this life more dignifies humanity? What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid, substantial truth; that there is a measure of divine light and grace in man, which if duly minded and obeyed, is sufficient to preserve through all the vicissitudes in life, to give him the victory over his spiritual enemies, and in the end over death, hell and the grave.

ister, and a mother in Israel. Next morning went to their meeting at Colthouse near Hawkshead, and after meeting went to William Rawlinson's to lodge. Next morning in very wet stormy weather, I went to Height meeting. Most of the friends belonging to it lived at some miles distance; yet they generally attended, and I believe were thankful that they did so, the cementing virtue and power of the gospel so prevailed therein.

After meeting I went with James Rowlandson's family to his house at Frith. His daughter Jane had for a little while past appeared at times in the public ministry in our meetings. So much of tenderness, and of inward fervency toward Christ the beloved of her soul, prevailed in her, as to make deep and lively impressions on my mind.

Next day, that family accompanied me over the sands to a meeting at Swarthmore, and I returned with them, and from thence back to Kendal. The said Jane Rowlandson afterwards married George Crosfield, became a valuable minister, visited Ireland twice while I lived there, and the continent of America once.

In the course of this journey I was favoured with the company and countenance of sundry friends, whom in my younger years I had held in estimation, by reason of the good impressions I received from their exemplary lives and labours, as before noted in its place. My quondam master, David Hall, treated me with affectionate respect; he had buried his former wife, who was my mistress, and married again. He and his wife accompanied me to a meeting at Airton. I lodged at Thomas Anderson's, a friend in the ministry, who visited Ireland in company with David Hall; he was blind, but exceedingly pleasant and cheerful. Next morning being a hard frost, I went with said Thomas and other friends over a great hill to a monthly meeting at Settle. By me in the gallery sat Julian Frankland, a good old woman, near ninety years of age, and a good meeting it was.

At and about Kendal also, I had much of the company of that honourable minister and elder, James Wilson, who as a nursing father encouraged and strengthened me in the service I was engaged in. His conversation was often pleasant, instructing and edifying; one remarkable passage he related, I think worthy of inserting, which was to the following purport.

In his young years, having been educated in the established religion or church of England so called, he had conceived a very contemptible opinion of the people called Quakers and their principles, and at a public house falling in company with some others of like sentiments, this people became the subject

of their discourse; and as they were expressing their sentiments of contempt and dislike of them pretty freely, a person of some note, who had been an officer under Oliver Cromwell, came into the room, and overhearing their discourse, observed to them in substance, "That he apprehended their prejudice towards this people arose from their want of knowing them; for my part, continued he, I entertain very different sentiments of them;" and perceiving them struck with admiration to hear him, whom they looked upon as a man of sense, as well as consequence, express himself after this manner, he proceeded to the following purpose: "You seem to wonder that I express a favourable opinion of the Quakers; I will inform you the reason. After the battle of Dunbar, as I was riding in Scotland at the head of my troop, I observed at some distance from the road, a crowd of people, and one higher than the rest; upon which I sent one of my men to see and bring me word what was the meaning of this gathering; and seeing him ride up and stay there, without returning according to my order, I sent a second, who staid in like manner; and then I determined to go myself. When I came thither, I found it was James Naylor preaching to the people; and with such power and reaching energy, as I had not till then been witness of. I could not help staying a little, although I was afraid to stay; for I was made a Quaker, being forced to tremble at the sight of myself. I was struck with more terror by the preaching of James Naylor, than I was at the battle of Dunbar, when we had nothing else to expect, but to fall a prey to the swords of our enemies, without being able to help ourselves. I clearly saw the cross to be submitted to, so I durst stay no longer, but got off, and carried condemnation for it in my own breast. The people there, in the clear and powerful opening of their states, cried out against themselves, imploring mercy, a thorough change, and the whole work of salvation to be effected in them. Ever since I have thought myself obliged to acknowledge on their behalf, as I have now done."

This, James Wilson said, proved the first step towards his conviction of our principles, inclining him to go to our meetings, which, before he had an aversion to the thoughts of, from the prejudice above hinted. In those days the meetings of friends were more eminently favoured with divine power, as they lived more devoted to Christ; and consequently more abounding with his love flowing in their hearts.

I was ready to think that Isaac Alexander had been instrumental to his conviction. I find it recorded in the third volume of the

Dying Sayings, that said Isaac died at his house. Of him he gave me the following account; that "being in himself an illiterate rustic, soon after his convincement he appeared in the ministry in a lively and powerful manner. A neighbour of his, having heard of his becoming a preacher, could not tell how sufficiently to express his admiration; he made it the subject of his discourse from place to place, deriding him who had no learning for presuming to preach, and the people for suffering him."

"This man attended the funeral of that great and good woman, Ann Camm. The meeting proved an exceedingly enlightening, tendering opportunity; and even this derider was contrited and humbled therein. Isaac Alexander was eminently raised up in his gift, to set forth the goodness and the justice of God; the glory of truth, the happiness of obeying it, and the lasting infelicity of neglecting and rebelling against it. The man was so thoroughly penetrated with a clear sight of his own case, that after Isaac had done, he stood up in that very assembly, acknowledged the crime he had been guilty of, and begged the prayers of all good Christians, that it might be forgiven him."

I mostly finished my service in England in this journey, with the quarterly meeting for Lancashire, at Lancaster, and that for Westmoreland, at Kendal, held in succession. At the former, I met with Abraham Fuller, of Dublin, who had accompanied Moses Aldridge from New England, in his religious visit to friends in Scotland, and was now, as well as myself, on his return home; our meeting being quite unexpected, was a very pleasing surprise to us both, especially as we were likely to be companions to Dublin. Here also, I met with Samuel Fothergill, then young in the ministry; but even then appearing with a solemnity, brightness, and gospel authority, which gave friends lively hopes of his proving, as he did, through the succeeding stages of his life, a bright and shining light, a vessel of honour indeed, of eminent service in the church of Christ. The public service in the said quarterly meeting, fell to the share of us who were young, though many weighty, experienced ministers were present, and our good Master being with us, it proved a refreshing, satisfactory and edifying meeting.

From Lancaster we went directly to the quarterly meeting at Kendal, which was also a good meeting, and the beginning of the succeeding week we proceeded to Whitehaven, in order to take shipping for Dublin, where we arrived on seventh-day following, and I lodged at Joseph Gill's. I attended the meetings there the next day, and heavenly help

being near, I was furnished with ability and matter, to minister to the general satisfaction and edification of friends, and the ease of my own mind. And my being at that time quite a stranger to most friends in that city, and coming quite unexpectedly, occasioned pretty much inquiry among them.

From Dublin I proceeded toward Limerick, by Mountmelick, Mountrath, and Kilconnermore, where John Ashton was then living; a valuable good man, little inferior to most I have known, in my estimation. Although not eminent for great and shining parts; yet he was a shining light in the country where he resided, in love and good works; a man of great humility and fervour of soul for the promotion of piety; much beloved and esteemed of his neighbours and friends.

When I came to the good old man's house, being now near eighty years of age, he was very much indisposed; and it being about the middle of the eighth month, O. S., or October, and the friends in that part being late with some part of their harvest, he proposed, notwithstanding his infirmity, to accompany me to Limerick, a great day's journey for him when he was well, as the roads were then; and his relations, apprehending it too hazardous for him to undertake under his present indisposition, endeavoured to dissuade him from it; which made me desirous that he might not suffer in his health, or meet with any dissatisfaction of mind.

It proved a fine day; he grew much better, and his conversation was very edifying. Our friends at Limerick rejoiced greatly to see him, being the last time of his being there. Next day being first-day, we had two comfortable meetings there.

On second-day morning at parting, he told me, he was well paid for coming. He was well and hearty the winter following, and the next spring set forward towards the half-year's meeting at Dublin, but having reached Birr, he found himself unable to go further, returned home, and after a short illness departed this life, leaving behind him a general testimony all round the country on his behalf, as one who had eminently served God, loved mankind, and was greatly beloved by almost every one who knew him.

He and his wife were both convinced at one meeting at Birr, through the powerful ministry of that able and eminent minister of the gospel, Thomas Wilson. Coming out of that meeting, they said to each other, "The way of everlasting happiness had been clearly laid down before them, and they were resolved to walk in it, come life, or come death."

Not long after, John was thrown into pri-

son for his Christian testimony against the oppressive and antichristian yoke of tithes. Being used to work without doors, he was at a loss how to employ his time; but soon learned to make gartering and laces.

When at liberty, he with his wife, constantly twice a week attended the meeting at Birr, generally walking on foot thither, being about seven English miles, and a very bad road, wading through a river in the way, both going and returning. In winter, in crossing this river, they sometimes had the ice to break; and John said he had wept to see the blood on his wife's legs in coming through it. In those days truth was precious to its professors, who also possessed it, and no difficulties or dangers could prevent them from getting to their religious meetings, to enjoy the renewings of divine love and life, with their brethréen.

This good man also took great pains to get travelling friends to appoint meetings at his house; and then to acquaint people thereof, several miles round, travelling for that purpose by night, as well as by day, in the winter season and in severe weather, and underwent much reproach for this labour and diligence. Yet he was blest in it, both inwardly and outwardly, many came to the meetings at his house, several were convinced of the truth, and in process of time a meeting was settled there, and grew larger than that of Birr, out of which it had sprung.

At the time of his joining our Society, he was in low circumstances, but through industry and the blessing of heaven he grew rich, and did abundance of good, being singularly hospitable, liberal and charitable.

At the abovesaid meeting at Birr, through the ministry of Thomas Wilson, there was also convinced, his wife's daughter Mary, the wife of James Sheppard. This was a great mortification to her husband, who tried various means to reclaim her. At length a noted preacher being to preach at the worship-house he frequented, he proposed to his wife, that if she would go with him to hear him, he would go with her next Sunday, as he called it, to the meeting at Birr, to which proposal she assented. She went accordingly, and heard fine words and eloquence; but that was not what her soul wanted.

Next first-day, pursuant to his engagement, he went with her to Birr. It proved to be a silent meeting there; yet through the reverent attendance of the souls of those present upon Christ, the best minister, they were favoured together with his life-giving presence, with the sense of which the said James was reached and tendered into contrition, in the sight of the self-denying path cast up to peace with

God. Hereupon, what he little expected at his going to that meeting, he immediately joined in society with friends, and became a serviceable man in his station.

After parting with John Ashton, I proceeded toward Cork, and reached it next morning before meeting.

Soon after, I visited some parts of Leinster province. After my return I spared my brother, at the request of Benjamin Wilson, near Edenderry, to be tutor to his children, and those of a neighbouring friend. When he had been there about a year and a half, I wrote to him to prepare, after duly apprizing his employers, to return to Cork, having a desire for once, while I had an opportunity of his supplying my place, to be at the Welch, Bristol, and London yearly meetings; and though the family was loath to part with him, yet as I wanted him on this account, he disengaged himself and returned to Cork, in due time for me to proceed on the service before me.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the first month, O. S., now called the third, I embarked on a sixth-day morning at Cork; on seventh-day at night, by favour of the light-houses, we got into Milford-haven. On first-day morning I walked to Haverford-west, where I met with Abraham Fuller, of Dublin, whom I consulted how I should steer my course to North-Wales, as I understood here, that the Welch yearly meeting was to be about a month from this time, in this neighbourhood, viz: at Tenby in Pembrokeshire.

Abraham advised me to order my course so, as to be at John Goodwin's on a first-day, because there was generally a large resort of people there on that day, and gave me directions how to accomplish it, which I was pleased with, having heard before of that good old man, and having a desire to be then at his house.

On third-day after meeting, I left Haverford-west, and had a meeting next day at Carmarthen; on fifth-day morning went to John Bowen's at Penplace, expecting to have a meeting there, but he being gone to their monthly meeting at John Reece's at Penbank, I followed him thither, where I found a considerable number met. After I had sat down, old John Reece stood up and preached to us in Welch. On sixth-day I went to the widow Evans's at Llandewy-brevy, in Cardiganshire, and expected next day to reach John Goodwin's, at Escargogh in Monmouthshire.

Next morning the friend who was to have been my guide, came into my chamber long before day, when I was about getting up, having an earnest desire to reach John Goodwin's that day. He informed me, I could not go

thither that day, without running the risk of my life, as it snowed very hard, and it was a mountainous road. I presently got up, and found myself obliged to stay there, to the no small disappointment of my desire.

I then went to their market-town, called Tregarron, and there had two meetings that day, the latter of which was large. Next day being first-day, hearing of a priest called Daniel Rowland, whose parish worship-house was at Llangeithow, three miles beyond Llandewy-brevy, who was much flocked after by many people, even from other parishes; thither I went, accompanied by three friends. When we arrived we found the house full, and many at the outside, who seemed to listen to the preacher with attention, who was preaching in Welch. I desired a young man to endeavour to get to the parson, and acquaint him that an Englishman without wanted to speak to him, which I suppose he did. For when he had ended his sermon the congregation broke up, and he came out one of the first.

I went to meet him and told him, I had found my mind drawn in Christian love to visit him and his congregation, and therefore desired then the opportunity to deliver to him and them what was on my mind. After some inquiries, he said it was not convenient then, as he had himself preached largely to the people. Finding myself clear of him, I got upon a pretty high tombstone, and the people generally drew near, being a very large multitude. The opportunity was greatly favoured, I being engaged to invite the people to Christ, the free teacher, and of him to receive wine and milk, strength and nourishment to their souls, without money and without price: though the people stood close crowded, there seemed to be as great a stillness as if scarcely any were there. After I had ended what at that time flowed through my heart to them, I stood a little with my mind reverently and thankfully affected. At length I looked round to see on which side I might most easily retire. Some of the people near, who perceived it, desired that I would pray for them before I left them. I answered, that I did indeed pray for them; but as for doing it vocally, I durst not, unless it appeared at that time to be my duty so to do. They asked then, whither I intended to go next; I told them, to Llambeter, about five miles off, where I intended to have a meeting that afternoon. Thither many of them went.

When I had got a little way on the road, I was overtaken by one who looked like a gentleman, on horseback, with his wife riding behind a man on another horse; he told me, he had come out of Carmarthenshire, fourteen

miles over the hills, to hear Daniel Rowland; asking if I should come into that county; that if I did, he would meet me any where in it, if he could know the time and place; but would be better pleased if I could come and lodge a night with him, which I afterward did.

As I advanced a little further, a certain woman, not of our profession, invited me, and friends with me to dine, and gave us the best entertainment in her power. She expressed with solidity, she had not understood one word I had said; but had felt that which had done her heart good, as a friend interpreted her words to me.

Many people flocking to Llambeter, the meeting was held in the street. After it I parted with the people in mutual affection, and returned to Llandewy-brevy, in company with friends and others. I was at this time much overcome with the Lord's goodness, and thankful for the aforesaid disappointment of my desire, believing it to be in the ordering of best wisdom, for the service of the day, being filled with a comfortable hope I was in my proper place, which caused the tears to run down my cheeks, most of the way I had to ride.

When I returned to my quarters, at the widow Evans's, near Llandewy-brevy, a great number of the neighbouring people were come thither, and an unexpected meeting ensued, wherein several were broken and tendered in the time of silence. I briefly observed, that it had been made a good day to several of us, expressing my desire that it might be duly remembered by us. And in this lively tenderness we took our leave of one another.

But alas, when I came thither eighteen years after this, I found little sign left of that fervency toward God, which then seemed impressed on their minds. The enemy had got entrance, and much stolen it away.

Next day I got to John Goodwin's, and he told me, he believed I was come in the right time, there having been but few at his house the day before, by reason of the snow that had fallen thereabout. He accompanied me from his house to a meeting in the edge of Shropshire.

John told me, that his father and mother were both convinced of truth about the same time, and received it in the love of it. At that time his father was clerk of the parish, and master of the free school thereof; but upon his joining with friends, and giving up faithfully to divine conviction, he was turned out of both these places, and obliged to have recourse to hard labour, wherein his mother heartily joined; but, that himself, their eldest child, then well grown toward the state of a youth, not understanding their case, thought

them fools to turn Quakers, and resolved he would not be like them in that; nor did they offer any compulsion to him therein; but their prayers, put up to the Lord for him, were manifestly answered, and they had in their son the comfort they desired. At this time friends were grown numerous in Wales; but soon after, upon the encouragement given by William Penn, most of the friends in some parts of this principality, removed and settled in Pennsylvania, and amongst the rest John's father and mother, with most of their children. From inclination he would have removed with them; but a higher power directed his stay in his native land, and to that he gave up father and mother and every thing. This good man recounted the great favours of the Lord to him all along to that day, to the following purport.

"When the Lord pointed out poor Wales as a field of labour for me, he promised, that if I was faithful to him in it, he would be with me and favour me therein; and now I have in my heart a testimony for him in my old age, that he hath abundantly made good his promise to me, both outwardly and inwardly, far beyond what at that day I could have expected." Which favours, in divers respects he related to me in a very edifying, thankful frame of mind. And speaking of his wife in particular, he related the steps by which the Lord, whom they loved and served, conducted and joined them together; adding, "I think I may say, if ever man in the world got his right wife, I got mine." He further told me, that he lived and maintained his family on a farm of four pounds a year, but at length had purchased it and improved it, so that at that time he reckoned it worth six pounds a year. The first journey he travelled in the ministry, being to visit friends through Wales, he had then got of clear money, above forty shillings in all; and he was free to spend it, if there was occasion, in the Lord's service, knowing that he could give him, or enable him to get more; that the first time he began to entertain travelling friends, most of the meeting being then gone to Pennsylvania, he had but one bed, which he left to them, he and his wife taking up their lodging in the stable. Divers have been convinced by his ministry; and one of the principal worthies of our age I have esteemed him.

The foregoing narrative of this worthy-elder, was edifying and profitable to me, not only at the time, but frequently since, in the review and recollection thereof; and I thought it worthy of recital, as conveying profitable instruction to every class of readers, whether of high or low degree—to the former a lesson of instruction, how humbly thankful

they ought to be to the gracious Giver of all good things, for his extensive bounty to them. When we consider this truly good man, in circumstances we should reckon mean indeed, and a manner of living suitable to his circumstances, bearing a lively and grateful testimony to the goodness, mercy and truth of the Lord in his gracious dealings with him; also, when he dedicates his little all, in faith, to his Lord's service, doth he not in the silent and reaching language of example, convey this intelligence to thy soul, who art blessed with abundance? "Go thou and do likewise; honour the Lord with thy substance and the first fruits of all thy increase; love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God;" deeply pondering in thy heart, "How much owest thou to the Lord!"

Those of low circumstances from hence may learn, that happiness is confined to no station in this life; but is the result of observing the law of God in the inward parts, being, as it prescribes, content with the things which we have, not minding high things; but reducing our desires to the level of our station in life, that so we may fill it with propriety and act our parts well. If we thus walk by the unerring rule of truth, though we be esteemed poor in this world, we shall be rich in faith, and with this worthy man, enjoy in the obscurity of the humble cottage, what palaces too seldom afford, solid content, the consolation of a conscience void of offence, and the reward of well-doing, "the peace of God that passeth the understandings of men." The most splendid and extensive earthly possessions, when laid in the balance against durable possessions like these, are indeed as nothing, and lighter than vanity.

Having parted with John Goodwin, I went to Shrewsbury, Colebrookdale, Bewdley, Worcester, Birmingham, Coventry, Warwick, Evesham; then back by Worcester to Bromyard, Hereford, Amely, and into Radnorshire in Wales, to Brinsfloyd and Talcot. To this last place came Mary Rickerby of Yorkshire, from Llandewy-brevy much tired; but after a little rest and refreshment, she had an edifying opportunity in the family; and from hence she, with Miriam Bowen, and her uncle Edward Jones, accompanied me to the Welch yearly meeting, as did also John Young, from Leominster, who met me at Hereford for that purpose, and was an acceptable companion.

Next morning we set out from Talcot about five o'clock, and got to Nathaniel Anthony's a little after meeting time, a meeting having been appointed beforehand there, to begin at five in the evening. After meeting, John Young and I went to lodge with that couple who had before invited me near Llangeithow,

where we met with a kind and cordial reception, and found them fervent in desire after godliness. Next morning we met Mary Rick-erby, and sundry other friends at John Bowen's. Thence went to an evening meeting at Carmarthen, which was large. Next day being seventh-day, we went to John Lewis's house in the country. On first-day with him to the meeting at Redstone, and in the afternoon were at a large meeting at Haverford-west; and from hence, on third-day, we went to the yearly meeting at Tenby.

After the yearly meeting, I went by Swan-zev and Trevereeg to Pontypool, being accompanied by good old Evan Evans. Thence by Shernuton and Ross to Gloucester, and from thence round by Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire to Bristol yearly meeting; and from thence by Bath, Bradford, Shaftsbury, Poole, Ringwood and Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, to that of London.

At Shaftsbury the meeting had been pretty much dropped for several years, there being none of our profession left, but an old friend, a tanner, and his two sisters; but at this time several were in part convinced, and thereupon the meeting revived. I was there on a first-day, and had three meetings, which were large. The second-day I spent in visiting families, and in the evening had a concluding meeting with friends, and those newly convinced. It was a satisfactory time; and one man's wife who had been in great grief, passion and bitterness, on account of her husband's joining in our profession, was herself gained, and joined him and friends; and another woman likewise joined us at the same time; yet the fervency which was then felt, proved but of short duration with several of them. However, the meeting has continued, a new meeting-house has been built there since that time, and the quarterly meeting of the county of Dorset is sometimes held there.

On my return from the Isle of Wight, Thomas Whitehead and Philip Elliot met me at Portsmouth, and accompanied me thence to London, with young Abel Hollis, of the Isle of Wight, who was then hopeful. Next day being the fourth of the week, we came to Alton; after meeting there on fifth-day, we came to an evening meeting at Godalming. Sixth-day morning were at a meeting at Guilford; after which, being joined by Samuel Bownas and Jeremiah Waring, we came to Esher, and next morning to London to the yearly meeting.

In this journey, Samuel Bownas was particularly kind and fatherly to me. We were together at Gracious street meeting on first-day morning, which was a good meeting, and wherein I was favoured in a good degree.

Thomas Whitehead and Philip Elliot accompanied me after the yearly meeting was over, to a meeting at Hertford. From Hertford I went to Hitchin, Jordans, High-Wiccomb, &c.: was at the quarterly meeting at Okeham, for the counties of Leicester and Rutland, and at those at Lincoln, York, Lancaster and Kendal.

At this yearly meeting were no representatives from Ireland but Abraham Fuller and I. John Pim, of Edenderry, and his brother Joshua Pim of Mountrath, came as far as Coventry; and there the said Joshua, a valuable friend and elder, was visited with a distemper, which for a time seemed dangerous. He recovered, but not till sometime after the yearly meeting was over.

The like afterwards happened to another good friend and elder, Joseph Williams, of Randall's Mills, who reached London, and was there by indisposition prevented from getting out to any meeting; such trials being sometimes permitted, for proving and exercising the faith and patience of the Lord's servants.

In this journey I often travelled hard, and had two meetings a day wherever I could. It took me about five months. At Lincoln quarterly meeting friends lodged at inns. I do not remember that I knew one friend there, but John Scott, from Leeds, and May Drummond. It being now about midsummer, the public meeting began at twelve o'clock, their men's meeting about two, and ended before four. In those two meetings I had been shut up. I met with an elderly friend, and asked him how friends spent the residue of the long evening; he answered, "In conversing together, or taking a walk or the like." I told him, I thought it was a pity, considering the large number of young people who came together from different parts of the county; and that the end would be better answered, by some religious opportunity or meeting, that might tend to edification, and be of benefit to some at least. He replied, "They used to have evening meetings; but being on one hand much infested with rude people, and on the other too often weakly conducted, they did not prove satisfactory; and for these reasons friends had thought it best to discontinue them."

Hereupon we were called in to dinner, but I had little appetite; after dinner I was called out. Some of the elders had drawn together, and upon my coming to them, signified if I had a concern for an evening meeting, they were willing to appoint one, to begin at the sixth hour. I was afraid, yet durst not refuse the proposal; so upon my assenting, the meeting was appointed. It was much

crowded, and the life and power of truth was in dominion, which eased my mind of its burden and filled it with thankfulness.

From hence, John Scott, May Drummond and I, with divers other friends, came to a meeting at Gainsborough, and on the first-day after, were at the general meeting at Warnsworth, where we met with Joseph Storr. From thence John Scott and I went to the monthly meeting at Leeds, where we met with our valuable ancient friend, William Slater. From Leeds I went in company with William Hird and his wife, to the monthly meeting at Knaresborough, at which was John Fothergill; and from thence to the quarterly meeting at York, to which came John Richardson, who was expected by few, having been thought to be near death for some time before, but being recovered a little, though still very feeble in body, but strong in faith, and warm in love to God and the brethren, in a journey of three days, which he had used to accomplish in one or less, he reached this city, to have one more solemn opportunity with his friends at this meeting.

In the meeting of ministers, the good old man was enlarged in much weighty and pertinent counsel, in the clear openings of gospel light; but the public meetings were much hurt by raw and forward public appearances.

From York I came with Mary Slater to Skipton, and from thence was accompanied by John Binns to a general meeting at Crawshawbooth, where I met with Samuel Fothergill, Margaret Birtwhistle, afterwards married to Jonathan Raine; and Sarah Routh, who afterwards married William Taylor. Next day, in company with the last two, to the quarterly meeting at Lancaster.

Here, in the meeting of ministers, Margaret Birtwhistle appeared lively and very suitably; but a young man, and one elder than he, by their public appearances hurt the meeting.

When I reached Whitehaven, I met with Susanna Morris and Elizabeth Morgan, of Pennsylvania, just landed from Dublin, having visited Ireland. Susanna Morris was a good old woman, and a sound minister, whose faith was remarkably tried; having twice suffered shipwreck on the coast of Ireland, and once, as I have heard, on the western coast of Europe; yet was preserved by that power and providence on which she relied, and her faith was not weakened thereby.

One time it happened in the north of Ireland, and the other time off Dungarvan, when, as I have been credibly informed, after hanging some hours in the ship's shrouds, apparently in imminent danger of being swept away by the waves every minute, and the storm continuing so violent, that no boatmen

durst venture out to their relief, a popish priest was made the instrument of her preservation, who, by his influence and authority, roused some of the inhabitants, at the risk of their lives to attempt the relief of her and others; which they providentially effected, and brought her and Joseph Taylor particularly, safe ashore.

When I landed from Whitehaven at Dublin, I there received a letter from my brother, informing me that their next province meeting was to be at Limerick next first-day. Garret Hassen accompanying me, we left Dublin on fourth-day morning, and came that evening to Samuel Neale's, at Christians-town, and were next day at the week-day meeting at Rathangan, and after meeting went to John Ridgway's, at Ballycarrol; next day we reached Roscrea, and Limerick the day following. At this province meeting I was prevailed on to stay and join in a visit to friends' families, towards which service Garret had before expressed some concern on his mind. We were accompanied by Joshua Beale, of Cork, John Philips, George Pease and William Richardson, of Limerick. It proved a memorable season; the pure influence of truth having prevailed in the preceding province meeting, had so prepared friends' minds, that we found in general, great openness, and in some families scarcely a dry eye. No hardness, that I remember, appeared, except in one family; and the head of that family being an eager pursuer of the world, in sometime after failed, considerably in debt. From thence I came directly home to Cork.

On the whole of this long journey, and my third with a certificate, I have this observation to make: in my two first journeys being much among tender, religious friends, my labour was easy and edifying, and I often had great consolation and divine satisfaction among them; but in this last, coming to many places that were poor and flat, as to the life of religion, and where other things more prevailed, I often had suffering seasons, and came off but poorly.

The next summer after my return, I removed from Cork—leaving my brother John Gough there in my place—into Leinster province, and settled near Mountmelick.

I have good reason to believe that I followed right direction, and the gracious call of divine goodness in this removal, on divers accounts, as in the good hand of God, the author of all good, it proved a blessing both to my wife and myself. There lived here-away at that time, divers valuable, spiritually-minded friends, through whose tender regard, counsel and help, we gained fresh good, and

to whom we felt great nearness of heart and dear affection, in the pure love of the one eternal Spirit.

Here I tried something of the linen business, but found myself so unfit for dealing with the common people, that I saw, notwithstanding the kind assistance of some friends, I was not likely to gain any thing by following this business. And as I had little else at present for a livelihood, it sometimes spread a dejection over my mind. Such dispensations are humbling, deeply exercising our faith and patience, and proving our foundation and our confidence in divine protection, and reliance on heavenly help. They are what we generally call trials; and so they are; but when we consider that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and that the cattle of a thousand hills are his; are not his favours trials as well as his chastisements? Affluence appears to me a trial, as well as discouraging outward prospects; but a trial of a different nature, that is, of our fidelity as stewards of the mercies of God, to whom we are all to be accountable for the discharge of the trust he hath invested us with, that we consume them not upon our lusts, as if that was our own, which is given us to do good with, and be helpful to others who may stand in need. As the sunshine of prosperity is apt to lift men up too high into a state of inconsiderateness and dissipation, I have thought it a trial, whereby we are under greater danger and temptation; and have a greater cross to take up to be what we ought to be, than in humbler stations. It has not fallen to my lot to be much proved with trials of this kind, and I am led to believe that divine wisdom, who orders all things well, knew best what was best for me. For when prospects of things were pleasing, I was prone to be too much elevated, and therefore needed to be brought and kept low; but in the midst of my discouragement, a door of hope often opened to me, from the internal evidence and persuasion of being in my right place, and of faith that all things would work together for good, if we were preserved through all to love and fear the Lord; and so I humbly trust it proved. My wife being brought low in her mind under the like discouragement, it proved in the hand of God a good step to her, to the more certain enjoyment of his blessed presence, and the comforts of his good Spirit. She meeting with the like precious visitation here, as I had before in Bristol, it made us partakers together of the sweet sense of the gracious regard of him that is above all, and closely linked us together in true unity, and deep thankfulness, which often raised in us, to our unspeakable joy, the cheering hope of a dwelling-place,

with the sanctified of the Lord in the regions of bliss. May I never forget such seasons of unmerited mercy and goodness.

In the spring of the next year, my mind was again drawn to visit some parts of Cumberland and Westmoreland. John Pim of Lackah and his wife, offered me their eldest son Moses for a companion, whom I accepted. We met at his brother-in-law, Samuel Neale's, at Christians-town. Thence we went next day some miles out of our way to see our dear friend Mary Peisley, being at that time in affliction.

She had been a gay young woman, but in her youthful years of her gayety, she was favoured with a powerful and prevailing visitation of divine love, and giving up faithfully to the heavenly vision, she became a vessel of honour in the Master's house, receiving a gift in the ministry, and being reverently, watchfully and livingly exercised therein, to the edification of friends where her lot was cast, she was indeed an useful member and a shining ornament to the church.

I am ready to conclude, that no one in our day, from the time of this the effectual visitation of Christ to her soul, adhered with more steadiness to his guidance, through a variety of probations. She was, during most part of her time, a member of the same monthly meeting with myself. Often were we together in public meetings; often on family visits.

She visited friends in England, Ireland and North America, pretty generally; and soon after her return from her last journey, married our friend Samuel Neale, and in a few days after departed this life. I attended both at her marriage and her funeral, and am satisfied that she is gone to enjoy forever the reward of a well-spent life, very much devoted to the service of God, and the promotion of truth upon earth.

After this visit of friendship, we got to Dublin on seventh-day evening, and there on inquiry I was informed, at several places, that the whole fleet of Whitehaven ships had gone off that day; but in my return from the quay, accompanied by my kind landlord Thomas Strangman, I met a man, who told us there was one prevented from getting off. So I stayed the two meetings in Dublin the next day, and had a satisfactory time with my dear friends there. After dinner on second-day we embarked, and on third-day about noon landed at Whitehaven. That afternoon I went to John Harris's, and next morning set off with him and his wife, a valuable minister, to the quarterly meeting at Carlisle.

One thing appeared to me pleasingly remarkable at that time. By reason of wet weather, people there were backward at their

country work, and then very busy, yet several of the men put forward their wives to go to the quarterly meeting, as they intended themselves to the northern yearly meeting to be at Kendal about two weeks from that time. We were that day pretty many in company, but more women than men, though both the roads and the weather were but indifferent. Hence I concluded that no other motive but that of religious desire drew them from home. It affected my mind, and made me hope for a good meeting. The widow of our worthy friend Robert Atkinson, then about eighty years of age, with two other elderly women walked on foot eight miles to it.

On fifth-day the quarterly meeting began, and on sixth-day ended, and was a large and good meeting. On seventh-day I reached Kendal, and visited meetings thereaway till the yearly meeting; and after it, spent a few days thereabout, took leave of my poor mother, and never saw either the place of my nativity or her any more. She lived only about two or three years after this, and was favoured in her latter days with peace and quiet; which was mercifully continued to her end.

This journey began well, like all my others; but, alas, it did not so continue and end, for want of my steadily adhering to the all-wise Guide in my whole conduct. Yet I received instruction from it, and learned to exercise more care in some things, wherein I saw I had missed my way.

I embarked at Whitehaven for Dublin; but we were driven to the north, and put into Carlisle, about fifty miles from Dublin. The passengers were three men and three women, and this being a poor place, we could only get two mean, wretched horses, on which we helped the women by turns to Dundalk, about eight or ten miles. From Dundalk we hired three horses, which carried double to Drogheda, where we lodged. Here no horses were to be met with. So meeting with a return chaise, I agreed for the three women to go in it, and myself setting forward on foot in company with one of the passengers, I arrived in Dublin in good time, and was at the half-year's meeting there, which was a satisfactory season.

Seeing little or no prospect of getting any thing by the linen business, one morning Thomas Boake, schoolmaster of Mountmellick came to acquaint me, that the doctor had told him he must quit the school or lose his life, being then in a bad state of health, and to advise with me and others thereupon. He soon quitted it, and I succeeded him in a school poor indeed, as I found it at my first entering upon it; for except a few friends whose

children I had, who duly paid me, most of the rest put me off with promises, few of which were ever performed; so that a dull prospect still threatened, and looking back in my mind to both Bristol and Cork, I thought it a strange condition to which I was now reduced; yet hope in the Lord supported me and cheered my mind; and it was not long before things began to wear a better face; for some friends of Dublin, and afterwards others from other parts sent their sons to board with us, till we had above twenty boys boarded in our house, for whom we were well and duly paid.

About ten years after our marriage, my wife was delivered of a son, whom we named John, and in a few days after, she departed this life. For about two years before her decease she had been engaged a little in the work of the ministry; but her principal service was in friends' families, and in the women's meetings, in which her service was much missed when she was removed. She died in a sweet frame of mind, and in near unity with good friends.

My brother had married at Youghal, a relation of my wife's, upon whose death, he and his wife came into my house at my desire; and in the winter following I visited Ulster province pretty fully and thoroughly, being at some meetings twice over. In this journey I was favoured with the company of old Robert Richardson many miles, and to many meetings, in severe weather, and he about eighty-four years of age.

I had a particular concern to have a meeting in the town of Belfast: I consulted Robert upon it; but he did not encourage it, not one of our profession living in that town: he said he had been at sundry meetings there, but few of them proved to satisfaction. So I left the matter for some days; but the concern followed me still. And it opened in my mind, that if I would have the bread of life to my soul, I must go to the place appointed for me to receive it, viz: to Belfast.

I thereupon consulted several other friends, all of whom approved of it. Upon application, the town hall was obtained for it, and fitted up with seats of deal boards. Some friends attended from the meetings of Ballinderry, Lisburn, Hillsborough and Newtown, particularly from Lisburn several friends accompanied me, and old Robert could not be easy without coming along in the rear of the company; he sat next to me on the justices' bench.

The magistrates were so favourable as to order the constables to stand at the door, to keep out the rabble; the inhabitants of the town of the upper rank, with their wives and

children, came to it in a decent, solid manner.

I had had a great weight and fear on my mind respecting the undertaking; but proceeding on the foundation hinted above, a steady hope and reverent dependence on the Almighty staid my mind, and I thought my friends felt for me, and felt unity of heart with me. The meeting was eminently favoured with the clear light of the gospel, and the sweet sense and enjoyment of divine life and goodness. After the meeting, Robert, in a tender, thankful frame of mind, expressed his satisfaction, as did divers other friends. It proved a good day, honourable to the cause of truth, and affording solid joy to us, who attended the meeting, which had been crowned with the Divine presence.

After this, I had meetings of the like kind at Dungannon, Moira, and Legicurry or Richhill, all of them open and comfortable. And indeed, in this visit to Ulster province, I was favoured often with the supporting evidence of being under right direction. It had been on my mind for some years before, and I thought I had waited till the right time.

I was accompanied in this journey many miles and to many meetings, by my esteemed friend Thomas Greer, whose company was truly acceptable; also by my dear friend, Susanna Hatton, to such meetings as she could get out conveniently to attend.

Sometime after I also visited Munster province, accompanied by my friend John Pim, of Lackah.

About this time the Methodists had got some footing in sundry parts of Ireland, and in Mountmelick in particular. John Curtis, a friend of Bristol, who had been one of them about a year, having been afterwards convinced of our principles, and received a gift of the ministry, came over upon a religious visit to friends in Ireland, amongst whom his service was very acceptable.

I was with him at a large meeting in the court-house in Athy, another in the assembly room at Athlone, and at several others, which were very large. He appeared in inwardness of mind to attend upon his gift, and follow its leading; and concluded his service in Ireland with an epistle to friends whom he had visited; which the national meeting ordered to be printed.

I mention this by reason of what follows.

One afternoon John Wesley made his first entrance into Mountmelick, attended by a large company, on horseback, of those who joined him in society. As several of their ministers had been here before, some of whom had invited me to come, and bring my family, to hear them preach the gospel, I had not as

yet found freedom to go; but hearing that John Wesley was to preach that evening in the open market-place, I was not easy to avoid going. So I went, and standing at a friend's shop-door, I heard him begin with the following preamble or introduction:

"Before I unfold to you the oracles of God, I must first remove a stumbling block out of the way, which is this; I understand one John Curtis, from Bristol, hath of late been travelling in these parts, and endeavouring to lay waste that good work which it hath pleased God to carry on by our hands, giving out that he was formerly a Methodist and acquainted with me. Now he never was a Methodist to my knowledge, and I think he could not be one in or about Bristol without it; and as to any acquaintance with the said John Curtis, I solemnly declare I never had any; only I remember being twice in his company occasionally, about eight years ago. I hope no man will account me an offender for speaking the truth. If George Fox were here he would embrace me for it."

This was the substance of his introduction, in the same words, or very nearly the same, in which he delivered it, for I gave good attention to this part. Then he proceeded to what he called unfolding the oracles of God, which I thought was stamping the matter far too high.

That evening I got two friends to accompany me to his lodging to speak to him hereupon. At the first mentioning of the subject he discovered some warmth. "I tell you, John Curtis has done more harm in his journey through these parts, than ever he will do good as long as he lives. He has gone about scattering poison." This high charge he undertook to prove thus: "What poison is to the body, that bigotry is to the mind; but John Curtis has been industrious to sow bigotry, that is, to sow disaffection in the hearts of Christians toward one another, barely on account of difference in opinion."

To all this, I replied to the following import: I was an entire stranger to John Curtis till he came into these parts, since which, I had made use of the opportunity of contracting an acquaintance with him; and being pretty much in his company, I have known him to be influenced with the universal love of God, and that he has endeavoured to propagate the same in others. This thou canst never call scattering poison; and if my account differ from thine, so doth the foundation on which it is built. For thine is only upon hearsay, which is too slender a foundation whereupon publicly to asperse any man's character, who is not present to answer and vindicate himself. At this he seemed some-

what confused, and acknowledged that he had not duly considered that part of the matter; but thought he might depend on the repeated informations he had received from different quarters.

I further observed to him, that he ought to have duly regarded our Lord's directions, not to judge, &c. For if any good is done, it is the Lord that doth it, and in what way and by what instruments he pleases; and therefore all the glory of it is due to him alone, and no part of that glory or honour to any instrument, which can do nothing of itself; and that it would be a sin in any instrument to take to itself what was due to God only: and that if John Curtis faithfully did what the Lord directed, he would be accepted, though no shining outward effects should arise from it.

In regard to what thou hast alledged, of his sowing disaffection in the hearts of Christians, towards one another, barely on account of difference in opinion; something occurs to me on that head, which is, that John Curtis might be endued with a sense of the danger, which some might be in, of magnifying and extolling certain men, instead of giving all the glory to God, and apprehend it to be his duty to caution and guard them against that danger, which might be misconstrued by some, as seeking to sow disaffection toward those men and their adherents, or to this effect.

This opportunity concluded peaceably, with John Wesley's acknowledging, that it had been to his edification, and that he therefore wished he could get the like opportunities with our friends more frequently; that he saw some things in a clearer light than he had done before, and that he would never say any thing against John Curtis publicly again, unless he administered a real foundation for it. I heard he had the day before made the same preamble, or to the same purport, before his sermon at Edenderry, and would probably have gone on so from place to place.

I wrote to John Curtis hereupon, who answered, that he never pretended to, nor ever spoke of his having any intimate acquaintance with John Wesley; but that he was regularly a Methodist for some time, he sent me a certificate, signed by several of the same fraternity, and some other testimonials.

Hereupon he wrote to John Wesley, and sent me over copies of the letters that passed between them. I did not see that this paper war, if continued, would be likely to serve any good purpose, and so I wrote to him, and it dropped. All the use I made of the above-said testimonials, was occasionally to show them to some of the Methodists, and to one of their ministers.

I was glad to see some in that part awakened out of their sleep of darkness, to a thoughtfulness about their souls, and sincerely wished the increase and promotion of solid piety; but I had opportunity to observe there, that those who were innocent and well-minded before, have continued the most steady and circumspect in their conduct; that those who had before gone into gross pollutions, being induced to believe that regeneration was an instantaneous, not a gradual work, did not sufficiently remain under repentance, to let it have its perfect work; and that instead of pressing forward, after the perfection of the inward life, denying self, and a conformity to this world in its corruptions, in language and practice, their zeal too much settled in the frequency of their meetings, hearing sermons, praying, singing, reading, and treasuring up Scripture texts and passages in their memories, talking them over too lightly and customarily in conversation, which rendered these divine truths like salt without the proper savour, taking from them the awful weight and dignity due to them.

By these means Christian fortitude, for standing steadfast in reverent simplicity and holy vigilance soon declined; a silent dependence on Christ, the true teacher, was irksome, and that dependence which was due to him misplaced on fallible men. The consequence was a dwindling, a blast on the first buddings of heavenly desires, a decay of the divine life; and many of them soon returned, like the sow that was washed, to wallow in the mire and filth of transgression again; and threw off the affectation, the insipid, and surfeiting talk of religion; the form of godliness, which they had too much gloried in, for want of humbly abiding under the purifying power thereof.

Sometime after this, a vacancy falling out in the city of Dublin, by the death of John Beetham, friends' schoolmaster there, and the return to England of George Routh, who had tried the place after him, my brother being encouraged by friends there to take the charge of that school, seemed inclined thereto, and as the prospect was promising, I freely assented to his removal, although thereby I was left singly to undergo the labour and care of a large family of boarders, in which he and his wife had been useful assistants since the death of my wife. Thinking it best to change my situation, I accordingly married Elizabeth Barnes, daughter of Thomas Barnes, of Waterford. About two weeks after our marriage, we went together to the summer half-year's meeting in Dublin. In our way we spent the first-day among our friends at Timahoe, it being the last meeting there to many of them. For in a few days

after, several of their families came to Dublin to embark for North Carolina, to settle upon my cousin Arthur Dobbs' lands there, who was their landlord at Timahoe, and who, upon my application, had offered to me for life, and after it to my son John and his heirs, one thousand acres of that land. Robert Millhouse, of Timahoe, was to choose land next to that which himself should take, but the captain of the ship in which they went, not being well acquainted with the coast, ran too far to the southward, landed them at Charleston in South Carolina, and thereupon they settled in that province, so I was disappointed in my expectation of getting the land taken up by him. Two other opportunities afterwards presented some probability of getting it taken up; but by various accidents; my hopes were again disappointed: may all disappointments of this kind incite to a greater diligence in seeking the one thing needful, that good part, which shall never be taken away.

We resided about ten years after our marriage in Mountmelick; during which time an increasing private family, and the necessary attendance on my house and school, prevented my going any great journey; but I attended monthly, province, and national meetings generally, in which I was often favoured among my brethren, with the fresh arisings of life, and the renewing of inward strength.

My wife being of a very weakly and tender constitution, I apprehended the fatigue and burdensome care of a boarding-school, a load too heavy for her, and from hence conceived a desire, with submission to the ordering of divine Providence, of a place where the weight might rest more upon my shoulders, and less on hers; and having made previous application, I received an invitation to return to Bristol, and resume the school there.

Hereupon, after some time, I threw up my school in Mountmelick, attended the fifth month national meeting at Dublin, after which I embarked there with three friends more, to attend the yearly meeting at London. We went aboard ship on fifth-day morning, and landed at Parkgate next morning, and had an evening meeting at Liverpool. On seventh-day went to Warrington; on first-day morning, to the general meeting at Frandley in Cheshire. On second-day we reached Birmingham; after meeting there on third-day we went to Coventry. On fourth-day, after a meeting at Coventry, we reached Worcester, and London the next day. After the yearly meeting was over, Isaac Jackson returned home; Joshua Wilson staid a little time amongst his relations; and Joseph Inman and I, accompanied by our kind land-

lord, John Elliott of London, on third-day came to an evening meeting at Reading, appointed to begin at the sixth hour. Next morning Joseph Inman and I were at the monthly meeting at Newberry, and that evening at a small meeting at Marlborough; on fifth-day we came to a meeting at Calne, and after it, to John Fry's at Sutton-benjar. Next day, after meeting there, to Bath, and on seventh-day to Bristol, where we staid till sixth-day morning, when leaving Bristol, we crossed the new passage into Wales; that night came to Cardiff, and the next to Swanzy, where we staid over the first-day; and on a second-day were at an evening meeting at Carmarthen. On third-day at Llandewybrevy. On fourth-day, by way of Llanedless, we reached John Goodwin's. At Llanedless we went to see a friend's widow. We found her spinning in her poor habitation, and she seemed rejoiced to see us, and as we had no guide, she readily offered herself for a guide to John Goodwin's, which they called five miles; but it took us near three hours riding.

On fifth-day, after meeting at this ancient, worthy friend's house, we went to his son-in-law, Humphrey Owen's, on the seaside, who had married John's eldest daughter; on sixth-day, after meeting, said Humphrey accompanied us to his brother Lewis Owen's, near Dolgelly, in Merionethshire; and next day along a mountainous road to Carnarvan, where we staid, and had a meeting by ourselves, and after dinner came to Holyhead, on first-day evening. On second-day morning about two o'clock, our kind friend saw us on the packet-boat, and then took leave of us. On third-day in the evening we landed in Dublin, and next evening I got safe home to my wife and children in Mountmelick.

After my return I attended the quarterly meeting for Munster, at Clonmel, and that for Leinster at Enniscorthy, and then I got my large family ready for our removal, consisting of my wife and her mother, in her eightieth year, eight children, and a nurse to the youngest, about eight months old. With the assistance of sundry kind friends, particularly Thomas Strangman, of Mountmelick, we all got well to Waterford, and from thence, after staying about ten days with our friends there, to Bristol.

Now leaving Ireland, after having sojourned there about twenty-four years, and received much affection and kindness from many friends, of which I hope to retain the grateful remembrance as long as my memory shall continue, let me review the state of our Society there, during that space of time.

At my first going thither, there were yet

living in most parts of the nation, where meetings were settled, some of the good old stock, both ministers and elders, who loved God and mankind, and were esteemed and beloved by them, being kind and open-hearted, as well as faithful and circumspect in all the branches of our Christian testimony, closely united in tender love one with another, in supporting it, and keeping things in good order in the church. Their pious care herein was like a fence about the flock, which kept them together in near unity and greater safety; so that the young people in most parts, were generally trained up in innocence of manners, and in plainness of habit and speech.

Some indeed, chiefly of the young men grown up, had for some time past, refused submission to the good order established; but I lived there long enough to see the unhappy consequences thereof, both to many of themselves, and to the body whereof they were members. Though their tables abounded with elegant dishes, and a variety of liquors; though they made a figure, and were envied or caressed for a time; yet most of them were either cut short by death, or fell into disgrace. The hand of the Lord seemed to be against these introducers and spreaders of corrupt liberty; and they never attained that true honour and peace, which attended the worthy men and women above hinted at, to whom the first departure of such was matter of great concern and anxiety, from a clear foresight of the hurtful consequences thereof; and much labour and pains they took to put a stop to it, and prevent the spreading thereof, particularly in the city of Cork, and therefore they were clear of it.

But though some of these were too large for the girdle of truth, to meet about them, or to be limited by the desires of their best friends; yet I found the discipline of the church better maintained, during my first years in Cork, than before them in Bristol; tending to edification, brotherly comfort and love, and mutual encouragement in piety and virtue, with a joint desire and care to preserve a uniform regularity, and to revive and maintain a religious fervency toward God.

Some friends from the several parts attended their province meetings, which were held regularly once in six weeks, and circulated from one part to another, yet were most frequently held in Cork. Those meetings were often sweetly favoured, through the coming together of sincere, lively spirited friends. At one of these meetings in particular, in Cork, soon after my coming to it, we had the company of John Duckett, from Leinster, a worthy elder. In the men's meeting he spoke to

us with such divine authority and sweetness, that to me his words seemed fitly spoken indeed, and, "like apples of gold in pictures of silver."

The half year's meetings in Dublin were attended by some friends from most parts of the nation. Here, in the meetings for discipline, as well as for worship, a zeal for the honour of God, and the good of the church presided, and friends were incited to keep all things in proper order in the church. The first time I attended a half year's meeting, was in the winter, 1742, and it was indeed a lively, good meeting, which I hope never to forget. After I removed from Cork to Mountmelick, I attended the national and provincial meetings for Leinster pretty constantly, and often in them was affected with reverent gratitude to the Almighty, who by the discoveries of divine wisdom, instituted them for the support and edification of the church, and in them frequently owned the gatherings of his people in his name, by the evident manifestation of his divine presence.

In process of time, these worthy men and women, in whose hearts the love of God and of his people, had, by long growth, become deeply rooted, one after another, finished their course honourably, leaving an excellent savour behind them; but when they were removed, very few of the youth or others, succeeded them in the right line, to fill up their vacant places with propriety. Of their survivors, on one hand, a considerable number retained the ancient plainness of language and habit, and were rigidly censorious of any deviation therefrom, and valued themselves thereupon, as if it were the only test and badge of discipleship, while their hearts were gone after their covetousness, in eagerly pursuing, and sordidly hoarding temporal wealth. On the other hand, was a large body of youth and others, shooting up in self-indulgence, in conformity to the world, and rushing headlong into the temptations of the times. Yet amidst this inundation of negligence and revolt, there remain in most places, a number of sincere-hearted friends, a few worthy ministers and elders; but within these twenty years past, there has been a great alteration for the worse.

The proposals which friends of Bristol made me, appeared sufficiently encouraging to promise a pretty easy situation, as to temporals; and when in Mountmelick, this city was presented to my view for a residence for me and my family, it was brought to my remembrance, how in my young years, it was made to me what Bethel was to Jacob in his youthful time, when he travelled alone, with his staff, obeying the

command of his parents; that is, the place where the Lord first visited me with his power and light, and was a father to me, when I was, as it were, alone, and far from my parents and all my relations. After many years, and a great increase of family, he called Jacob to go up again to Bethel and dwell there, and erect an altar to his God; and thereupon Jacob obliged his household to put away their strange gods, to be clean, and change their garments; and so they went. Under this view, I hoped this removal might be attended with beneficial effects to me and mine, and that I had in degree, concurrence therein, being favoured of the Lord among my dear friends in Ireland, in taking leave of them.

But promised happiness in this life, often proves a phantom that flies from us as we pursue; we often think we have it in prospect, but it still keeps beyond our reach: they who would attain certain and durable happiness, should extend their views beyond this life.

For, notwithstanding the apparent encouraging prospect, after a while I found things, both provisions and labour, so much dearer here than in Ireland, that discouragements and embarrassments crowded upon me to that degree, that I was often brought very low, under the gloomy prospect, and my faith was put to a severe trial; yet it pleased kind Providence to make way for me, and raise me relief in his own time, for which I desire to be ever gratefully thankful, and unreservedly dedicated in heart to his service, whose mercies fail not.

I found also a change in another respect, not agreeable to the natural disposition. He who had visited my soul, and called me into the ministry, had given me a great place in the particular and near regard, affection and esteem of friends in Ireland, where I had an open door, and was often much enlarged in gospel love. Mostly attending the province meetings in Leinster, friends were rejoiced to see me, and apt to think me much missed, if

at any time I did not get out to any of them. Whenever I did, I met such a welcome reception amongst friends, being often opened to their edification, and to our mutual endearment to each other in the sweet streams of divine life, and such ready attendance and kindness as were very pleasing to nature.

But coming from thence to Bristol, where I was now become a stranger to many, and where they were full fed as to vocal ministry, I was here very much shut up, and for a season seemed to have lost the caresses, cordial invitations, and that place I had amongst friends in Ireland; which, however, though in my present trying circumstances, a seemingly additional discouragement, was not an unprofitable dispensation; for though it was the great favour of the Almighty, whereby I was opened among my friends to their edification, and their hearts opened towards me; yet herein the enemy artfully laid his snares, and often prevailed over my unwatchful soul, to my inward hurt. For what are all the caresses of mankind? Of small value in themselves, and often injurious to them whom they please, conveying hidden poison to the unguarded mind; while that which alone will stand us in real stead, and be of infinite advantage, is to get and keep the favour of the Almighty; may I therefore want, and even reject, whatever would please and nourish that spirit, which ought to come under daily mortification.

The inward near unity, sympathy, esteem and affection of friends and brethren, is a very grateful and pleasing enjoyment; but it may be proper and good for us to be tried and proved, with being stripped of every leaning stock, but the only sure foundation, that we may thereby be driven to have recourse to it, and keep our only safe habitation there. May this, after a life so tossed up and down, as mine has been, at length become my case on any terms; and if it be, it will be more than worth all I have yet suffered, were it many times more; for all else will be soon over, but this will never end.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE JOURNAL.

Thus far my deceased brother proceeded in the narrative of the transactions of his own life. I find by the papers in my hands, that, as noted in the preface, he drew up a review

thereof, at sundry periods, and commenced the last in the sixty-sixth year of his age; which, it is probable, had he lived to finish it, would have exhibited, in a continued narra-

tion, the succeeding occurrences of his life, to near the present time; but he proceeded only a little way in the last review; and the former in his fifty-fourth year, terminates here. I regret the want of this continuation by that hand, which only could give it with those interesting reflections, resulting from a recollection of the feelings attending the successive occurrences of his life. This is an advantage that no other hand can supply; but as I have in my hands the abstracts of succeeding journeys, and sundry other papers, I shall endeavour to supply the deficiency to the best of my ability.

After his settling in Bristol, he seems to have been pretty much engaged in his outward, confining occupation, for the support of himself and a large family, so as to travel little abroad in the service of truth, except in short excursions to the neighbouring meetings, and other services in the vicinage of that city; and to the yearly meeting in London, which he attended constantly for several years, and where his service was, I believe, generally acceptable. It was here for the first time after his removal to Bristol, and several years separation, I had the satisfaction to meet with him, which was no inconsiderable addition to the comfort and edification I was favoured with, in the attendance of that meeting in 1771. And being mostly with him at meetings and elsewhere, I had the agreeable opportunity of observing, that the spirit of universal love, which characterized him in a peculiar manner, procured him the like open reception there, as formerly amongst his friends in Ireland; and that the liveliness which still accompanied his public ministry, procured him also an open door for the reception of his labour and service therein.

During this interval, in the year 1769, he met with a close trial in the death of his deservedly beloved son John; a young man of amiable manners, and valuable qualities beyond most of his years, being blessed with a good natural disposition and capacity, well improved in his minority, by a diligent application to useful learning, under the tuition of his father and preceptor; to whom the easy task of instructing him, his assiduity and ready proficiency conveyed secret joy, and pleasing hopes of future satisfaction in a son, who gave such promising tokens of making a useful and honourable member of religious and civil society. Nor were these hopes frustrated in the advancing stages of his short life. For as he grew up, being favoured with solid religious impressions, he sought after, and attained best wisdom to a degree,

in general, exceeding his age. In his entrance on the stage of life, a propriety and steadiness of deportment, that might adorn advanced years, attracted the notice and respectful regard of the best friends, who had the opportunity of observing, or being acquainted with him. By a conscientious discharge of every social and religious duty, as a dutiful son, as an affectionate brother, as an exemplary pattern of plainness, sobriety and circumspection of life, he gave evident indications, that he was early acquainted with the grace and truth, which came by Jesus Christ.

I apprehend he was for a season, an assistant to his father in his school; but the weight of care and embarrassment of this occupation, not suiting the present temper of his mind, discouraged him from continuing in that line of life; and therefore, meeting with an offer from a friend in London, to assist him in his business in the capacity of a clerk, he removed thither; and there he laid down the body in or about the twenty-first year of his age, as I recollect, having in this station, as well as every other, conducted himself with fidelity, reputation and honour: in testimony whereof I have an extract of a letter from his employer to his father, communicated in one from the latter, of tenth month 26th, 1769, as follows, viz:

“I now doubt of my eldest son John’s being any longer in this world; he was seized with a violent fever last first-day week. B. R., in last seventh-day’s letter, writes, ‘For my own part, I do not much expect his recovery, which is a great affliction to me on divers accounts; yet I hope to be resigned to the will of Providence, being well assured, if he be removed, it will be to his eternal gain, although my very great loss as well as thine, and many others, by whom he is dearly beloved. Oh! that my life, and that of all that know him, may be like his, that at our death we may say as he did to my wife; ‘I have done all that I had to do, and must now go home.’”

Soon after he died; and in my brother’s next letter he writes me the following account of his funeral. “My son John’s funeral was uncommonly remarkable. It was taken to the new meeting-house at Park, in Southwark. The meeting was excessively crowded, and many without doors. It was attended by several public friends, many friends from several meetings in the city, and many out of the country, from the love they bore him; the opportunity by all accounts was eminently favoured, the service thereof, falling to the lot of our worthy, well qualified friend, Sa-

muel Fothergill, to the tendering of the hearts of many present.

"Through divine favour and assistance I freely gave him up, thankful for having such a son, who hath left behind him too few like him in pure, unmixed goodness, which diligently exerted itself to do well. He was a most affectionate, dutiful son, both to me and his present mother; so complete a pattern in every virtue, that I have heard many in London and Bristol say, that they never saw one of his years like him. He is happily gone before, safely landed in the port of rest; and that we may land there is all that we have to desire and be concerned for."

These short testimonies to the memory of my deceased nephew, I thought proper to insert here; first, because I am of opinion, had his father lived to continue his own account of the occurrences of his life so far, he would not have omitted one so nearly affecting him; and it was my purpose to notice what I apprehend he would have done, for edification, as far as I have materials. Secondly, I thought the delineation of such a character, might be of service, to some of the youth of this generation, as an example for them to imitate; as an evidence that early piety may, through divine assistance, be attained, and that if we seek it in sincerity, and with full purpose of heart, our search will not be in vain. "I love them," saith wisdom, "that love me, and they that seek me early, shall find me." As an awakening instance of the uncertain tenure of all things in this transitory life; that all flesh is grass, and the goodness of man as the flower of the field; and as a powerful incentive, in consideration thereof, to extend our views beyond the short-lived glory, and fading enjoyments of this uncertain world, to the durable riches of righteousness, and everlasting rewards thereof. May the rising youth hereby be incited so to number their days, as that they may apply their hearts to wisdom, in order to make timely preparation for their final change; and not suffer themselves to be so far deluded, as to put off this necessary work, to some future stage of life, which they can have no assurance of attaining to, reasoning with themselves, through the suggestions of the enemy, that gayety, festivity, and fleshly liberties, being agreeable to their present age, may be safely indulged for a season, as they have much time to repent and grow sober in; and that at some more advanced period, when gravity and seriousness will be more suitable to their years, they will then apply to those things that belong to peace. Had this virtuous young man so reasoned, and so acted, how different had the savour he left behind

him been; but O, how very widely different his condition in his immortal state!

"If any man will come after me," said our blessed Lord, "let him take up his cross daily, deny himself, and follow me:" since then, these are the prescribed terms of discipleship, and if we would be eternally happy, are to be submitted to, at one period of our lives or other; they have greatly the advantage, who are so wise as to submit thereto, in the early part of life. It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth, before his evil propensities be so confirmed by indulgence as to become habitual: custom has a powerful influence over the human mind, and the cross to evil habits is hard to endure. Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? "Then may ye also do good, who are accustomed to do evil." On the contrary, as custom also makes hard things easy, if instead of accustoming ourselves to do evil, and thereby strengthening our natural propensities thereto, we accustom our necks to the yoke of Christ, we shall much sooner feel his yoke become easy, and his burden light; and early piety is the surest ground of an easy and peaceful passage through this vale of tears, as well as laying a good foundation for futurity. "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come;" and those have in a general way proved most eminently serviceable, and the brightest lights in their generation, who have entered early into covenant with their Maker, and kept the covenant of their youth.

I sincerely desire the youth, into whose hands this may fall, may deeply ponder these interesting reflections, so as seriously to consider their latter end, and make timely preparation for it; as not knowing at what hour the Master may come, at midnight, at cock-crowing, or the dawning of the day. And then I am well convinced they would be weaned, not only from the luxury, dissipation, and gross enormities of the world, but from an affection of, and conformity to the vain amusements, manners and fashions thereof, which many indulge themselves in, to their hurt. Let them not satisfy themselves with an apprehension, that they indulge only in things of an indifferent nature, and in which religion is not concerned; but instead of unwisely measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves amongst themselves, bring their deeds to the true criterion, the light of Christ, that it may be made manifest, what source they originate from; and in the light many of the little things will be seen to draw the mind from its proper cen-

tre, and the seats of those that sell doves, occupying the temple of the heart, to unfit it for an house of prayer. It is not sufficient that we are preserved from gross evils, although this is laudable, but if we are concerned to make our calling and election sure, and to secure an inheritance amongst them that are sanctified, we are to walk in obedience to the will of God, which is our sanctification, revealed by his grace in our hearts, which teaches to deny ourselves, not only of those things that are manifestly evil; but of those also, that, under the appearance of being indifferent, gratify our carnal desires, and draw the mind into folly and vanity, from that state of vigilance on which our safety depends. We are not only to abstain from those irregularities in conduct, which injure our reputation with men; but to keep such a guard upon the avenues of the heart, that we suffer no thief to find entertainment there, to steal away our affections from God, or defile this temple of the Holy Ghost. Man is created but a little lower than the angels, is designed for higher and nobler pursuits than the gratifications of sense; and not to rest satisfied in merely avoiding that conduct which exposes him to censure; but to follow that which merits praise, and procures divine approbation. "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

My brother having, now for several years, been principally engaged in the necessary care and labour to provide for those of his own household; in the latter end of the year 1773, felt a religious concern on his mind to visit friends in some of the counties of England; and also those of Ireland, in company with Thomas Melhuish, of Taunton, in Somersetshire; and in order to set himself at liberty to accomplish these visits, he resigned his school in Bristol.

He soon after entered on the service before him, in a visit to friends in some of the western and southern counties of England, and the city of London and its environs; of which visit I received information from him, in the letters he wrote to me at that time; the following extracts whereof will best supply what is wanting here.

"London, 18th of First month, 1774.

"I have been now near four months closely employed in visiting friends, through the four counties of Somerset, Devon, Dorset and

Hants; and sat with friends at many of their monthly meetings, and the three quarterly meetings for Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire, all which were large for the season of the year, and favoured by the Master of our assemblies with that power of love, which unites his true servants every where in a holy concern for the honour of his Name, and for the faithful support of that testimony he has called them to bear.

"I reached this city last first-day morning, having ridden eleven miles before meeting. I was at Gracious street that morning, at which were Sarah Taylor and Tabitha Marriott, the former of whom was favoured with a lively opportunity,—it was a good meeting, and ended well. I was thankful for having reached it. In the afternoon I was at Devonshire house; the meeting was very large, and fresh ability was given to treat with the youth and others, in the merciful opening of the pure spring of the gospel. Yesterday I attended the select morning meeting, and in the afternoon the two weeks' meeting. And in the evening, Thomas Corbyn with his lodgers, the friends above-mentioned, visited at my lodgings, where we had a consolatory time of retirement, in which our heavenly Father was graciously pleased to break the bread of life amongst us. I shall be likely to be three or four weeks in and about London, and when I am clear, I have the meetings of Berkshire and Wiltshire to visit in my way home. I desire to be every day where I ought and as I ought, that if I can do no good, I may be in the way of renewedly receiving some fresh supply from the living fountain, which refreshes and spiritually unites all the true travellers heavenward, in daily gratitude to the kind Author of all good."

"London, 5th of Second month, 1774.

"My dear companion, who has obtained his credentials from their monthly and quarterly meetings, writes to me, that he is hastened in his mind to move forward; but both he and I must submit to bear the curb, and exercise patience. I am at times assaulted with earnest longings to make haste home, to get a little time there, before my coming over to visit friends in Ireland; still I am favoured with the renewing of that gracious help, which raises over all things, and gives the single desire of being both where and what I should be. I entered on this service with an earnest desire, that I might be both guided and guarded aright; and hitherto with great thankfulness have to acknowledge, that my prayers have been answered; and that he who hath the key of David, hath been graciously pleased many times to open his store-

house, and from thence to unfold doctrine, counsel, consolation and reproof, to the differing states of the people."

"London, 1st of Third month, 1774.

"I have now been in this city seven first-days' and seven second-days' morning meetings, and through the other parts of those weeks, have besides those of London, Westminster and Southwark, laboured in sundry meetings around them. To-morrow I expect to attend the last two meetings here; that for worship at Gracious street, in the morning, and the monthly meeting at Devonshire house, in the afternoon; next day to set off for Berkshire, Wiltshire and Bristol. So that it looks likely to be the fourth month before I can set out for Dublin.

"I have cause to be humbly thankful to the author of all our mercies, who hath been kind to me through my winter's travels, favouring me with good health, through all winds and weathers, and with a kind reception every where. At this city, being entered into my proper labour and business, I have found that I could not retire hence, any sooner than the stay above mentioned, and I think I shall not overstay my time, but rather otherwise, having found an enlargement of heart beyond expectation, and having contributed to increase the morning meeting of elders here, with a valuable addition thereto, though I found it hard labour through the diffidence and reluctance of some; yet the power and love of truth at length prevailed, to the satisfaction and comfort of many good friends."

He got home on the 8th of third month, and in about a week afterward took a turn to the quarterly meeting of Somersetshire, at Glastonbury, and that for Wiltshire, at Devizes, and was at some other meetings in his way from one to the other.

The beginning of fourth month he left home on his intended visit to Ireland; he came to the quarterly meeting at Worcester, and thence by Birmingham, Coventry, Dudley and Stourbridge, to Colebrookdale, where he was at meetings at the New-dale and Old-dale, and visited sundry families, accompanied by Daniel Rose.

From Colebrookdale, he went by Shrewsbury, to Dolobran, where the meeting-house was nearly full, the meeting began at eight o'clock in the morning, and was very comfortable. The next day he got to Llewintee, to William Howell's, son-in-law to the late worthy friend, John Goodwin, with whom John's widow was then living, being eighty-three years of

age, and had a meeting there, and from thence he went by Llanelled to the Welsh yearly meeting at Brecknock, which began on the 26th of fourth month. The meeting of ministers and elders, began at nine o'clock in the morning, and at three in the afternoon, a meeting of friends only; and after it the men's meeting, which held till it was almost dark, and then adjourned to the seventh hour next morning, when friends met again, and the meeting held till about nine. At ten the public meeting began in the town-hall, which was excessively crowded and satisfactory. This yearly meeting ended the 27th of fourth month, and the half year's meeting in Dublin was to begin the 1st of fifth month. So he writes; "William Howell and I came forty-one miles after dinner, to Llanelled, where, on the 28th, we had a large meeting in the town-hall or session room, beginning at eight o'clock, which was much favoured. Margaret Jarman and Mary Hunt, accompanied us from thence to Escargoch, where we also had a memorable opportunity, our hearts being much tendered together." On the 29th, being sixth-day of the week, he set off from Llewintee, accompanied by Owen Owen, son of Humphrey Owen aforementioned, and grandson to John Goodwin, for Holyhead, and that day, although they were detained some hours for the tide to fall, till they could cross a river in the way, and in crossing which, they were for a good while up to the saddle skirts, they reached Carnarvan, being fifty miles, that night, and Holyhead about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of seventh-day; went aboard the packet boat about two o'clock on first-day morning; but having little wind, did not get to Dublin till second-day evening, being the 2nd day of the fifth month, and of the national meeting.

Of his journey in Ireland, he kept a brief diary; but not so particular, as of the former through Wales, being only a summary account of the meetings and places he was at each day, without any remarks on meetings or occurrences to diversify the narration, and therefore I shall be obliged to comprise the relation thereof in a narrow compass.

He visited the meetings in course; first, by Edenderry, Rathangan and Ballitore, to the six weeks' meeting at Carlow, and thence westward, to Ballinurmy, and returned to the quarterly meeting at Edenderry, in concert with his companion, Thomas Melhuish. From thence they directed their course towards the province of Munster, by Tullamore, Birr and Kilconnormore, to Limerick, and from thence through Munster, finishing their visit to that province, at the province meeting at Waterford; thence through the county of Wexford, and so

into the county of Carlow, where Thomas Melhuish and he separated, at Castledermot, Thomas's draft being to Ulster, and my brother's concern more to the adjacent parts of Leinster.

After parting with Thomas Melhuish, he continued visiting friends in these parts, till the province meeting of Wicklow, after which, and spending some days in Dublin, he went from thence to the province meeting for Ulster, at Ballinderry, and returned pretty directly back to Dublin, without appointing any meeting in that province, and continued visiting meetings in different parts of Leinster province, chiefly till the ensuing quarterly meeting, which was held at Enniscorthy, and from thence proceeded directly to Waterford, to take shipping for Bristol.

This visit took him up near four months, for he embarked for Bristol on or about the 24th of eighth month, the greatest part of which time seems to have been employed in Leinster province, having visited most parts thereof at least twice over.

Having, as aforementioned, resigned his school at Bristol, in order to be at liberty to discharge what was pointed out to him as a duty; and his service being now finished, he was out of employment for the support of himself and family. The prospect of this in giving up to this service, must, I imagine, have been a pretty close trial of faith; as he could not, at the time of his resignation, have any apprehension of the way which afterwards opened for their employment and subsistence; but knowing he was faithful who had called him into the service, he was strengthened to go forth in faith, and a humble dependence on him, whom he served for support, inwardly and outwardly; and in due time a way opened for him to his satisfaction. By my removal from Dublin, where I had resided upwards of twenty-three years, to Lisburn, which happened during his travels in this nation, the school there became vacant. Whereupon friends of Dublin made him proposals to undertake the care thereof; to which he agreed, and soon after his return to Bristol, removed with his family to settle in that city.

The necessary attendance upon his school, confined him pretty much to the place of his residence, and parts adjacent, for the space of two or three years; till about the summer of 1777, when his family being grown up, and mostly in a way to provide for themselves; and his youngest son having gotten an agreeable place of apprenticeship, he found his way open finally to relinquish the confining and exercising occupation of his school, in order to be more at liberty in

the evening of his day, to accomplish the remaining part of his day's work, against the termination thereof; and from this time to his removal out of this life, he was much engaged to travel and labour amongst friends, in the different quarters of this nation, for the promotion of truth and righteousness.

As he had not visited Ulster province in his late visit to this nation, the discharging of that debt was the principal service pointed out to him, in the following manner, as he himself expresses it in the introduction to his account of said visit.

“Seventh month 1st, 1777.—A good friend from England lately told us, in a meeting, that our old copy books were sullied, and too full of blots; that we should get new books to keep our accounts in, and keep them fair and clean; and I wished with the Lord's assistance to do so, viz: to have my heart and life made and kept clean.

“I felt a longing desire to undergo afresh the ‘washing of regeneration,’ in order to be favoured with ‘the renewing of the Holy Ghost.’ I thought he who said to the blind man, ‘Go wash in the pool of Siloam,’ said unto me, Go to the northern parts of Ireland, to visit what is left there of the professors of truth; and therewith infused the new covenant, or solemn engagement on my part, to give up thereto. O, poor cold north; almost totally dead as to the divine life! In visiting thy sons and daughters, I foresee great anxieties, inward conflicts, and trying baptisms; may I duly mind that part of Christ's counsel to his followers; ‘In your patience possess ye your souls;’ and indeed his whole counsel conveyed through his holy Spirit; as I have the greatest need closely to attend to it in all things, and practise faithful obedience thereto.

“May I daily watch and pray, and labour, both to open a new book of accounts, respecting the Lord's holy covenant and my walking humbly therein, and also endeavour to keep it carefully without blot or blemish, both within in his sight, and without toward mankind; in a daily exercise, ‘to keep always a conscience void of offence, towards God and towards men.’ May I watch and strive against corrupt self, and keep a diary or daily account thereof, morning and evening, remembering, ‘that to live after the flesh is to die, but through the spirit to mortify the deeds of the body is to live.’ Oh, that in me all self were slain, that Christ might live and ever reign in my soul, who visited, invited, attracted it, about the 22nd year of my age; and has, through his grace, preserved me through many revolutions, and often opened a way

for me to steer along, when no way, or next to none, appeared, till now I am come to the sixty-fifth year of my life."

"17th.—After I awoke this morning, this text sprang in my mind; 'Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works;' with a strong desire that whatever it cost me, whatever labour, self-denial, or seeming hardship, I may obtain the great end, for which I have a being; the 'one thing needful,' which Mary made her choice, and thereby pleased her Lord, viz: that of being more thoroughly redeemed from every corruption of nature, or neglect of duty to God. May I be more purified in heart and life; more inflamed with a holy zeal for his honour, 'laying aside every weight and burden, and the sin which doth so easily beset, and run with patience the race that is set before me, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.' I am likely soon to set forward as a poor pilgrim, to the coldest and remotest parts of the north of this nation, which are rarely visited by any friends in the ministry, they meet with so much discouragement that way; but I must go and labour amongst them, according to the ability given, for the working out my salvation, with fear and trembling.

"18th.—To-day we had a silent, but to me and some others, I hope an edifying meeting, under the divine and spiritual ministry of the great Minister of life and salvation, who therein set before me two services, the one to procure some subscriptions for the relief of a poor family, which after meeting I set about and succeeded in. The other was my journey to the north, with a lively and fresh encouragement thereto, under the consideration of the uncertainty of our time here, and that if my duty to God required me to be doing one thing in one place, and death should arrest me doing something else in another place, how miserable would my state be. The covenant of my youth was now brought to my remembrance, with a lively and affecting impression, in the language adopted by the prophet Jeremiah, speaking in the name of the Lord; 'I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth; the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown. Israel was holiness to the Lord, and the first fruits of his increase.' When I first gave up to the heavenly visitation, how was my heart melted into holy admiration of the love of God, and of his condescension to my low estate; pure

goodness was then all my desire and delight. In the intervals of labour I loved to retire from the world, to him my best friend, who was with me in my labour, instructing and helping me in it, and making hard things easy, so that 'I walked by faith, and not by sight,' my mind being in heaven, often overflowing with the effusion of his grace and goodness. Under this enlivening recollection, an ardent desire was rekindled in my heart, to renew my covenant, to return to my first love; and do my first works, in an unreserved resignation, to do the will of God. My heart was influenced with a wish, that our young people in general, might be induced to love religious retirement, in order to become acquainted with the Wonderful Counsellor, who is more readily met with therein, than in the crowds, commotions and tumults of the world, and in their own experience prove, that 'It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth, he sitteth alone and keepeth silence—he putteth his mouth in the dust, if so be there may be hope.' May our conversation be in heaven, and our language and whole demeanour make it manifest that we have been with Jesus.

"Eighth month 4th.—I returned from visiting the families of Timahoe meeting, in company with Joseph Williams, wherein a divine visitation seemed to be renewedly extended to them; it is much to be desired, that they may duly embrace it, to come up in their duty, and to persevere in well doing, to the end of their days.

"Such visits among our friends, under divine influence, are of service, and worthy of being often performed, as tending to renew the bonds of friendship, in the truth; to provoke to love and good works, and as they are engaged steadily to wait upon the Lord, frequently prove seasons of renewing of strength to the visitors, as well as visited."

Two days after, viz: the 6th of eighth month, he set forward on his visit to friends of Ulster province, taking his way by the quarterly meeting for Leinster province, held at Moate; and after the conclusion thereof, proceeded to Oldcastle, Coothill and Castleshane, in each of which three meetings he did not only labour amongst his friends in their public assemblies, but also visited them in their several families. From Castleshane he crossed over to Lurgan, and was on first-day at the meeting there, it being their men's and women's meeting. At that meeting I met him, and it was to some an edifying season. From Lurgan he went to Rathfriland, and visited the families belonging to that meeting.

From thence he came to Lisburn, and had a meeting there, and next day at Hillsborough. The three succeeding days were the quarterly meeting at Ballinderry, which he attended, and had acceptable service therein. The following week he took the meetings of Moyallen, Lurgan, Ballihagan, and Charlemount, in succession, visited some families, and was again at the meeting near Charlemount on first-day following, which he observes, was large, like a province meeting. He continued his course from thence, to Antrim quarter; and as the visiting of this quarter was in a particular manner impressed as a duty upon his mind, he visited the meetings thereof thoroughly, and all or most of the families of friends thereaway. On the first-day he was at Grange, of which he wrote to a friend; "We had a kind of general meeting at Grange yesterday, there being at it, friends from Toberhead, Ballinacree, Clough, Ballymena and Antrim, and I think it was a time of renewed visitation of divine favour to some. That we may dedicate the residue of our days to the service of the Lord and his people, is my sincere desire for us both, and many more."

He spent about a week among friends in this quarter. But, as I recollect, his visit both to said quarter in particular, and the province in general, was in some degree cut short, by the arrival of our friends, Thomas Corby, John Townsend, and Joseph Roe, from London, John Storer, from Nottingham, and James Backhouse, from the county of Durham, who came over in consequence of an appointment of the yearly meeting of London, to visit the meetings of discipline in this nation. Which visit they entered upon at the men's and women's meeting, for that purpose, appointed at Lisburn the 10th day of ninth month, this year, while my brother was engaged in the neighbouring part of Antrim quarter. This induced him to come over to that meeting, and the said friends being very desirous that he should be in Dublin at the time of their arrival there, in the course of their visit, he felt easy to accompany them to Antrim, and from thence to Lurgan; from whence they proceeded to Charlemount, to be at the men's and women's meeting there on first-day, and Ballihagan on second-day. My brother staying first-day morning meeting at Lurgan, had also an evening meeting at Lisburn, appointed at the fifth hour, and next day at Newtown. Fourth-day following, was with the English friends at the men's and women's meeting at Lurgan, and next day came with them to that of Lisburn, held at Ballinderry. The province meeting at Lurgan succeeded by appointment, on sixth, seventh and first-days, over which

he staid, and after that, and having a meeting at Rathfriland, in the market house, one more at Lurgan, and another at Moyallen, he returned to Dublin.

When he arrived at Dublin, he found Thomas Dobson, from near Carlisle, who had come over under a particular concern for that service, engaged in a visit to friends' families in that city; upon his arrival, he joined him in the service, and accompanied him to ninety families, he having visited forty-six before my brother's return.

And in about three months after, Matthew Johnson, from Cornwood, in Northumberland, coming to the aforesaid city, under the like concern, after discharging himself in the same service to the meetings of Lisburn and Ballinderry, my brother accompanied him also in his visit to the families of friends there. Thus he was diligently engaged most part of his latter days, in almost a continued series of laborious service in the church, either at home or abroad.

When we reflect upon the repeated visits of this kind, which divers other friends from distant parts, as well as those above mentioned, from the fresh and lively impressions of duty, have been engaged in, to friends in the different quarters of this nation; leaving, or submitting to be detained from every near connexion in life, to labour amongst us in the work of the gospel, not only in public, but from house to house; and often in the clear opening of our states, under the influence of truth, even as from man to man, it should affect every considerate mind with humbling sensations of thankfulness to our beneficent Creator, for his unbounded loving-kindness and mercy to us as a people, under the view, that although many of the professors of truth, one going to his farm, and another to his merchandize, have slighted repeated calls, and excused themselves from the necessary preparation for admittance to the marriage supper, he hath not yet given charge to his servants, to go to the lanes and highways, to call in others; but is still causing us to be striven with, in close and searching labour. May the serious consideration hereof so impress our minds, as to produce holy resolution to turn to him that smiteth us, and in reality, to seek the Lord of Hosts. Remembering the day of our visitation hath its assigned period, in the determination of his unsearchable wisdom, who hath declared, "my spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh."

On the 3rd day of ninth month, 1778, he set forward on a journey, to visit his friends in the province of Munster, making his way pretty directly through the county of Carlow

to Clonmel, where he commenced his visit to said province, being there on a first-day, at their two meetings. On second-day he writes, "Not suiting for any public meeting here-away, being the time of their assizes, we were at nineteen friends' houses, and had good opportunities in several of them." So proceeding, he had meetings in course, at the following places, viz: Cashel, Garryroan, Limerick; Cork on first-day, the two public meetings, and a third with divers friends in the evening, at Joseph Garratt's; on second-day he went to Bandon, accompanied by several friends, and back to Cork; was at their meeting on third-day, and after it at the men's meeting; on fourth-day to Youghal, to a meeting appointed at five o'clock that evening, staid their week-day meeting next day, and after it returned to Cork, to the quarterly meeting. From thence, by Garryroan and Clonmel, to Waterford, where his visit terminated. He fell in with the meetings of Forest, county of Wexford, Carlow and Rathangan, in his way from Waterford to the quarterly meeting for Leinster province, held at Edenderry, the 4th of tenth month, and from thence returned home.

He continued at and about home for near eleven months, for just at the same time of the succeeding year, viz: the 2nd of ninth month, 1779, he left home to go to the quarterly meeting at Edenderry, and thence by Moate and Ballinmurphy, he made his way into Ulster province again; being at Oldcastle on first-day, the 10th of ninth month. From thence to a meeting at Coothill, which was a large, crowded meeting, several of the town's people, I suppose, coming in. From Coothill, he came to Castleshane, thence to Moyallen, and attended the week-day meeting at Lurgan, which he says was a large and good meeting. The quarterly meeting at Lisburn succeeding, he attended it, and after that, was at meetings at Rathfriland, Moyallen, Ballihagan, and near Charlemount successively. At this last meeting he joined in the visit to the families of friends, and in company with some friends of that meeting, performed the said visit thoroughly, spending therein near two weeks, although closely engaged day by day. After this service, he visited the meetings of Antrim quarter, and the rest of the meetings of the province in course, finishing his service at the province meeting at Lurgan, the 29th and 30th of the tenth month.

The next service I find him engaged in, was a visit to the monthly meetings of Mountmelick and Edenderry; in his letter to me, dated, first month, 1780, he writes, "In the very cold weather which we have had, I visited all the particular meetings of Mount-

melick, and Edenderry monthly meetings, and though I could not but lament the state of many careless professors, yet I had good satisfaction in discharging my duty therein."

In the summer of the same year, he made another excursion through some parts of Leinster province, and as far as Waterford. And about the same season as the two past years, viz: on or about the 22nd of eighth month, 1780, he set out again on a visit to friends in the province of Munster. In his first day's journey his guide dropped his saddle-bags, whereby being deprived of necessary change of linen, &c., for the journey before him, I was told, it put him to a stand whether to proceed or return home; and also upon seriously considering the grounds he set out on, and the validity of his commission, and upon consulting the oracle in his own breast, it was intimated to him, that he must go forward, if his life went for it. The first meeting he had, was at Mountmelick, from whence he wrote; "We had a good meeting here to-day, which seemed as a fresh seal to my commission, and makes me strongly desire I may be preserved, to attend singly to my duty, and faithfully discharge it." From Mountmelick, he went by Roscrea, Birr, and Kilconnermore, to Limerick, to the province meeting for Munster, which, by the account he gave, was said to be the largest that was remembered in that place, many friends from Leinster attending it;—and further, "The kind Father and Author of all our mercies, favours my mind with the sweet sense of his divine love, and a desire to follow and serve him, who is a rich rewarder of all his faithful servants." Here, being requested by friends, to forward the family visit, he consented, following therein the pointings of duty. On the fourth-day after the province meeting, in conjunction with divers friends of that province, he entered upon this exercising service: his succeeding labours in this and the following service, may be best understood from extracts from his own letters, written to his wife, during his being engaged therein.

"Limerick, 1st of Ninth month, 1780.

"On fourth-day, we began the family visit here, and that day we had six solemn opportunities; visiting so many families, and yesterday we followed the business closely; having eight solemn meetings, some of which held long, so that it was near ten at night when the last of them broke up. We hope that two days more will be sufficient to finish the family visit here, so after first-day, expect to be thoroughly clear of this part of Munster, and on second-day to proceed with the friends who stay with me here, to Cork. To

look at the labour in a service of this kind, through such a very large, increasing, extensive meeting as that of Cork, would appear very weighty, and almost terrifying, were it not for the earnest, which the great and good Master hath already given us; who hath led us along, in the sweet enjoyment of his own pure love, and therein hath united our spirits, and hath opened a door of utterance, reaching the witness, and tendering the hearts of many."

"Cork, 13th of Ninth month.

"It is now somewhat hard for me to get a little time to write, we are so closely employed from early in the morning till late in the evening. We were on the service yesterday and to-day at a little past seven in the morning. We had nine family meetings on second-day; yesterday, one before meeting, five after, and to-day hath been a day of almost incessant labour, having had nine family meetings, and some of them pretty long, and some also much favoured with the sweet flow of the heavenly Father's love, tendering the hearts of divers. Under this divine favour, I have had a strong desire, on the behalf of our children, that the great Author of pure goodness, would incline their hearts more and more to their principal interest, and clothe their minds with the heavenly sense of his love, and with the humility becoming depending creatures, and enamour them with the beauty of truth, which will never wax old; that through its power, they might freely sacrifice to him, what he calls for; and not look after the temptations and vanities of the world; but have the eye single to things infinitely more important, that therein they may be blessed of the Lord, with his favour, which is better than all things else."

"Ninth month 16th, 1780.

"This hath been a day of favour to me and my friends employed in the family visit; a tender visitation from the Father of mercies, hath been extended to divers families; particularly one young man, and his wife who was not educated in our Society, but this day was reduced to tenderness, both she and her husband. I wish they may retain it, and come in at the right door to be useful and exemplary. We have followed the work with great diligence, from early in the morning till late in the evening, having in the course of this week, visited above fifty families, and two hundred and twenty persons."

In his next letter, and the last he wrote, he gives an account of a disorder, viz: the

dysentery, with which many had been seized, and that it had followed him very closely for several days. It seems that partly from reserve, but chiefly from a desire to accomplish the remaining part of the service before him, so as to get through it in time to return home against the ensuing half-year's meeting, he suffered this disorder to gather strength before he let it be known, to a degree of obstinacy beyond the power of medicine to remove; for although no care of attendance, or suitable applications, under the direction of skilful physicians were wanting, yet these proving ineffectual, he departed out of this transitory state of existence in much tranquillity of mind, at the house of his kind friend, Joseph Garratt, in Cork, on the 6th day of the tenth month, 1780, and was buried in friends' burying ground, in the suburbs of that city, the 9th of the same month, his funeral being largely attended by friends and many others, as I am informed by some friends from thence, one of whom writes; "We had a solemn opportunity, the wing of ancient goodness being over the assembly, in the performance of the last office due to the worthy deceased."

Thus it pleased the divine Being, in whose hands our lives are, to release him from further labour in the church militant, and remove him from works to rewards, leaving among his surviving friends a good savour; his removal being generally regretted, and his memory greatly and extensively respected by most or all that knew him. Being a man of meekness, humility and universal benevolence; kindly disposed and affectionate to his friends, and mankind in general, he in return possessed their affectionate regard and esteem in a general way.

In his spirit, he was preserved bright and living, through his concluding labours, and to the last period of his life, by the accounts I received from some of those who were sharers and witnesses thereof. My respected friend, Samuel Neale, in sympathy with our sorrow, for the loss of a near and justly beloved relation, obliged me with an affecting epistle of condolence, in which he expresseth; "It is needless to say he is a great loss, in a society capacity he was fervent and devoted; his lamp was replenished with oil, and it shined as bright as ever in my judgment—he finished his course as a faithful soldier; he finished it, making war in righteousness. I was with him at Limerick, at our province meeting, and accompanied him to the families there pretty generally; he was like an overflowing spring, and freely diffused what he was made partaker of, amongst his friends and brethren, and all who came in his way. After which he

came to our city, and the same strength, zeal, and authority attended him here in the public meeting, and more select opportunities I was at with him. He was at the labour early and late, until forced to submit to the increasing infirmity of body. I think he had finished all to five families, when the great Orderer of all things, gave him a release from further labour in his militant church. He was calm and composed in his mind, said he was resigned to the divine will, and was prepared for the event, relying on the mercy of God. He was certainly much favoured by a divine qualification, and as the evening approached, his sun went down bright, which is the crown of all."

And although he had his close trials, and discouraging prospects, in various seasons of his life, as we may gather from the preceding pages, yet being through all, enabled to stay his mind on the Lord, he was preserved in peaceful resignation, and safely brought through them; and was favoured to enjoy the evening of his day, as to secular engagements, in serenity and calm repose, in a state of liberty to devote himself more fully to the service of truth, and to fulfil his ministry to the edification of the churches in this nation. He lived to see his children well settled in marriage, to his full satisfaction, or in a way to support themselves reputably, if favoured with the divine blessing upon their labours, and preserved in the fear of the Lord, which he desired for them more than outward riches. Incited through the gracious visitation of divine goodness to him in his youth, in the first place, to seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness, he found the promise verified, that sufficiency of other things were added. And having been spared to his family, till his immediate assistance became less necessary for their support, and to the church till his day's work was, in a good degree, well accomplished; he came to his grave in full age, as a shock of corn cometh in his season, experiencing the work of righteousness to be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever. From hence those who may be tried with the like probations, as this is a world of vicissitude, may receive encouragement in the cloudy season, in faith and patience, to cast their care on that divine Being, who careth for his own, and will bring them safely through all difficulties and discouragements, provided their hearts are sincere toward him, and all things will work together for good to those that love God.

The end of these publications is not to extol the man, but to recommend righteousness to mankind, by pointing out the

beneficial and happy effects thereof, in real life; and as the desire of happiness, planted deep in our nature, is a universal affection of the human mind, although often sought in things that cannot give it, or at best, but the shadowy and deceptive appearance thereof, to incite them, in imitation of the just, to seek it where only it is to be found, in pure religion and virtue, walking in all the commandments of the Lord blameless. If we have regarded the deceased with affectionate esteem, and honoured them for their works' sake, let our regard for their memory prompt us to the imitation of their good examples. If we regret their loss, and the vacancy of their places, let us consider that a measure of the same divine Spirit, which wrought powerfully in them for their redemption, and enlivened them to every good word and work, is also given to us individually, for the effecting of the same happy experience in us, whereby, through faithful obedience on our parts, we may receive a qualification to fill up some of the vacant seats, be serviceable in our respective allotments, exemplary in our lives, and blessed in our end.

An Epistle to friends in all parts of Ireland.

Dearly beloved friends,

Under a concern for the welfare of our religious Society, yet left in Ireland, I think it my duty, "to stir up the pure mind by way of remembrance."

1. In the first place, I desire that none under our name may be raw and ignorant, at a loss, if asked what we profess, or what is our fundamental principle; but having the heartfelt experience thereof, "be ready always," as a good apostle advises, "to give an answer," or a "reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear."

We profess to be a people called out of the corrupt spirit and customs of the world, out of all evil words and works, to follow Christ, in a close and inward adherence to the secret discoveries which he gives us of our duty; that as his faithful servants, we may enjoy his favour, both while here, and eternally hereafter.

And our fundamental principle is this, that as God has created us to be for ever happy, he hath bestowed his light, grace, or holy Spirit, to fit and prepare us for it. Hereby he teacheth us what to deny, and how to live, to attain this great and glorious end.

If we adhere to this divine gift, we shall love him above all things, and other gifts and blessings, as we ought to do. Parents will love their children in the Lord; children will

be an honour to their parents, by a well-guarded and dutiful conduct. The young and the aged will be joined as brethren, in one good concern.

Thus would a holy harmony be seen and felt, as formerly; and we, in that peace, order and union, reverencing the Lord our God, should enjoy the sweet influences of his presence, and the joy of his salvation.

Why are we members of a separate society but to be more closely connected with the divine source of all purity and goodness, walking in the light of the Lord, that it might shine in our lives, as way-marks to neighbours and sober inquirers, that they, being won by our good conversation, may have cause to bless God on our behalf? Thus were many convinced of our principles, and drawn into our Society, even at the hazard or loss of all that was dear to them in the world.

2. I think it necessary to enter upon some points more particularly, and to add such exhortations thereupon, as my present concern may engage me to impart.

“Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord’s sake:” actively, when not contrary to the law of God; passively, when it is opposite thereto. This is conformable to the example of Christ and his apostles, as well as of good men, in former ages, and of all the worthy martyrs in later days.

The Jews complained of Christ for transgressing or breaking their laws; at last, when Pontius Pilate said repeatedly, “I find no fault in him,” they answered, “We have a law, and by our law he ought to die.”

From our fundamental principle, before mentioned, proceeded our well known principles, or testimony for Christ our Lord, in its various branches, which it is our incumbent duty to bear, and to show forth to the world; as in the following instances.

3. Our blessed Lord commands us, “not to swear at all.” It is our duty firmly to obey his command, whenever we are tried herein, and rather to suffer patiently what human laws may inflict, than to take an oath on any account whatsoever. Thus Daniel and the three worthy Hebrews, chose rather to sacrifice their bodies to the lions’ den, and to the fiery furnace, than to comply with the law of man, when it demanded a revolt from their duty to their supreme Sovereign.

4. The law of man sometimes requires wars and fightings, and actively to contribute thereto; but Christ commands us to love our enemies, and do to all men nothing but what is good. As his professed subjects, we cannot therefore, actively contribute to military affairs. Our Lord said to Pilate, ‘If my king-

dom were of this world, then would my servants fight.” Again, whatever injuries or ill usage we receive, we must follow his pattern, not rendering reviling for reviling, leaving vengeance to the Lord to whom it belongs. None amongst us must either fight, or do any violent action, tending to provoke thereto. We must trust in the Lord, and then he will discover the best means of helping and healing the evil in others, or animate us innocently to bear our testimony against it, where hearts are too hard to admit any offered help. In this case our Lord assures us, that great is our reward in heaven; for such usage the righteous who were before us have met with.

5. Our dear Lord commands his own ministers freely to give, as from him they freely receive; and he changeth not: a hireling, man-made ministry therefore, is none of his; nor can we join in supporting it as such. Though the law of man hath established it, we ought to do as the apostles did; “And to obey God rather than man.” The gospel of Christ is free, not subject to worldly traffic. It can neither be bought nor sold. It is the power of God to salvation. It brings the soul, which receives and submits to it, into union with the Father of lights, by leavening it into his divine nature. That which selfish priests purchase and demand money for, is therefore not the gospel; and their pretending it to be so, is an artful imposition.

This, with many other things of like kind, our ancestors discovered in the true light, and therefore, like holy Daniel and his brethren, passively submitted to the laws which required the support of this imposition, and to the rigorous execution of those laws. By their courage and constancy herein, they made the way smooth and easy to us, our sufferings being light in comparison of theirs. It was nothing but the love of God that animated them cheerfully to suffer great spoiling of goods, with long and hard imprisonments; separated from all that was near and dear to them in the world. It was in support of their testimony to the universality of God’s love to mankind, who invites them that are athirst, and them that have no money, to come and buy wine and milk, without money and without price.

May their descendants and successors, from generation to generation, come up after them in the same noble cause. So would they minister joy to such as have no other interest in view, but the spiritual health and vigor of the body, and of every member therein. Some indeed, of late years, have degenerated from that fidelity to God, which those worthies ever firmly manifested. These throw down what

their forefathers laboured to build up, and dissolve that spiritual bond, which should unite us in faith and love. I earnestly desire they would draw near in spirit to Christ, and to his militant church, to be a help to faithful friends. When any of you are tried with future demands on such accounts, I cannot but wish for you, as I look back to the worthies gone, that like them ye may stand fast, in the freedom of the gospel, without flinching, or any way evading our testimony for it. I fully believe that your fidelity in such trials, would be the means of giving you new life and strength for the zealous and upright discharge of other Christian duties, and of making you both useful and honourable members, not only of civil, but also of religious society.

As to that formal worship, which is begun and carried on in the will of man, our faithful predecessors could have no unity with it, nor actively contribute to the support of the places or materials appropriated to such worship.

6. On the other hand, they most conscientiously paid an active obedience to the laws which enjoin the payment of customs, duties, and excise, to the king and government; and were zealous, both by example and precept, to induce all to be careful and punctual therein, and not on any account to deal in goods suspected to be clandestinely imported, nor even to buy any of them for their own private consumption. So should we still keep ourselves entirely clear from this and every other sort of unrighteous gains or savings.

7. The law of the land sets apart one day in seven, for religious retirement, and the worship of God. This our forefathers approved of, and religiously observed; though at the same time, they testified that the Jewish sabbath is ended, by the coming of Christ; and that there is no inherent holiness in any one day more than another. I have long had an earnest desire that all our friends would duly observe and apply that day to its proper purpose, to begin each week aright, and so to hold on to the end of it; to avoid as much as possible, travelling about worldly affairs on that day, and be constant, while in health, in attending meetings for worship. Deny yourselves the liberty of walking abroad, at such time, or in such manner, as will not be of good example to the idle multitude, who give a loose rein to licentious inclinations, on that day. Rather choose to have your families collected for reading the holy Scriptures, or what may make good impressions on their minds, that when it shall be said, "Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer steward," we then may be ready to give our accounts with joy,

and receive the answer of, "Well done, good and faithful servant. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

8. For want of this care, what harms abound! I am loath to mention them, but hope you will bear with me when you duly consider that nothing but well wishing love, induces me to lay them before you, in order that all might join in contributing a timely remedy thereto, with the means of doing it, which the Lord furnishes us with.

It is apparent, that from hence the love of God in many waxeth cold. How they make light of religious duties! What a slender attendance of week-day meetings for the worship of God, as well as of those which are held for a united care of the good of the body; so that it may now be said of many, as in sorrowful days formerly, "The ways of Zion mourn, because none come to her solemn feasts." Again, what restlessness in meetings, what outward indications of spiritual indolence, of absent and wandering minds, of neglect of the awful duty of worship, due from us to our great Creator; what gazing about, or falling asleep. O, it is grievous, and tends to give strangers a dishonourable idea concerning us, while we profess the pure spiritual worship of God, according to his own institution; and while our dear Saviour hath assured us, that where two or three are gathered together in his name, he is in the midst of them. Again, from hence, what violations of our Christian testimony in its sundry branches; what weakness and inconsistency in conduct with that divine principle, which we profess! How do many trample upon the precious labours and sufferings of men, whose memories are and ever will be blessed, as they were valiant for the truth, revealed to them by Christ their dearest Lord? And shall we not be brought to account for these things? Will not our account be heavier in the reckoning day, than that of others, who have not been favoured in so high a degree, nor so much striven with, by the spirit of the Lord, who declared to the old world, before its final ruin, "My spirit shall not always strive with man."

9. Again, how many in these perilous days run back, and draw others with them, into the vanities of the times, into a conformity with the world, both in dress and address, into the company of such as indulge the same dispositions, till the plain, honest manners of sincere and affectionate friends, are falling into disuse, being such as some are ashamed of. Thus were many ashamed of Christ, and offended in him, for his plain and humble appearance, when in the body; but he declared that he also would be ashamed

of them, or would deny them, before his Father and his holy angels.

From these pernicious liberties, have proceeded mixed marriages, running out to the priests, confusion in families, affliction and anguish of parents, in the bad returns made to them by disobedient children, painful wounds to our Christian Society. Many, by these traps and snares of the common enemy, have been carried away into the wide world; and quite lost as to the dedication of their hearts and lives, to the love and fear of God; and but few have stood in the gap, to prevent their thus running out; few have joined in repairing the breaches, made by backsliders, in that wall of defence which the Lord, by his power and Spirit, had erected about us.

In this general decline of the Society, there seems to be great cause to fear the further spreading of these harms, unless the Lord in mercy, turn the hearts of many timely to himself, which we ardently pray for, knowing that, except the Lord build the house, men labour but in vain; yet we must do our duty; otherwise we shall not be clear in his sight; and he ordereth now, as he did formerly, line upon line, and precept upon precept, in order that all may be timely warned, whether they will hear or forbear.

I believe there are none joined in profession with us, who deviate from our principle of self-denial, and plainness in habit and speech, who have not been secretly showed that it is wrong, that it is a compliance with the spirit of the world, a refusal of the cross of Christ, a denial of him before men. But they listen to that voice which beguiled Eve, which tells them that there is no harm in such deviations, or that they are small matters; though it is manifest that such small matters have opened the door gradually wider and wider, to the gross declension which has overspread. Though many are deceived and darkened by the enemy, to deem them small matters, yet they have great consequences, as they tend to debar us of future happiness, and to centre us in justly deserved punishments, for disobeying and disregarding Christ, who leads into humility and plainness, and preferring that enemy who seduces into pride and worldly conformity.

I often look with pity, on the victims to the vanities of the world, who sell their birthright for a mess of pottage; often desiring that they may quit the pursuit of shadows, wisely to seek, and happily possess the most inestimable and enduring substance. Hereby they would give solid joy to their well wishing friends, and gain an ample share thereof in themselves; a joy not like the pleasures of sin, which are but for a season, and are followed with a certain and severe sting; a joy

which will go beyond the grave, to receive an infinite increase, and an endless duration.

10. In regard to such as have not yet much departed from that plainness, at least in dress, in which they were educated; some probably may not be under any strong temptation, to run into the foolish fashions of a corrupt age. Yet the enemy seeks to catch them in some other snares; and perhaps some of these may be as ignorant, and as void of experience of the divine principle we profess, as some of the more fashionable. Outward plainness, without inward humility, mercy, justice and charity, is of very little worth. Except we follow after these virtues, obvious faults in temper and conduct will appear, to discover our emptiness, and to serve some for an argument against plainness, or for a subject of ridicule; and do more harm to the cause of truth, than greater errors in the conduct of open and professed libertines.

How grievously disappointing are they who carry a right appearance, yet when tried are found to be insipid and dead, as to the life of righteousness. Wherefore, let none value themselves on a plain outside, as if that of itself were sufficient. It is as far from it as the state of those formerly complained of, who drew nigh to the Lord with their mouths, and with their lips honoured him, but their hearts were far from him.

Be not deceived; God is not mocked by fair appearances, or empty pretences; but such as every man sows, he must reap. If under the best appearance, or strictest form, we sow to the flesh, we shall only reap corruption, and the miserable fruits of hypocrisy, professing one thing and practising another; when they who have sowed to the spirit, shall reap the happy fruits of their fidelity to God.

If we look over our Society in this nation, and take a view, both of those who are plain in dress, and those who are otherwise, how many of both sorts have their minds fast rooted in this present world, devoting all their talents to it, rejecting the counsel of Christ, who directs us "to seek first the kingdom of God," or to live and act under his government. Hence in some places, what poor, lifeless meetings! How little of the sacred fire of divine love burning! How little of the light of the glory of God shining! No living minister left amongst them, and scarce one living member of the body of Christ, to feel for the others, and take some tender care of them for their good; their lamps gone out, and scarcely any oil retained in a single vessel; a week-day meeting hardly kept up, and the one meeting on the first-day badly attended. Thus have some meetings died away, and are

lost; and others appear to be in a languid, sickly condition, seeming scarce likely to live long, except they timely apply to the great and good Physician, who is both able and willing to restore life, health, soundness and vigor, to raise up and qualify "Judges, as at the first, and counsellors, as at the beginning." But formerly, when in the body, in some places he did none of his mighty works, by reason of their unbelief; so now, when his ministers visit such places, they find the gospel has not a free course; they can at best but feebly labour in such hard spots. The word preached doth not profit, by reason of not meeting with faith in them that hear.

Great is the mystery of iniquity, in which the subtle serpent works in many, to their hurt or ruin, unawares to them, for want of their paying due regard and attention, to that grace of God, which would discover the hidden snare, and preserve from it. Hence a wrong spirit usurps the government due to God, and gradually hardens the heart, till the salvation of the immortal soul becomes a matter of very little concern—the first and great commandment of loving God with the whole heart, being much violated. Such are in a most dangerous state, except they turn in haste, "to flee from the wrath that is to come." I often earnestly desire, that ye who are of this kind, would do it, lest ye be left to your own courses in that broad way, which leads to destruction, and "the things which belong to your peace, be hid from your eyes."

11. "The Lord hath showed unto thee, O man, what is good." But many have suffered the good impressions they have been favoured with, to be like the morning dew, which soon passeth away. They rush into irreligious company and self-indulging liberties, which, like the fowls of the air, carry off all the good seed of the kingdom, which infinite Goodness had sowed in their minds.

What need have we then, to prize and pursue Christ's counsel, "to watch and pray," not to enter into these temptations; to abstain from all appearance of evil, to avoid such company as deadly poison, as there can be no fellowship between light and darkness, or between Christ and Belial; and we naturally become like those whom we love, and with whom we associate.

Never go to places of public diversion, such as play houses, horse races, cock fightings, or to ale houses, those haunts of the licentious, who fear not God. Be watchful, and clear from intemperance. Live as men accountable to God, your hearts and your conversation being in heaven, and your moderation appearing in all things.

All would be glad to escape everlasting

misery, the habitation of rebels to the laws and government of our great Creator. All would be glad to be admitted into everlasting happiness, the portion of such as obey those laws and that government. Why then will any amongst us, be the enemy's instruments in promoting apostacy from the very life of true religion and godliness? Oh, rather choose to escape misery and ensure happiness. Break off all connections which are obstacles to it. It is Christ's command, "If thy right hand offend, cut it off." Lay aside every weight, and the sin which most easily besets. Be obedient to him, and thou wilt be happy, separated from the miserable regions of obstinate and obdurate sinners.

12. Let us call to mind, and not hastily forget it, that Christ has given himself for us, "to redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." Yet, notwithstanding all this, it is evident that too many among us are induced, and induce one another, to slight the kindest offers of their best friend. They give ear to the voice of the stranger, and swayed by his persuasions, put off their embracing a Saviour's offer. Far from being zealous of doing all that is well pleasing to God, they counteract that profession, to which he, by his holy Spirit, hath called us. To propose to obey the Almighty at some future day, and in that presumptuous hope, to stifle divine conviction, is a most fatal artifice of the grand adversary, whereby he insensibly darkens the mind, and hardens the heart, to render us his vassals, and to secure us to himself as such. As delays herein are infinitely dangerous—as we cannot repent when we will, for repentance is God's gift—begin then, while it is the day of God's visitation; for when the night overtakes, none can work out their soul's salvation.

13. Wherefore, cleave close in heart to the divine gift, the mystery hid from ages, but now revealed, even Christ in you, the hope of glory, that your souls may be enamoured with that beauty which will never fade. Lay hold of all the helps and means by him provided. Be kind to all, but familiar with few, and those few such as fear the Lord. This fear preserved Joseph in the time of trial; but for want of it Absalom overset all his personal advantages. Seek to be closely linked with good friends; for "two are better than one," "and a three-fold cord is not easily broken." Great are the benefits and solid satisfactions found in truly religious society. Formerly when the proud were counted happy, they who feared the Lord, spake often one to another, and the Lord declared his approbation of the pious ardour with which

they mutually animated each other. As on one hand, "the friendship of the world is enmity with God;" so on the other, Israel, the Lord's people, were to dwell alone, and not to be numbered with the nations. Their safety and true peace depending hereupon, they were enjoined not to contract any alliance or intimacy with them, to prevent the decay of that fervent love to the Lord their God, which he inspired them with, while they abode in his covenant, and duly observed his laws, his statutes and ordinances; and to prevent their children from contracting the manners of those nations, and running into their fashions and customs. While they kept together in an united care and veneration of the Lord, they prospered both outwardly and inwardly; nothing could harm them, no effort of the common enemy could prevail against them. May we thus keep together, strengthening one another in the love of God, and in faithfulness to him, and then we may be sure that our case will be the very same.

14. There are many, we believe, orderly and reputable in their lives, who need to be more baptized into the ardent love of God, and dedication of heart to his cause, that they may not be like slothful servants, at ease in Zion, and indulging themselves, instead of serving the Lord. The harvest is great, and needs more labourers to fill up the vacant places of many removed from works to rewards. What want of ministers, elders, of such whom the Holy Ghost hath made overseers, taking heed to themselves and to the flock, of helpers of one another in animating visits, both to families and individuals, in the lively flow of that love which the Lord giveth to them who devote their hearts to his service.

A few yet are mercifully preserved, who, for Zion's sake, cannot be at ease, but through all discouragements hold on their way, knowing they serve a good master, and resolving through his grace, never to desert his service, but to keep their places under his direction, and to hold fast the blessed truth in the love of it, to the end of their lives. May he grant an increase of their number and strength; I desire above all things for myself, that to the end of my days, I may be one of their number. O my soul, come thou into their secret adoration of God; with their assembly herein, mayest thou ever be united; for indeed the Lord is good to them that seek and diligently serve him, nourishing that life which is hid with Christ, a life which will never die; well rewarding them for all their labours, and for the sacrifices which they offer to him on the altar of obedience, giving them an hundred-fold.

15. When our Lord told his disciples that

one of them should betray him, the rest heard it with concern, and inquired, "Is it I?" Many have contributed to the great declension, and each of us should inquire, Is it I? Many have need to be created anew in Christ Jesus, unto good works; but they must first put off the old man, with his deeds, in deep humiliation before the Lord; which to them who patiently abide under his righteous judgments for sin, draws down the gift of repentance unto salvation, never to be repented of; and that new birth, without which we can have no place in his kingdom. We must give up all our idols, else we are undone. Our own wills must be subjected to the will of God. All our own wisdom must be laid at his feet. We must deny ourselves, take up our cross daily and follow him. There are no other terms on which life everlasting is to be had. Our Lord informs us, that they who expect to gain it by climbing up any other way, will be treated as thieves and robbers. Oh then, my dear friends, in every part of Ireland, I earnestly desire that you may buy the truth, whatever it cost you, and sell it not. Look upon all things beside but as dross or dung in comparison of it. Let us hold fast the one thing needful, whatever else leaves us, or be taken from us. So shall we have lived not in vain, obtaining the great end for which we had a being given us.

16. O ye parents who have many children, and not much of the world for them, do not be over anxious on that account, or make it an excuse for non-attendance of religious duties. Consider that it may be wisely so ordered, as the means of their preservation; and if they follow Christ, it may prove of great advantage to them beyond what ye and they are aware of. A little satisfies a humble mind, as we brought nothing into the world, and can carry nothing out. They who obtain the favour of God will neither want any thing needful, nor covet any thing superfluous, but having food and raiment, will therewith be content. Wherefore be anxious for them only on this account, that they may lay hold on eternal life, and keep their hold of that; then they will be truly happy, but not without it, if they had ever so much in the world. They are indeed justly to be esteemed, who, having more, are thereby the more humbled, and more abounding in useful services and good works.

And O ye young people, often consider that ye are born into the world to be happy for ever, on the terms laid down by Christ, as above mentioned. With all your gettings, get the favour of the Most High, who invites you to it: before honour, even true honour with God, is humility; but pride goes before

destruction. Ye need not envy any one, however great in the world, if ye have the Lord on your side. United with your dear parents in walking humbly with him, ye will have an enlarged view of your happy portion. Your fervent gratitude, obedience, vigilance and firmness, will be crowned with the endearing pledges and encouraging foretastes of endless bliss. So will ye be well satisfied with your lots in every condition, and find that godliness coupled with divine contentment is the greatest and infinitely the most valuable gain, being fitted by your blessed Redeemer for life, death, judgment, and for that eternal joy, which is unspeakable and full of glory.

So will ye be alive to God, and of that number whom he pronounces blessed, who hunger and thirst after righteousness. So will ye carefully watch against every thing that is wrong, both in yourselves and others, and endeavour to stop it in its first beginning; ye will love that which is good, and employ all your talents, with divine help, to promote it both by example and brotherly counsel.

Then would meetings both for worship and discipline be well attended; for coming to them under the preparation of heart which is

of the Lord, we should by him be overshadowed with his power and love; the Sun of righteousness would overspread us, who illuminates the spiritual mind to discern its duties, and animates to discharge them, therein to share the good things which God has in store for them that love him. We should hereby be edified and built up together in the most holy faith, and concerned to live in reverent love and subjection to him out of meetings, faithfully maintaining our testimony for Christ, our holy head, in all its branches.

So should we be again, as formerly, a people of one heart and mind, baptized by one spirit into one body. All the darkness of ignorance and inexperience, all the coldness of the worldly or carnal mind would be removed; and Zion's light would yet again go forth with brightness, and the salvation of God be felt amongst us as a lamp that burneth.

With strong desires on the behalf of all who, in this nation, join in the profession of the blessed truth, that they may thus experience the possession of it, and be partakers of its saving efficacy and lasting peace, I remain your affectionate and well-wishing friend,

JAMES GOUGH.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABOURS

OF

WILLIAM RECKITT,

LATE OF LINCOLNSHIRE, IN GREAT BRITAIN.

A Testimony from our monthly meeting at Wainsfleet, in the county of Lincoln, concerning our deceased friend, WILLIAM RECKITT.

This our worthy friend, was born in the year 1706, within the compass of Gainsborough monthly meeting, of parents professing truth, who died when he was young. His friends put him apprentice to a weaver belonging to the same monthly meeting, with whom we believe he served his time faithfully, and then came to live near Partney Mills, within the compass of our monthly meeting.

After some time, about the year 1742, it pleased the Lord to call him into the work of the ministry; his appearance from the first was in the life and wisdom of truth, which nearly united him to his friends. Soon after he removed to Wainsfleet particular meeting; and sometime after he visited friends in the west of England and Wales, &c., and at different times many other different counties; also Ireland once, with our friend Samuel Stott. He was twice in America; the first time he set forward in the year 1756, and it being in the time of war, was taken prisoner

into France, and confined about six months, which he bore with Christian fortitude—as some of us have heard him say—and got well home to his family in the beginning of the year 1757, where he staid about four weeks, and then again set forward for his intended visit. He afterwards found a weighty concern to visit his friends in some parts of America again; all which visits, by sundry accounts received, were much to friends satisfaction, as well as his own; and indeed it may be truly said, he was deep in the ministry, and powerful in prayer, his testimony sound and edifying, which rendered him very near and valuable to many. He was grave in conversation, yet innocently cheerful amongst his friends; an affectionate husband and a tender parent. We think it needless to enlarge concerning him, as he was well known to many friends; only we may, with sincerity of heart, say his removal is much regretted in general. In the latter end of 1768, he had drawings in his mind to visit London and parts adjacent; in which he told some of his near friends, he thought it might be the last time.

He returned home in the first month in the year 1769, but poorly in health, and continued so, but mostly attended his own meeting, where he had several weighty testimonies, which had more than usual influence over the hearers, leaving lasting impressions on their minds, as well as at times in private conversation, wherein he signified he was willing to leave all these transitory and fading enjoyments, whenever it might please the Lord to call him from works to rewards.

His illness was very short; he was taken with a fit of the ague the day before his departure, and next morning about four o'clock, exchanged this life, we make no doubt, for a better, the 6th of the fourth month, 1769, and was buried the 9th of same, in friends' burying ground at Wainsfleet, after a solemn meeting, where a living testimony was borne to the truth, and to the satisfaction of many present.

Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting, held the 16th of the third month, 1770, by

John Robbins,	George Kitching,
John Copeland,	Pearson Smith,
Thomas Reckitt,	John Pearson,
David Hopkins,	Joseph Burton,
Jonathan Nainby,	John Wright, Jr.

The foregoing testimony concerning our dear friend William Reckitt, deceased, was read and approved in our quarterly meeting held at Lincoln, the 4th of the fourth

month, 1770, and signed in and on behalf thereof, by

JOHN MASSEY, *jun. Clerk.*

INTRODUCTION.

Our late worthy friend William Reckitt, whose journal follows, was one whom the Lord was pleased to prepare for his service; and having in a good degree experienced the work of righteousness to be peace, he was engaged, under the influence of divine love, to call others to come, taste and see that the Lord is good.

His life and conversation were innocent and consistent with his profession, and in the exercise of his ministry, he was attended with that love which seeks the good of all.

As the following journal commences only with his voyage to America, a short account of him, of the work on his mind, and of his services before he embarked for America, seems not improper.

He was born at Lea, near Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, about the year 1706, of parents professing truth; his mother died when he was young, and his father being through infirmities rendered incapable of supporting his children, he was bound by friends, at nine years of age until he arrived at twenty-one, as an apprentice to a weaver; which proved a laborious servitude, his master being in low circumstances. In the course of his service his master let him out to harvest work, in which employment his industry gained him the confidence of the farmer that employed him, who thought it unnecessary to look after him, saying William was a faithful servant; as he was to his master to the end of his apprenticeship. During which time he was reached by a divine visitation, through the ministry of a friend on a religious visit, whose testimony, as he has been heard to relate, clearly answered the witness of truth in his own heart, and fully confirmed him that the principles of friends were consonant with the holy Scriptures; and he then thought there would be none so void of understanding as not to be convinced by the same powerful declaration of the true Christian faith. It left a lasting impression on his mind; an hunger and thirst after righteousness were begotten in his soul; and by a diligent attention to the dictates thereof, he experienced preservation from the many temptations, to which unguarded youth are exposed. About the eighteenth year of his age, the death of an only sister, a virtuous young woman, who had been particularly kind to him, nearly affected him; and an only brother, by giving

way to the vanities of the world, was drawn aside, and left the Society. These events impressed his mind with deep sorrow and humiliation; but feeling the preserving hand of divine goodness manifested for his support, he was engaged to live near thereto, by which he was mercifully preserved.

Soon after the expiration of his apprenticeship, he removed into the compass of Wainsfleet monthly meeting in Lincolnshire, where he followed the business of a weaver, and increased in the esteem of his friends; being a man who laboured to be in reality what he professed. In the year 1731, he entered into the marriage state with Ellen Maw, a sober and virtuous young woman, who was an affectionate wife to him, and tender mother to their children; he survived her, she dying during his absence on his second visit to America.

About the thirty-sixth year of his age, he first appeared in the ministry to the satisfaction of friends, and laboured diligently in his own and some neighbouring meetings for the advancement of truth; and after some time, in company with Robert Kinsley, he visited the churches in Essex; and about the latter end of 1745, in company with the same friend, also visited the city of London; and his service in this visit is still remembered by some with brotherly regard and affection.

In 1746 he visited the west of England, and part of Wales; and in 1752, in company with Samuel Stott, of Edmondsbury, he visited Ireland, to his own and friends' comfort and satisfaction, and returned home with peace of mind. In 1756 he visited Yorkshire; soon after which, in the course of his religious labours, he found himself engaged to visit the churches in the American plantations, the ensuing account whereof will best inform the reader of his progress therein.

It is not intended to magnify the creature by any thing which may be said concerning this our deceased friend; but to show the reader that such as believe in, and live near to the divine principle of truth in their own hearts, convey an evidence of it to the minds

of those who behold them; for he being taken in his passage by a privateer, England being then at war with France, and carried into Morlaix, was there detained in a painful state of captivity, yet was preserved in great quietness and resignation, to the admiration of some of the French inhabitants; one of whom, in a letter to a person residing in London, mentioned his inoffensive, lamb-like behaviour in terms of great respect, and when he was removed to Carhaix, recommended him to a person of account, a member of the parliament of Brittany, who likewise testified his regard to him. The kindness he received from these persons moderated his captivity, though he had many exercises there, which often brought him very low; yet he found support and preservation, as he acknowledged in his letters, in one of which, after having noted how he had been helped, and expressing his care for his future preservation, he says; "My fears have all been concerning myself, for surely I never saw more of my own weakness; it hath indeed been a searching time to me; and yet it springs in my heart to say, if the Lord hath any delight in me, he will bring me safe through all. He knows the integrity of my heart. I did not set out in a forward spirit, but in his counsel, and in it at this time I stand; he knows best what will be most for his own honour. And as to what will become of this earthly tabernacle, it seems to be the least of my care, so that I may finish my course with joy."

After being detained about five months, he was released through the kindness of a person in England, who, having received very favourable impressions of him through the French merchant before mentioned, recommended him to the secretary of the sick and wounded office, they having the care of such as were prisoners, and after a short stay at home, finding the engagement remain, he returned to London, attended the yearly meeting, and with the concurrence of friends, proceeded on his voyage, of which the following is his own relation.

LIFE OF WILLIAM RECKITT.

Some account of what befel me in my first voyage towards America.

HAVING parted with several friends who accompanied me to Gravesend, the 15th of the tenth month, 1756, I went on board the ship *Lydia*, Joseph Riddell master. We had three passengers besides myself, who seemed

to be very sober men, and carried themselves very lovingly to me, as likewise did all our common men; though I often reproved them for swearing, and their bad language to one another. The 20th we came into the Downs, but the wind not being fair, we lay there till the 22nd, when the wind coming more favourable we weighed anchor.

It may not be amiss to mention the great exercise and weight that rested upon my spirit while we lay here, I then not seeing the cause of it. When I looked forward, I could see little further than the Land's End, and I cried in my mind that we might be carried or driven to Ireland; for then I thought I should get safe to my journey's end; but not seeing it would be so then, I only desired we might put into Plymouth, which I mentioned to the captain, and he told me he thought he would. But the wind coming fair, and a strong gale, he was willing to make the best of it. We out-sailed two ships which came from the Downs with us, one a privateer called the *St. Olive*, from London; the other a *Guineaman*. The 24th, about ten in the morning, we came abreast of Plymouth with a very fine wind. In the evening, as I sat in the cabin, something opened in my mind concerning my own preservation, which I thought somewhat strange; but soon saw a cause for it. For about eight o'clock next morning, the mate came down and told his master there was a French snow just astern of us, which to our sorrow, was too true, for she was then within reach of us with her guns. I thought it was a great neglect of our master and the sailors, that they did not keep a strict look-out; for they acknowledged if they had but had a few hours more, they should not have been taken. But then it was too late, they could not get their sails all properly bent, as they would have done if due precaution had been taken. The shot coming over us, I was afraid for our men.

During the little time we were chased, the chief care our captain seemed to take was to save what he had, so he kept pretty much in the cabin, till his men called very earnestly for him to come upon deck. Then he ordered them to strike, and in a little time the Frenchman came and boarded us with great fury. I was in the cabin, and stood still, some of them looking at me very sourly and fiercely, but like so many hungry animals, they fell to hunting and searching for what they could find, till they durst not stay much longer. One of them coming to me in a fawning manner, said, "Sir, I desire you would give me your money and watch, and I will give you them again. I told him I had not much, and did not choose to part with it. But he growing very earnest to have it, I turned myself about and took three guineas out of my purse, two of which I carried on shore, and gave him the remainder. He looked at it and seemed not satisfied; but the officers being in haste to get us all into the boat, I was had upon deck. When I looked at the sea I thought it seemed as though I should

not escape with my life; therefore resolved to stay on board our vessel, if I might, and went down again into the cabin; but in a little time was fetched out and commanded to get into the boat. The fear of death was then taken away, and I was resolved to do the best I could to get in. One of our sailors handed me a rope, but it was so short I was forced to let go, not knowing whether I should fall into the sea or boat; for the sea ran very high, and two of our men were lost during the short time I had been below. They were getting into the boat when I was seized with fear, and I saw it was not groundless; for had I then proceeded to get in, I should in all probability have been drowned. For as soon as I had turned my back to go down into the cabin, the gunwale of the ship took the boat side, and had like to have sunk her, and the two poor men were cast out. The loss of them sorrowfully affected my mind; and the imminent danger I had been in, with a sense of the Lord's goodness and mercy in preserving me at that time, brought me very low, in humble thankfulness for so great a deliverance, looking upon it as a mark of his tender care and fatherly regard for so poor a creature as I am.

When we came up to the French ship, our men assisted me in getting on board, and led me through a crowd of such creatures, as I thought were more like brutes than men; but they offered me no violence. When I came into the cabin I was placed behind a large chest of arms, which was their table; where I sat for several hours very still, and laboured to get to such a right and true composure of mind, that I might be enabled to undergo with patience what had befallen me.

The hurry about the booty being pretty much over, towards night they came to settle in the cabin; and seeing me take little notice of what they either said or did, they looked earnestly at me and asked our captain who I was. He told them I was a Quaker minister and intended for Pennsylvania. They made many fine speeches, and told me I was welcome to any thing they had, and would have me call for what I wanted. When meat came to the table, they invited me to eat; but I told them I was not for eating, my appetite being quite gone. When they thought it was time for us to go to bed, I was had down into the hold, which was so close, and the hammocks hung so near to one another, I was forced to creep on my hands and knees till I came to that I was to lodge in. The young man that conducted me was one of the officers, and I understood he put me in his own hammock. As he was making it fit, I thought he seemed to do it with a very good will; but the place

being strait, and I lying in all my clothes, made it hard work for me to get in. However, he staid and helped me what he could, till I was settled in my new lodging. A few hours after I had plenty of company. As they crept under me they lifted me up, and when they were all placed in their respective lodgings I perceived some lay upon the boards under me. However, the closeness of the place, and the disagreeable smell, with a fear which then seized my mind, that these creatures would do me some mischief, had like to have quite overset me, so that I was nigh fainting away, and ready to query whether I should live till morning. In this great strait the Lord appeared for my help. I sensibly felt strength administered, and it arose in my mind that those I was afraid of would not hurt me. I believed it was the truth, and in a little time, being much wearied, I fell into a sound sleep till morning. When I came upon deck our poor men came to me and complained of their hard lodgings, and what was worse, the thoughts of a close imprisonment when they should come on shore. It made me sorrowful to hear their complaints, for they had heard the prisoners fared very poorly. I spake as comfortably as I could, and exhorted them to live in the fear of the Lord.

This day we came up with a vessel bound for Plymouth, taken from the French by one of the English ships of war. The French soon brought her to, boarded her, and brought all the men to us but one. The two officers were had into the cabin where we were. The captain being a man of very strong passions, to be taken prisoner was almost more than he could bear; when they were sat down, I saw he was almost overcome with grief, which I a little wondered at. After some time I went and sat by him, and said I would not have him too much cast down; trouble and disappointment happened to all men, and this was what such men as he might reasonably expect. He said nothing as I remember, but soon went out, and after a while came again with a Frenchman along with him, who could speak English, and pretended great friendship to me, and requested that I would go along with him and the captain into a private place, for he was desirous to have some discourse with me. It did not seem to suit my inclination, but through their much importuning me, I went. When we were settled, the Englishman told me he had been attended with misfortunes even from his childhood, and thought he had been in a fair way of making his fortune, but he had met with this disappointment, which was like to be a great loss to him. He then began to talk about religion, and expressed a great desire in his

heart to live in the fear of the Lord. He spoke highly of the ceremonies used amongst them, mentioning baptism with water, and bread and wine, which they call the sacrament. I told him we were not in the practice of using them, believing such ceremonies not to be essential to salvation. He said I was a strange man, but finding myself not at all disposed to have any further discourse at that time, I desired to withdraw.

I was much favoured with stillness, and a sweet composure of mind, which to my great comfort, I found did strengthen and fortify me against the assaults of the enemy, which I met with both inwardly and outwardly. When I looked at my present situation, and what was likely to be the consequence, fearing I might be a stumbling block in the way of many, and bring dishonour to truth, I was much cast down, and did often cry, "Lord, if I had been worthy, thou wouldst have preserved me out of the hands of such unreasonable men." But the good Shepherd of Israel did cast his mantle of love over me, and stilled my crying, so that I was in a good degree made willing to submit to what he should see meet to suffer to come upon me. Whilst I was here, fervent and strong desires were in my heart for those I had left behind me in many places, that they might be preserved in the fear of the Lord. As to outward food, I eat very little for several days. Many said I should be sick, and often entreated me to eat; but I did not eat much till I found I could take it both with freedom of mind and a good appetite, which had been quite gone. The Frenchmen, as I frequently walked upon deck amongst them, were become milder, and never offered to do me any harm, except one at the first, and he was prevented from hurting me. I also sat and walked often upon the quarter deck, the officers all looking on me with a pleasant countenance, except the captain, who I suppose, took offence at my not conforming to them when they went to prayers, which was twice a day.

One evening, as we were sitting in the cabin, a young Frenchman asked the man of war's captain before mentioned, pointing at me, concerning our principles. He told him we were a strange people; we both disowned baptism and the Lord's supper. The Frenchman looked at me with disdain, and then began to speak much in behalf of both, laying great stress especially upon the latter; for he seemed a very zealous young man for their way. Then both joining, they came to a conclusion that those who were not in the practice of them could not be saved. Their discourse was in Latin, and though I am not a Latin scholar, I understood so much, that I

gathered the purport of their discourse. When they had done, I told the captain he had done very wrong in misrepresenting the people called Quakers to that man. He asked in what? I told him I understood he had been telling him we disowned baptism and the supper. He said he understood by me, that we did not own the sacraments. I told him there was no such word made use of in Scripture that I knew of; but baptism and the supper were, and we owned and believed both to be essential to salvation. My mind was then opened concerning baptism, in the several passages of Scripture, which strengthen and confirm it, that the baptism which is saving must needs be spiritual; and if so, then no need of water; for the apostle saith, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism;" and that themselves owned water to be but an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. I was led on till I came to that last supper or passover, which our Lord did partake of with his disciples; and told them what our Lord then said to his disciples, was, "As often as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me, to show forth my death until I come." This was no commandment to perpetuate that outward supper or passover; that being a Jewish ordinance, which he then had nigh finished, when he nailed the hand writing of ordinances to his cross. But I told them they might see in the Revelations of John, what he said concerning his coming, where he saith, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; and if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me." It is this supper and coming we own, and in our measure, partake of; for this was the communion of the saints. Several texts of Scripture opening in my mind to confirm that baptism and supper, which are saving, to be spiritual; and as bodily exercise profiteth little, so that which is only outward and elementary could not profit the soul. They heard me very patiently, and did not make any objections. Being pretty easy, I left them to have their discourse to themselves, that the officer might have opportunity to inform the man what I had said.

Our confinement at sea was nearly over, but as we came nigh in with the shore we were chased by an English man of war, who came fast up with us, and gave our men great expectations of being released; and indeed the Frenchmen expected no other than to be taken. Every man prepared himself for removing, and was in great fear; but we were so near the rocks, the man-of-war durst follow us no further, only gave us one shot, which came over us, and then sheered off. The great expectation our men were in of being

retaken, was disappointed, which made them more sorrowful than before; but it did not much affect me, for I was now more reconciled in my mind to bear with patience what the Lord should see meet to try me with. I had strongly desired before not to go to France, but in a few hours we came into a small harbour with a fort at the entrance, and in it one ship of war. We did not land till next morning. This night I met with something that was very unpleasant to me, for the captain going on shore, and the men thinking all secure, when night came on, most of them went to rest; but the man-of-war's captain and some of his men, as it afterwards appeared, had consulted about cutting the vessel out of the harbour. We had more liberty given this night than we had before. The two man-of-war's-men, our captain and myself were ordered to lie in the cabin. Riddell had lain in it before, but now he was to lie in the captain's hammock, being a favourite, and I in his bed; but he not accepting of it, I got in. This I perceived gave great offence, therefore, to prevent further trouble, I soon quitted it, and sat me down by the man-of-war's captain, who had got to writing.

I had by this time contracted such an intimacy with him, that I could make bold to see what he was writing, without giving him any offence; and when I came to see what he was writing, and found it was only to spend time, it gave me some uneasiness, for it then began to be late. I did not suddenly say any thing to him, but took notice of his motions and looks, and saw his countenance was very much discomposed. All began now to be very still. None were up in the cabin but him and myself, and the young Frenchman before mentioned, who kept guard, and he had no weapon in his hand. I asked the captain if he was not for bed. He said he could not go to bed. I then told him I would not have him think of making any attempts to take the vessel out of the harbour. He said he should make no difficulty of it, if he had any body to stand by him. I signified that I thought it could not be done without much blood-shedding, if at all; and I should be very sorry to see any thing of that kind, though my liberty was as dear to me as any of theirs was to them. He said I need not be afraid; no body would hurt me. I told him that was more than he knew; for as I had been with them all the evening, they would think I had a hand in the plot, and so I might lose my life undeservedly.

I laid before him all the difficulties I was capable of, as that of lying under the fort, and their man-of-war a little distance off, with a very rocky harbour to get out of; all which

seemed to have but little effect on him. So I thought it was best to consult my own safety; for if there was a skirmish I should, if I staid there, be in the midst of it. So I went down to my old lodgings; but could find no rest for my body, my mind being very uneasy. I therefore crept out again, all being still in the ship, and but few upon deck. I went into the cabin, where I found them as I left them; but having a little more courage than before, I told the captain I was resolved to hinder any disturbance if I could; adding, he surely was not in his right senses to think of any such thing, as his men, I supposed, knew nothing of it. He said I was mistaken, for he had told one or two of them in the evening, and they would acquaint all the rest, and he could have them all up in a few minutes.

It was now about midnight, and his men, I suppose, thinking it high time to get to work, came upon deck without calling, and seemed to be in high spirits, for they talked cheerfully, and I thought, gave several signals to their master that they were ready. I was in a great strait how to act, but thought it would be best to endeavour to keep peace if I could, having said as much as was necessary. I therefore sat me down close by him, with an intent to lay hold of him if he offered to take up a weapon, which was very nigh at hand. Great strugglings were in his mind, as he himself afterwards confessed. He often was just upon the point; but the Lord, in his great mercy interposed, and my mind began to be calm and still, and all fear was taken away. I then looking at him, saw his countenance became more composed and solid. I asked him if he would not go to bed. He threw down his pen and said he would. The young Frenchman sat by all this time, but perceived nothing of their design.

The night was pretty far spent, and the men, who had walked the deck a considerable time, thinking nothing would be done, went down to their beds; and when I had seen the master settled in his, I lay me down upon a bulk-head of the ship, which was so narrow, I could only lie upon my side, there being nothing better in the cabin that I could find. But my mind being easy after the pain it had been in, I fell asleep. It was a very cold night, and the partition of our cabin was but canvass. When I awaked I was stiff, but I did not take cold. The Lord was pleased to preserve me, though I often said in my mind, I did not think myself worthy, and more especially because he had suffered this great exercise to come upon me; which, I several times was made sensible it would have been a light matter with him to hin-

der if he had seen meet. I often cried to him in the secret of my heart, that if there was any iniquity lodging in me, he would be pleased to take it away; and if my going was not consistent with his will, that he would be pleased to show me wherein I had missed my way; that I might not bring a reproach upon the truth, and a trouble and exercise upon his people. It was not long we had to stay amongst this sort of company, for by the time the sun was up, the captain, with several more such as himself came aboard; also two of their friars in their odd sort of dress; I suppose to see what they could get in the scramble.

When breakfast was over, as several of us were to be searched before they took their leave of us, those appointed to do that business staid in the cabin. The captain and several others went out, and I amongst the rest, but was soon called in again, for they searched me one of the first. When I came in they told me they wanted my money. I said not much to them, but thought if they got it they should take it from me; so they began to search me, and took what they could find, which was but one guinea in money, and all other things they found about me of any value; but my wearing clothes they gave me again. When they had searched me as long as they thought fit, they let me go, but they were not contented, for they had got it into their minds that I had a considerable sum of money, and a gold watch; therefore I was no sooner gone out, but they ordered me in again, and I was searched in every part where they thought any money could be concealed. I was so grieved with them, I could not hold my peace, but said, they pretended to be gentlemen, and men of honour, but now they did not appear to be such; for it was good works which made men truly honourable; and as to what they could do to me, I said, I was not afraid of. Indeed, all fear was taken away from me; I did not seem afraid of my life, but whether I did well in telling them so, I afterwards queried; for I thought that courage was only given me for my own support, and not to lavish away at that rate. However, I came off pretty well, for they let me put on and carry away as many clothes as served to keep me warm.

We were on board eleven days, and then were landed near a town called Roscone. When we came to it, many people were gathered to see us, amongst whom was a mixture of black coats; two of them came to me, and one taking hold of my sleeve, asked me as I supposed, what religion I was of, and whether I could speak Latin. I told them, as I was a prisoner they had no business with

me, and I did not incline to have any discourse with them; therefore desired they would not ask me any more questions. They turned off, saying, "He is for no controversy." If I had been asked an honest question concerning the hope that is in me, I believe I should have had an answer according to truth; but pearls ought not to be cast before swine.

As soon as I had got quit of the two priests, there came a man to me, who seemed to be of some considerable account in the world, and said he was sorry to see me there; but it was the fortune of war. He wished me safe in England again. He went to one of his acquaintance who lived in the town, and after some discourse he came and invited me and Riddell, with two others, to his house, and set before us such as they had, and desired us to eat and drink. There was also a woman in the house much concerned about our having to walk to Morlaix that night, which was twelve miles, and sent to hire horses, but none were to be had. She therefore gave strict charge to the soldiers that conducted us, to hire horses at the next place, and she would pay the charge. I wish many may follow her example in being kind to strangers; for what she did I thought was of great service to me. The soldiers hired horses for four of us when we came to the next town, which was four miles. This town was pretty large, and there were many spectators. That they might have a full view of us, the soldiers had us into a convenient place, and stood round us at a little distance. The people gathered so thick, they could scarcely stand one by another; and in this posture they kept us about half an hour. Then they had us to an inn, where we were put into a large chamber, and meat and drink were set before us. But before we were well sat down, several men and women of the upper rank came in; the rabble staid mostly below.

Whilst we were at meat some of them turned up my coat laps and examined what my clothes were made of as well they could, and commended them for being good. They seemed not to take so much notice of any as they did of me; often pointing at me, saying, I was a minister, a priest. Several gay women sat behind the table, where they had opportunity to look at me as much as they pleased. They were very light and airy, which I showed some dislike to, and told them I had heard the French used good manners, and knew how to behave well; but it could not be said so of them, for it was not good manners to come into our room without leave, and when they were in, not to behave soberly

and well. I soon perceived I had an interpreter, for some among them understood English, and informed the rest; upon which they left the room, and it was soon pretty clear. After them came in several young men, who both looked and behaved well. I had nothing in my mind against being free, and looking pleasantly on them; for this, when seasonable, has a good effect.

The next place we came to of any account was Morlaix; it was night when we got in, and we were obliged to stand and sit in the street till they got orders from the commissary what to do with us. I thought the time very long, more on account of our poor men than myself; for they had walked till they sweated, and some of them were ill. To sit in the street an hour or more in a cold night, I thought was almost enough to give them their death. When orders came, they were to take us to prison; but a merchant, one Forney, who was agent of the prizes, met us in the street and took Riddell, the two man-of-war's-men and myself to a tavern, where we had what we pleased to call for, but not at the cheapest rate. Our landlord was an Irishman, and I perceived had a very good opinion of himself.

After he had supped, and he had informed himself what I was, he entertained us with a dish of as unsavoury discourse about religion as I thought I had ever heard; and what made it more irksome, he held it very long. He brought a book, out of which he said he taught his children, and as he read, some of our people were so weak as to commend it, which made him more eager. I do not remember that I either answered any of his questions, or made any objections to what he said; but when he told me he intended to bring some of my brethren to see me, meaning the priests, for he said they would like to have some discourse with me—I told him he need not bring any there upon my account, for I did not want any of their company; so that was put an end to, for they never came to me while I staid in Morlaix. Whilst I was here, the young man came to see me, who took care of me the first night I lodged aboard the privateer, and saluted me in a very friendly manner. This young man took more notice of me than any other all the time I was aboard, and when they were stripping and searching me, he stamped upon the deck, and showed great resentment, as Riddell told me, and knowing he had not wronged me, could cheerfully come to see me; but the others who had, did not care to see me, and though I often met them in the street, they endeavoured to shun me, and would not look me in the face if they could avoid it. I

thought it was a brave thing to have a conscience void of offence both towards God and men.

We were brought before one of their chief officers, called the commissary, to have our names entered, and such as could not find bail must go to prison. This man and his wife took great offence at my hat being in its place, as likewise did the commissary at Roscone, who was an old man, and ill of the gout upon his bed. But several capital people of the town being present, he was much displeased because I did not give them that honour which was none of their due. When I had given in my name I soon quitted the room. This commissary was a young man, and several were in the room with him. I had not asked any body to be bail for me, for I was easy, and the thoughts of the prison did not terrify me, though we had heard a very dismal account of it; however, Forney, whom I mentioned before, after he had called Riddell aside and asked him concerning me, ventured to be bail for me. I staid a little while in the room after our people were withdrawn, and looked at the great man as he sat in his chair, and thought his countenance was somewhat milder, and he spake pretty kindly to me when we parted. It was said he was very bitter against all the English, and had uttered many harsh expressions against them; but his glass was then almost run, for he lived but a little while after this.

Forney, who had passed his word for me, being agent, had my papers and letters, which I found he did not choose to part with, except my certificate and letter of credit, and another paper or two, which he did not think worth while to keep. I perceived he was a selfish man, for after he understood my little money that I should want was not to come through his hands, he came to me, and with an unpleasant tone, told me he would not stand bound for me any longer. I said I did not intend to give him any offence in employing another to do my business, viz: Charles Sernanson, a merchant, who was of great service to me afterwards, when I came to be acquainted with him. When he heard Forney would not be bound for me any longer, he said he would be bound for me as freely as he would for his own brother. So I was still kept out of prison. Whilst we were here we were examined at the admiralty office, where they asked many questions, and I thought if I had been enough aware of them I should have come better off than I did. Before they had us into the room where we were examined, they had something of the form of an oath. I told them I could not take it, being

against our principles. After some discourse about it, they not being willing to let me pass without examining, had me into their room, and asked me my name and place of abode, whether I was married, and what children I had; to which I answered. They asked what preparations were making in England for war? To which I answered, as I did not concern myself about such things, I should say nothing about them. They asked other questions about the manner of our being taken, and what was taken from me, and about our ship and cargo. Then after a pretty long pause, one said, "Now I have some close questions to ask you, but you must not be angry." I was silent, not knowing how I should come off. He then asked whether I was a minister? I said I did not choose to be put under that denomination. He said, "What then?" I told him my business when at home, was to look after and feed cattle, and such in our country were called graziers. He asked me what I was going to do in Pennsylvania? I said, to visit my friends. Whether I knew any body there? I said I was acquainted with but a few. Whether I was sent by the Quakers? I told him I was not; though I had their approbation therein. He then asked me whether or no the Quakers would fight if they were attacked by an enemy? I said it was not my business then to tell him whether they would or not; it was enough for me to answer for myself. "Then, said he, if you were smitten on one cheek, would not you turn the other? Or, if they took away your coat, would not you give them your cloak also?" I said it was so declared in Scripture, but I had not freedom at that time to answer those questions. He asked me no more questions at that time, that I remember.

About this time I suffered much in my spirit; the reason is best known to the Lord. I was heavy and sorrowful in my mind both night and day for some time, and much afraid lest I should bring dishonour to truth by my unfaithfulness, or some slip or other that I had made, or might make, for want of care and watchfulness in that strange land, separated from my brethren, and deprived of all outward help and comfort. But this to me was a profitable season, for I found the fear of the Lord, which was then in my heart, did preserve me from evil, and from falling into temptation. Though such company as I had was very unpleasant to me, and I thought myself unfit for conversation; yet, when by honest inquirers, I was asked questions concerning our faith and principles, I was helped in the openings of truth, to give them an answer concerning the hope that was in me; Scrip-

tures freely opening, and all things being brought to my remembrance, sufficient to put to silence, and stop the mouths of gainsayers.

Whilst I staid in Morlaix, Charles Sermanson, before mentioned, who often invited me to his house, one evening as we were in discourse, asked me why I went abroad in such troublesome times? I told him I believed it to be my duty; for nothing else would have induced me to leave all that were near to me in this world, as wife and children, but a sense of duty to God, and obedience to what I believed he required of me; for as to outward gain or advantage, I had nothing of that in my view, for such as have freely received must freely give.

Thus setting forth the nature, call, and qualification of the true ministry, I saw it had some reach upon him and his wife, who sat by and desired that he would interpret to her what I said. When she understood I had left a wife and children behind me, she said that could not be consistent with the will God. I signified she did not consider Christ saith: "He that loveth father or mother, wife or children, houses or lands, more than me, is not worthy of me." I took the liberty to reprove her husband, for taking the great and sacred Name in vain, which I suppose made some alteration in his countenance. She then asked him what I said. When he told her, she said I had done well, for that was his great weakness, and she hoped he would take notice of it. I said, by turning our minds to the light of Christ in our hearts, which reproveth for sin, as we came to yield obedience to it, we should be helped to overcome our weaknesses. She said I was a saint, and had overcome the temptations of the world. I said, What I am, it is by grace. I have nothing to boast of, and by grace I am saved out of many temptations of the world; yet was a man of like passions, and liable to many weaknesses, as they were; and was no longer safe than whilst I kept upon my watch. My mind was opened to point out to them the way of salvation, Scripture being brought to confirm the sufficiency, work and operation of the grace of God upon the hearts of the children of men; with the saving help there is in it, as obedience is yielded unto it. It was a seasonable opportunity. Finding freedom, I let him see the certificate I had from my friends. When he had read it, he said he liked it very well. I told him something of the good order we had amongst us, which he seemed to approve well of; but said he could but admire that I should take so much pains without any view of outward advantage. I told him what I had said was the truth. He said he did believe it was.

"But, said he, our priests would not go across that room without being paid."

Perceiving that what had already passed had some good effect, for the man was very loving, and his understanding measurably opened to distinguish between the true and false ministers, I took my leave for that time, and went to my quarters, which were at a tavern, where I was for several days, and had much company of divers sorts. As I appeared to them somewhat singular, they wanted to know what I was, and such as could speak English would ask me questions; and as I found freedom I answered them. One came as I was sitting in a room, there being a pretty deal of company, and asked why the Quakers would not fight? I told him the weapons of the primitive believers were not carnal, but spiritual, and mighty through God, to the pulling down of sin and the strong holds of Satan; and such as are now come under the peaceable government of the great King of kings, who said, if his kingdom had been of this world, then his servants would have fought, cannot fight with carnal weapons, though there should seem as great a necessity as there was when our Lord was like to be delivered to the Jews. I had to open several passages of Scripture, which set forth the peaceable government of Christ, who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them; and that it was not the lamb's nature to tear and devour, but the wolf's. This opportunity was seasonable, the people were very still and attentive. He that asked me this question had often been with me, and had asked many questions, but was now silent, and seemed to go away satisfied; for the power of God was over them at that time.

After some time, I was, with some others who were prisoners at large, ordered into the country about thirty miles, to a town called Carhaix. Charles Sermanson supplied me with what money I wanted, and also recommended me to a friend of his there, one John Grace, a counsellor at law, who, during my stay, showed several tokens of his regard and hearty friendship, after he and I came to be acquainted; though I may say with safety, I never sought his or any other's favour by any indirect means, or in a way truth did not admit of. I went to his house in the evening, and he taking the letter with his hat off, made a bow, but I not returning it as he expected, he, with an earnest look and somewhat of an unpleasant tone, said I might go to the tavern, and he would come to me in the morning. He did so, and told me, as I had been recommended to his care by his good friend Charles Sermanson,

he would do the best he could in providing me a private lodging; and any other service he could do me, which lay in his power, should not be wanting. I told him I was obliged to him, and was glad to find him and others of his countrymen so well disposed to be kind to strangers; and as I was a stranger, and also a prisoner, I should be glad of his assistance. He said he was glad he had the opportunity of assisting his fellow-creatures, for he looked upon it to be no more than his duty. Then we walked into the town, where he provided me a chamber, and I had every thing found me that was necessary. My new landlord took great notice of my behaviour, and, I suppose, at first did not know how to behave himself towards me, that I might not be offended; for being poor, he was glad of a little money. He could speak no English, and I but little French, so we could have no conversation; but he told one of the Englishmen who spoke French, that I did him good, though he could not understand me. He was a peruke maker by trade, and when he had left work in the evenings, he and his wife would come and sit with me a considerable time in silence; which was not disagreeable to me; for sometimes, I believe, we were favoured with good when we sat in silence. His wife was a religious woman, and of a solid, sober behaviour, so far as I ever saw. I staid in their house three months and then took lodgings in another place; three young men in like circumstances with myself, desiring very much to be with me, and they not having room for us all, I left them. As the young men behaved well, their company was agreeable; two of them being friends' sons, though they did not in many things take up the cross as they ought to do, yet their behaviour to me was such as gained my love and affection. One of them soon after died in the French prison, being, when taken, on his passage to Rhode Island, where his parents lived, at whose house I afterwards was, and found them very sorrowful, for they had lost three of their sons, two at sea and one in prison. As these things affected and made some impressions upon my mind, I made a few remarks.

John Grace the counsellor, after a little while, became very loving, and had me often to his house, it not being far from my lodgings, and I found myself very free to converse with him, and told him in freedom at one time, if he had any thing in his mind to ask concerning our Society or principles, I would have him be quite free, for I should be willing to answer honestly according to the best of my understanding. He said he understood we did not baptize with water. I

told him the apostle Paul saith, "There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism;" and water, how or by whomsoever administered, is only sufficient to put away the filth of the flesh, but not able to wash away the sin of the soul. The same apostle said, "He was not sent to baptize, (he there must be understood with water,) but to preach the gospel, which is the power that baptizeth into the one Spirit." He further saith concerning himself, that he was not a whit behind the chiefest of the apostles; yet he thanks God he had baptized no more than the few he recites, which he would not have done if baptism with water had been the one baptism essential to salvation. He said he thought there ought to be something done to children by the minister, to initiate them into the church. I said as to our not being in the practice of sprinkling children with water, or signing them with the sign of the cross, as it was not Scriptural, we could not be justly blamed for the disuse of it. He then said, if he at first had put on the priest's gown instead of that he then wore, he should have thought it his business to search more into the Scriptures. I told him I took him to be a man of such understanding as very well to know it ought to be every one's business to search into the things that belong to their own peace. He said it was true, but they had men who were learned, whom they paid, and he looked upon these to be his teachers; and as for him, he was but a hearer, and if they deceived him, it would be the worse for themselves—they could not deceive God. I said it was true, they could not; but as the salvation of the soul is a thing of so great moment, we should not place our dependence upon others; and as to teachers, we might know them by their fruits; for, according to Christ's own words, "men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles." He further saith to his ministers, "freely ye have received, freely give." As to those of polluted lips, I thought they could not profit the people at all. He said there was no Scripture that forbade marrying, and he thought their priests wrong in that; for they did not keep themselves chaste, but deluded and deceived many poor young women. I said it was great pity any should be deprived of the benefit of the Scriptures, for all ought to have liberty to try all things, that they may hold fast that which is good; for it is dangerous pinning their faith upon other men's sleeves, "If the blind lead the blind, they will both fall into the ditch." He then said he should be glad to read some of our authors, which I gave him some expectations of sending, if I lived to return home.

Some time after this, he sent for me to dine with him, when I expected he would have had some priests with him, but he had not; though he told me he had invited one of their clergymen to dine with him, and acquainted him I was to be there, but he desired to be excused, alledging, he thought I should be offended with his company. I said I should not, if he was a religious, sober man. I was not had before the commissary or chief magistrate, at my first coming here, with the rest of the prisoners, but this counsellor gave in my name, and when they went to receive the government's allowance, I went, not having enough to support me without. But hearing the commissary had uttered some very bitter expressions against the Quakers, and me in particular, for not putting off my hat, as he had observed when I met him in the street, I had an inclination to pay him a visit, which I acquainted a young man with, who could interpret for me. We found the commissary in the street. The young man told him I was come to see him, or pay him a visit. He looking earnestly at me, after a pause took us into a room, and before I could say any thing to him, asked me why I did not put off my hat? I told him uncovering our heads was what we did when we prayed and addressed the Almighty; but to do it to our fellow-creatures was against our consciences.

The answer, though short, I perceived satisfied him, for his haughty countenance fell, and he then spake mildly, and said he had heard we did not baptize our children. I said we did not use water baptism. "What do you then, said he, instead of water?" I said, the one baptism, which we believe to be saving and essential to salvation, is spiritual—that of fire and the Holy Ghost; and as to little children, they are heirs of the kingdom of heaven without water, or the help of any mortal man. I told him I had heard he said something against me, but I came in good will to pay him a friendly visit, for I had a mind to speak with him myself. He then took me by the hand, saying he would not do me any hurt, but all the service that lay in his power. I took my leave of him with thankfulness, that truth had thus far prevailed, and the young man was well satisfied; for he was somewhat in fear before we went, having heard what the commissary had said concerning me. Ever after when I met with him, he looked pleasantly, and I believe never any more took offence at my hat.

Charles Sermanson, whilst I was here, wrote me several kind letters; and mine which I wrote to England, he took care to send to his correspondent in London; by whom also my letters from home were safely

conveyed to me, which made my confinement much the easier, as I could often hear from my wife and family, and they from me. After I had been confined about five months, I was released: my passport coming to hand, I showed it to John Grace, and he went with me to the commissary, who readily signed it, expressing his gladness that I had got my liberty and was going to my family. He also gave leave to several of my fellow prisoners, who were desirous to accompany me to Morlaix. The 23rd of the fourth month I took my leave of the counsellor and his family, with divers others, both French and English, who came to see me in a very affectionate manner. When I came to Morlaix, I found a Dutch vessel bound to Ostend. Charles Sermanson agreed with the master to set me on the English coast, if the wind would permit, which happened well the 28th of the fourth month, 1757.

When I came to London, I found several friends very glad to see me, having had a near sympathy with me in my exercises; and I saw the Lord had been my helper and deliverer, in that he had been pleased to bring me safe to my native land; and not only so, but I found friends as nearly united to me as ever; which was a great comfort. For I had been afraid lest they should stand at a distance from me; but magnified be the great Name for evermore, I found all well in that respect, and likewise when I came to my own habitation, which was on the 11th of the fifth month, 1757.

I soon set out again for the yearly meeting in London, which began the 28th of the fifth month this year. My brother Maw and two other friends accompanied me. It was believed I was intending to proceed again to America; but I could say little to it when asked, till the yearly meeting was over, and friends mostly gone out of town. I was then made sensible it was my duty again to make preparation to set forward; a ship being nearly ready to sail for Philadelphia. I then acquainted friends with it, who left me to my liberty, expressed their unity with it, and made all things as easy for me as they could. For which my spirit was bowed in thankfulness to the great, good, and wise Disposer of all things, who can dispose the minds of his people as he seeth meet; and who ever will, I believe, make way for all that put their trust in him, that his requirings may be in all things duly answered. I took my leave of my wife and family in a solemn manner, not knowing I should see them again in mutability. I also settled my outward affairs in such order as I thought might be for the best.

The 19th of the sixth month, 1757, I left London, several friends accompanying me to Gravesend. The vessel being just ready to sail, I took leave of friends, and followed her in a small vessel as far as the Nore, two of my kind friends still accompanying me, viz: John Sherwin and Thomas Wagstaffe. I went on board the ship and they returned to London. We arrived in the Downs the 21st, and waited for a convoy; it being a time when much shipping were taken by the French, the people were not willing to go without men of war.

I went on shore while here, and found a small family of very sensible friends, of which I was glad. The 23rd we weighed anchor, being in all about sixty sail. We lost sight of land the 8th of the seventh month, had a good passage, and in ten weeks from London we got safely to Philadelphia. Here I found several friends from Europe in the service of truth. We were truly glad to see each other, and had comfortable meetings together; blessed be the name of the Lord. I have great cause to be truly thankful, and in humble reverence to praise his great and everlasting Name, for many deliverances both by sea and land. I may in truth say, his name hath been to me a strong tower, and thither I have run and found safety. For though he suffers his servants to be tried, as in the furnace of affliction, he will not leave nor forsake them; but his arm hath been made bare for their deliverance, and he hath granted them the petition of their souls. Glory and honour be given to him, and that for evermore. I staid in and about Philadelphia till the yearly meeting was over.

The 5th of the ninth month, 1757, I went into New Jersey, John Pemberton accompanying me. We had a meeting at Haddonfield; thence to Chester, and had a meeting there also, both to good satisfaction. We lodged at Edmund Hollinshead's, and on first-day were at Evesham meeting, which was attended with the seasoning virtue and power of Truth. We went that night to Burlington, and attended the monthly meeting on second-day, which I thought was to general satisfaction. I lodged at John Smith's, a substantial friend, and a very serviceable man in the Society. Here John Pemberton left me.

I went next day to Ancocas, it being the 4th of the tenth month, and third of the week. We had a meeting there, which was hard in the beginning, and dull; but that spirit of earthly mindedness, which had too much prevailed, was testified against, and truth, I think, did in a good degree spring up over all; praised be the great Name for ever. The fourth of the week, accompanied by another friend,

had two meetings at Mount Holly, both to pretty good satisfaction; we lodged at Josiah Foster's. Fifth-day we had a meeting at a school house, which was large, and though it held long, the people were very quiet; we lodged at William Smith's. Sixth-day we had a meeting at Old Springfield; first-day at Mansfield. It was a large meeting, but the minds of the people hankering much after words, the spring of life that had run through me, being in a great measure stopt, a cloud came and covered my tabernacle. I saw it was safest to stand still. We lodged at Peter Harvey's, a kind and steady friend.

Next day, the second of the week, and 10th of the month, we had a meeting at a school house in the neighbourhood, which was small, but in some degree satisfactory; we lodged at William Smith's. Had a meeting at Upper Springfield on third-day; at Freehold on fourth; Crosswick's on fifth; Bordentown on sixth, and Trenton on first-day; we lodged here at William Morris's. From thence to Stonybrook, and had a meeting on the second-day of the week and 17th of the month. We lodged at James Clark's. In this place they had been hurt and scattered in their minds; as also in several other places, where a striving and a dividing spirit had got in. From thence we went to Robins' meeting on third-day, which was not so satisfactory as could have been desired; some being restless, the meeting holding long.

We went from thence to Squan, and had a meeting there on fifth-day amongst a company of poor dark people. Then to Shrewsbury the 22nd of the tenth month, where was a meeting for ministers and elders. The meeting on first-day was very large, and considering the great numbers of people of all ranks, was quiet. Second-day it was a good, solid meeting, truth prevailing over all; praises be given to the great Name forever. The Son of righteousness did arise with healing in his wings, and my soul was delivered as out of the pit; for I had been ready to despair, and thought I should have been overcome by the enemy. Great horror and darkness was over my understanding for a time; but the Lord did send his light and his truth, and caused it to shine upon my tabernacle; and I had to declare of his mercy and goodness towards the children of men, and to invite them to come and see for themselves, what great things the Lord will do for them that trust in him. This great meeting ended well, and I was truly thankful to the great Master of our assemblies. We lodged at Joseph Wardel's, a worthy friend.

On third-day we came back to Crosswicks, and lodged at Thomas Middleton's. Next day

to the widow Andrews', where my companion was taken ill. Here I left him, after staying one night, and went to Haddonfield with Isaac Andrews, and lodged at his house one night, and so to Philadelphia, where I staid till their quarterly meeting. We had several comfortable opportunities together. John Hunt and Christopher Wilson from England were here, and had good service. I staid about Philadelphia, attending meetings as they came in course, both for worship and discipline, until the 15th of the eleventh month, when I set out towards the southern provinces, Thomas Lightfoot accompanying me. We went to Chester, and were at their youths' quarterly meeting, which was a time to be remembered by many of us.

We visited the meetings through Chester county till we came to Nottingham, and were at the monthly meeting, John Hunt also being there. It was a suffering time to me, I being sensible many were worshipping only in the outward court, whose dwelling was in the form without the power; such cause suffering to the true seed. I staid meeting with them on first-day, and was led to speak closely to several states, and left them pretty easy in my own mind. I lodged at John Churchman's, and had a meeting at West-Nottingham on third-day; at Little Britain on fourth-day; here several Presbyterians came in with their priest, who took down in writing what I said; though I perceived not that he was writing, till I had nearly done speaking. When I sat down most of them went out, but he staid; and after a short space I had to say, "The time shall come, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, or they that are dead in forms, and they that hear and obey shall live; and that Christ is the resurrection and the life, and he that liveth and believeth in him, though he be dead, yet shall he live." I did not enlarge much upon it; but the meeting broke up in a good degree of life, and the priest went off with his company. Friends thought there was no danger of any ill coming of it, but I was afraid lest truth should suffer.

I rode that evening after meeting to William Downing's, who had a large family, with whom we had a good opportunity. Thence we came to Sadsbury, where I had a meeting, and in the openings of truth, had closely to speak to the states of many. From thence I went to Lampeter, where I had two meetings; and so to Lancaster, and had a meeting with the few friends that lived there. We lodged at Isaac Whitelock's; and after having a meeting at James Wright's, we crossed the river Susquehanna and went to York, where a few friends dwelt, and had a meeting

among them. We quartered at Nathan Hussey's.

Our next meeting was at Newberry; it was silent, but to my satisfaction. We passed through Warrington, but had no meeting, it being the youths' quarterly meeting at Huntington, where we had an edifying time together. We had also meetings at Monallen, John Evans's, Pipe Creek, Bush Creek, and Monoquesy. Then crossing Potomac, we came into Virginia to Fairfax; where we had a meeting on the second day of the week and 12th of the twelfth month. It was a good meeting, truth having the dominion; magnified be the great name of Israel's God, and that for evermore. We lodged at Mary Janney's, a discreet, orderly woman, who had several sober, well inclined children. From hence we went to Goose Creek, and had a meeting on third-day: it was well. On fourth-day we had a meeting at David Pole's, several friends accompanying us. I had a travail in spirit that truth might not lose ground, finding a spirit of ease had greatly prevailed in many of the professors of truth, to the sorrow of the honest-hearted. We left David Pole's house on fifth-day, and rode over the Blue Ridge, or Blue Mountains, where the Indians had done much mischief, by burning houses, killing, destroying, and carrying many people away captives; but friends had not hitherto been hurt; yet several had left their plantations and fled back again over the Blue mountains, where the lands had been rightly purchased of the Indians.

Things seemed dreadful, and several hearts ready to fail. We proceeded on our journey, and came within six miles of Winchester, where the English had a fort. On sixth-day we had a meeting at Hopewell, which was an open time. I found my mind much engaged for the poor suffering people, but had to tell them their greatest enemies were those of their own houses. The meeting ended well. We lodged at Joseph Lupton's, an ancient friend, who with his wife was very loving to us. The Indians had killed and carried away several within a few miles of their habitation, yet they did not seem much afraid; for they said they did not so much as pull in the sneck-string of their door when they went to bed, and had neither lock nor bar. We had a meeting at Crooked Run on first-day, the 18th of the twelfth month. It was a good meeting, the Lord favouring with his living presence. Glory be to his great Name for ever.

On second-day we set forward through the woods, and over the hills and rocks, crossing several large creeks. We came in the evening to a man's house, called Moses Mackoy,

and had a meeting there next day. They were an unsettled people, yet assented to truth; but were not fully convinced in their minds concerning the sufficiency of it, having an eye to outward shadows: I left them in good will. On fourth-day we rode about thirty miles to Smith's Creek, where we had a meeting on fifth-day, at the house of William Carroll. It was silent, though they had sent notice several miles, and many came. I told them, though I had nothing to communicate by way of preaching or declaration, yet I found freedom to have another opportunity at a proper time and place; which I had next day at the house of John Mills, about ten miles off, somewhat in our way. The meeting was to good satisfaction. The Indians had killed and taken away people within two or three miles of this place not many weeks before; but the Lord preserved us in our journey. Thanksgiving and praise be to him, and that for ever.

Seventh-day we set out towards the south parts, and lodged that night at the foot of the Blue Mountains, at a friendly man's house, having two friends to conduct us. Next day being the first of the week, we crossed the mountains, and towards evening came to Douglas's, and had a meeting with the family. The 27th, and third of the week, we had a meeting at Camp creek. It was a pretty open meeting, though the sense of good is almost lost amongst them in that place, and their states much to be lamented. We lodged at Charles Moman's. Next day we rode fifteen miles, and lodged at Francis Clark's, and had a meeting at Fork creek. Many people came, and sat with great attention, and the meeting was solid.

From thence we went to Genito, where we had a meeting, and many people came, but it being silent, they seemed dissatisfied. As I had nothing to say, I was glad I could be made willing to be what the Lord saw meet to allot me. We lodged at Jane Watkins's, a widow woman. She received us kindly, and had several loving and well inclined children. We had a meeting at Cedar creek on seventh-day, the 31st of the twelfth month, 1757. It was a satisfactory and good meeting. Truth had the dominion, praises be to the great Giver of every good and perfect gift! I lodged at William Stanley's.

From thence we went to Caroline, where the meeting was on first-day, the 1st of the first month, 1758. It was a large and good meeting. The states of the people were so spoken to, that through the Lord's goodness and condescension, I hope it may tend to his honour, and to the help of his poor creatures.

We lodged at Morner Cheagles's, and also at John Cheagles's, one night. Next meeting we were at the Swamp. It seemed to me, as I travelled along through these parts, true religion was much wanting among many of the professors of it. I lodged at William Johnson's. The next meeting was at the Black creek. It was a good time to me, and I hope also to some others; praises be to the great Name! On the seventh of the week, and 7th of the month, the meeting was at White Oak Swamp, being monthly meeting, and then rode to Curles, and lodged at John Pleasants', a very kind friend. We were at their meeting on first-day. The third of the week and 10th of the month, had a meeting at Wain Oak, fourteen miles from Curles, which was satisfactory. We lodged at John Crew's, and on fourth-day came back to John Pleasants'. On fifth-day we rode to Robert Langley's, near Petersburg, and on sixth-day had a meeting at the house of a friend, called Butler. It was an acceptable time to some.

After meeting we went to Robert Langley's, where we were kindly entertained. On first-day we were at Pattison's meeting, which was a low time with me; yet truth in some good degree prevailed. On second-day we came to Burleigh, and lodged at John Honeycut's, and had a meeting at Burleigh on third-day, which was to some acceptable. We lodged at Wike Honeycut's, and were at the monthly meeting at Surry-black Water, where we had good service for truth. They being in the mixture, suffered people of other societies to sit with them in their meetings of business. I was grieved, and could not be easy till I had desired those to withdraw who did not make profession with us, both from the men's and women's meeting. I had to recommend to the oneness and simplicity which truth led into, and to keep their meetings for discipline, in that wisdom, power, and authority that they were at first set up in; that they might not join with the world's spirit, but keep themselves separate, and in the wisdom and power of God, keep the authority, and bear rule over those that were got into the mixture, and were for having those that did not profess with us to sit with them when they transacted the affairs of the church. For some that professed truth had encouraged this practice, which tended to weaken the hands of the honest hearted, they not having found liberty and freedom to speak so closely to their brethren, as need required. Joseph could not use that freedom, and unbecom himself to his brethren in such a manner as the case required, till the Egyptians were gone out. I was glad I was there, for truth

had the dominion in the end. We lodged at Anselm Baley's. I visited all the little hand-fuls scattered up and down in these parts, and often had service in families. I met with Samuel Spavold, who likewise was much engaged in the service of truth. His labour of love in the work of the gospel was indeed great in this part of the world; those of other societies being much reached by his ministry. We were truly glad to see each other; for as iron sharpeneth iron, so doth a man the countenance of his friend. We had several comfortable and confirming seasons together, especially at the quarterly meeting held at Black creek, for that part of Virginia; many Friends from divers places being there. I was glad to see them, but what made us more glad, and brought us nearer to one another, was, because the Lord favoured us with his presence, and filled our hearts with his pure love.

Having visited nearly all the meetings in this province, I took my leave of many of them, so far as I could see them. Taking a few meetings in my way, in company with Samuel Spavold, I proceeded towards North Carolina, but left him to visit some meetings he had not been at. I went to Pineywoods, near Perquimons river, in North Carolina; and had a meeting at Pineywoods the 9th of the second month. It was large, and attended with the overshadowing of divine goodness. To me it was an edifying strengthening time, as I trust it was to many more. We took up our quarters at Thomas Newby's; the next day we had a meeting at Wells, which was the sixth of the week. On seventh-day we were at the Old Neck, and on first-day at Little river. This meeting was very large, there being a considerable body of Friends in this part; and people of other societies attend Friends' meetings when there are strangers. I was helped through those large assemblies far beyond my expectation. I thought myself so unfit, weak and unworthy, that I was almost cast down in my mind before I came there; but praises and thanksgivings to Him that helped me, I left them rejoicing in a sense of the Lord's goodness and mercy to my soul. I lodged two nights at Thomas Nicholson's, who mostly favoured me with his company whilst I was amongst them. Here my companion Thomas Lightfoot, left me, and returned to Philadelphia. The last meeting I was at here, was appointed for Samuel Spavold. At Pineywoods we had a solid opportunity together, many minds being truly bowed to the root of life in themselves, and finding myself clear, may truly say, I parted with a remnant in pure love, and the unity of the one spirit.

I then set forward towards a wilderness

country, where the inhabitants were very thin, two young men accompanying me. Our first meeting after we left Perquimons, was at John Copeland's. There were but few Friends, but people of other societies came in, who had notice; amongst whom was an officer in the army. He came to our quarters in the morning, and rode about six miles on the road towards the meeting, then turned off, and said he would go and fetch his wife. He also brought with him a company of young people, who were learning to dance at his house, which I did not know till the meeting was over, and then he came and told me he had invited them to come to the meeting, and also their master, but he would not come. I said it was so far well, but it was a pity he should encourage such vanity, as to keep a dancing-school at his house. He excused it, saying the man owed him money, and he knew not how to get it, but by letting him teach his family. I signified that he had better lose it, than have his family taught that which would be unprofitable to them; for there was a woe pronounced against such as did chant to the sound of the viol, and invented to themselves instruments of music, like David. He said it was the truth that they had heard spoken to-day, but acknowledged they did not walk answerable to it. I said it was their own fault; for if they would take heed to the teachings of truth in themselves, it would lead them into all truth, and consequently out of all error, and every bye-path and way that leads to destruction.

After we had refreshed ourselves, we passed his house, and he seeing us, came and invited us in, saying he had entertainment for us, and should be glad of our company, and we should have a room to ourselves. I acknowledged his kindness, but as time would not permit, we must proceed on our journey. We took our leave of him, and I thought he was so reached, as to be measurably convinced of the sufficiency of the blessed truth; though his appearance, and likewise his mind being lofty, he was not willing to submit to the low appearance of it.

Our next meeting was at Thomas Knox's, a man lately convinced; it was in a good degree satisfactory. We had very difficult roads, through great swamps and across many creeks, all through the woods; and in many places but little path to be seen. We came to Fort river, where there is a meeting settled of such as had been lately convinced. Many came to meeting, which was held at Henry Horn's. Some of them were unsettled in their minds, not being founded upon the sure Rock; but such as seek shall find, and they that dig deep enough will come to the sure foundation,

that the righteous have built upon in all ages of the world. Henry Horn had been a teacher among the Baptists. He seemed to be a steady well disposed man, and had a few words in meetings. After I left his house, I had a meeting at Joseph Pitman's, who, with several others, was under conviction. It was an edifying season, many being sensibly touched with the love of truth. I staid with them one night, and then went to a small meeting near a place called Nues. It was two day's journey, a very difficult road to find, and none of our companions had been there before.

After this meeting we went to Core Sound, an inlet of the sea. We had ninety miles to ride, and were altogether unacquainted with the way, having rivers and many swamps to cross. The two young men were still my companions, Joshua Fletcher and Francis Nixon, who were very serviceable to me through this almost uninhabited part of the world. We got to Henry Stanton's in the night, who took us in and entertained us very kindly. When we had staid two days, had a meeting, and rested ourselves, we set forward towards the next meeting among friends, which was one hundred and fifty miles. But in our way we had two meetings among people of other societies. I had still no guide but the young men, who knew no more of the way than myself. But such as are used to the woods can find the way through them better than such as are not.

The first meeting we had after we left Core Sound, was at Permeanus Hanton's, who gave us an invitation to his house, and sent to give notice to his neighbours, though some lived several miles distant. We got to his house about the time the meeting was appointed, where we found seats placed, and every thing in such convenient order for a meeting as I thought I had seldom seen. His rooms being little, he had placed seats in his court-yard, and under the windows, so that I believe all could sit and hear without in the least troubling one another. I thought his labour and good inclination were blessed, for it was a solid time, and I found openness to declare the truth amongst them. I would that all our friends upon the like occasion, would take this man for their example, in being diligent to invite their neighbours, and to make room and accommodate them in the best manner they are capable of. It certainly hath a good savour, and is often attended with a blessing.

A steady friend, who had been a member among the Presbyterians, told me that the care and pains that some friends took to invite him and some others to meetings, was one

moving cause towards his conviction. He said he once told a young man who had frequently invited him to our meetings when strangers came, that as neither he nor any of his friends came to their meetings, he thought he would go no more to theirs. The young man answered very calmly, "We must not come to you, but we want you to come to us." "This," said he, "with the diligence friends had used without view of outward gain, affected my mind, that I concluded it must be the love of God in their hearts that induced them to call and invite us to come to them." This I mention more particularly, because I have seen some that profess truth, to my grief, very deficient in this respect. We had another comfortable opportunity in the evening with this man and his family, and some others, that staid all night.

Next morning, with the two young men and one more, who had a mind to go a day or two along with us through the wilderness, I set forward well refreshed both in body and mind; hard things being made easy, and rough and untrodden paths being made smooth to my mind. We had a meeting at George Cowper's, whose wife was educated among friends. We staid one night at Wilmington, the capital town in North Carolina; but it being their general court time, and the privateers having brought in prizes, the people's minds were in great commotion, so that I could find no room or freedom to have a meeting, though several called Quakers lived there, but held no meeting except when strangers came.

We crossed a branch of Cape Fear river, and landed upon a great swamp, which was very rotten and dangerous, by reason of the overflowing of the river; but the two young men and a negro, whom we hired to help us, carrying boards from one place to another for the horses to tread upon, in time, and with much difficulty, we got well over. We then came again into the woods, where little path was to be seen; it likewise being rainy, dark weather, we could not tell which way to go, but rode many miles, hoping we might be steering right; and just at the close of the evening, before it was quite dark, we came to a little house, the sight of which was satisfactory, being weary and very wet. When we called, the man said he kept an ordinary, which we found to be true. However, we were contented with such as we found, and thankful we fared so well. We were in our direct road for the place we intended, which was Carver's Creek, where we got next day, the sixth of the week, and 10th of third month. Here was a small gathering of friends. We staid their first-day

meeting, and then went to Dan's Creek, where we found another gathering of such as call themselves friends, but had been much hurt and scattered in their minds from the true Shepherd, by an enemy that had sown tares.

Here I parted with my two good companions, who had travelled with me more than five hundred miles. Being nearly united together, we parted in true love. This I mention, because the Lord loves a cheerful giver, and those did, I thought, what they did, with great freedom and cheerfulness, not grudging a little time, nor a little outward substance, for the sake of the good cause of Truth. These will not lose their reward, for it is helping forward the work, as that of opening a door and kindling a fire, is doing part of the business of the Master's house; and he looks upon it as done to himself, if it is but handing a cup of cold water, as it is done in a right spirit, it will have his blessed approbation and reward. I had another companion, providentially, I thought, provided here for me.

William Ferril, a public friend, having heard of my being in the country, had got himself ready against I came, and had freedom in the truth to travel with me, till I should fall in with another suitable companion; which made my travels through those lonely places much easier. When we left his house, we set our faces towards South Carolina, having but one meeting of friends to take in the way, which was settled upon a river called Pedee, about an hundred miles from the said friend's house. This we accomplished in about two days. In the night we lodged in the woods. The few friends were truly glad to see us, they being seldom visited. We had comfortable and refreshing seasons together, the Lord owning and favouring with his good presence, strengthened not only the inward, but the outward man also. Here I was sensibly affected with such a seal and evidence of peace in my own mind, that I was fully persuaded I was in the way of my duty; it made me go on again very cheerfully. No one can tell how good the Lord is, but such as have tasted and seen his marvellous ways of working, and how he can spread a table in a wilderness, for those who, in faith and obedience, give up to his requiring; for he lets them want for neither inward nor outward food. There is now, as well as formerly, a little remnant, who, with my soul, can set their seal to the truth of this; and can say unto him, We have lacked nothing, Lord!

Francis Clark, with whom we had quartered, bore us company one day and night in the woods. We thought sometimes we tra-

velled near sixty miles in a day; for when we had to lodge in the woods, we rose early and lay down late. Our friend Clark returned home, leaving us to shift for ourselves; but my companion having some knowledge of the way, steered, I believe, a pretty straight course. When night came, we pitched our tent in a valley where there was some grass, and a little brook of water. So when we had eaten such as our bags afforded, and given our horses provender, and taken care of them, with what little we had, we lay ourselves down and slept very soundly and comfortably, being wearied with riding.

Next morning we were stirring by the time it was well light, and soon being ready, mounted our horses; and it was well we did so, for there came a rain that day which raised the creeks and rivers so high, that if we had not got over them that night, we might have been stopped for some days. We travelled till late in the night, and coming to a house, desired we might have lodgings; but the master of it told us we could not. We asked him how far it was to another house; he said it was but a mile, but there was a deep creek in the way, and he would not go with us if we would give him a great deal of money. I then very earnestly desired that he would let us stay in his house all night, and we would pay him for his trouble, and for what we had; for we had rode almost all that day in the rain, and it was a very cold, rainy night. He told us he would not let us stay there, and so left us standing without his gate. But a young man standing by, seeing and hearing what had passed, took pity on us, and said, though it was dangerous crossing the waters, he would take his horse and go with us; which he did, and we got well through to the place the man had told us of. After refreshing ourselves with such as the house afforded, we took up our lodgings in a very cold room, such as I had never lain in before. But bad as it was, I was glad and thankful we had not to lie out all night in the rain. I rested well, and in the morning was well both in body and mind.

The fourth of the week we got to the Wateree, where several friends from Ireland had been settled about six or seven years. We had a meeting with them, and then, with Samuel Millhouse and my companion, I set out towards Charleston. This took us most of three days, it being one hundred and thirty miles. When we came there, we found but few steady friends, yet we had some good opportunities together; several of the town's people also coming in. I trust our visit was of service, and tended to edification, and strengthening the two or three that dwell in

that remote part of the world. However, I thought I should not be easy without paying them a visit, though I had to ride so far on purpose.

When I felt myself clear, I returned with my friends to the Wateree, and was with them at their first-day meeting, and meeting for business. We had good opportunities likewise in their several families, which I thought would not easily be forgotten. Then taking our leave of them in gospel love, in which we had paid them that visit, we returned to Pedee, Samuel Millhouse still accompanying us. The friends there, though their circumstances in the world were but low, treated us very kindly. Their love to truth, and diligence in attending meetings are worthy of notice; for they had nearly one hundred miles to go to the monthly meeting they belonged to, and I was informed, very seldom missed attending it.

Here my companion and I parted, he returning home, and I, with Francis Clark, went towards Cane creek. His company was so agreeable, that time did not seem long. When night came we took up our lodgings in the woods, and got next day to a place called Deep river, there being several families newly settled there, but they had not yet built a meeting-house. We had a meeting at a friend's house, and then proceeded to Cane creek, where there is a large body of friends gathered thither in a few years from the several provinces. They told me they had not been settled there above ten years, but had found occasion to build five meeting-houses, and then wanted one or two or more. I had good and seasonable opportunities among them, being freely opened in the love of the gospel to declare the truth.

When I found myself easy to leave them, having had divers meetings at Eno, and several other places, which, for brevity sake, I forbear to mention; I, with Jeremiah Pickett, then set out towards Virginia, having nearly two hundred miles to travel, and had but one meeting in the way. We got to Robert Langley's on first-day evening, where I staid to rest and refresh myself after so long and tedious a journey. I then passed to Curles and travelled through Virginia, having visited most of the meetings before, and came into Maryland. I was at their yearly meeting held at West river. It was very large, and in the several sittings thereof overshadowed with the wing of divine power, which tended to nourish the good part, and to the gathering and settling the minds of many upon the sure foundation, and kept down that spirit which would divide in Jacob, and scatter in Israel.

We parted on fourth-day in great love, some of us being nearly united in spirit. For though many by baulking their testimony against that anti-Christian yoke of tithes, and trading in negroes, have caused the way of truth to be evilly spoken of; yet I was sensible that the regard of heaven was towards them, and the merciful hand was still stretched out, even towards the unfaithful and backsliders, that they might be gathered. I had a travail and exercise upon my spirit for the cause of truth, and the great, blessed and everlasting Name, which I, with many more, make a profession of, might not be dishonoured; the faithful are indeed as stakes in Sion, but they are but as one of a family, or two of a tribe.

I then took the meetings in my way to Pennsylvania, as Elk Ridge, Patapsco and Patapsco Forest, Little Falls, Gunpowder, and so to Deer creek, where our worthy friends John Churchman and his wife met me. We crossed the river Susquehannah into Pennsylvania, and so to their house. Having had many precious meetings in this journey, and well cleared myself of those provices, I was easy in my spirit, and much comforted in the Lord, that he had been pleased thus far to help me through. I tarried one night at John Churchman's, and next day, being the seventh of the week, was at New Garden monthly meeting; on first-day at London Grove, where there is a large gathering of friends. It was a good opportunity, truth favouring us, we were comforted together in the Lord. On second-day, the 29th of the fifth month, I got to Philadelphia, having in this journey travelled upwards of two thousand eight hundred miles.

After my return from the southern provinces, I staid some weeks visiting meetings and some friends' families in and about Philadelphia; and was also in the Jerseys visiting several meetings, and attended their quarterly meeting at Salem, which held three days for worship and discipline. It was an edifying time, things being conducted in a degree of the pure wisdom, and the overshadowing of divine power was witnessed by many. Then, having duly waited for the moving and putting forth of the good Shepherd, who said, that "when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them," I thought I felt a draft, and not only so, but likewise true liberty, to visit New England, which I had not done before. If I had, I should have proceeded, in order to shorten my journey, for it was against my own inclination to stay so long in and about one place. Therefore I set out the 26th of the seventh month, Isaac Greenleaf accompanying me.

My first step was to Wrightstown, where was held a general meeting for the county of Bucks. Then we crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, and took meetings in our way to New York, then to Flushing upon Long Island, and were at their monthly meeting. Crossing the bay, we went to their quarterly meeting at Purchase, and after this we took several meetings as they fell in our way to Rhode Island. I had Robert Willis for my companion, a friend from the Jerseys, who had drawings in his mind that way. Many people came to our meetings in those parts, who are not closely joined in outward fellowship with us; yet were under the operation of the good Hand, and in degree convinced of our principles. This, I thought, made our meetings more lively, and the spring of the gospel to flow more plentifully, to the watering of the thirsty ground.

When we had visited the meetings hereabouts, and taken our leave of friends, we travelled through Connecticut government, having but one or two meetings in the way. The Presbyterians, who, formerly in those parts, were very rigid and bitter against friends, are now become more loving, and treated us very kindly. I had great drawings of the Father's love towards them, believing his secret hand was at work to bring them from the barren mountains of their lifeless profession, to serve the living God in newness of life. We came to Leicester, where there is a little handful that go under our name. We had a meeting with them on first-day, the 20th of the eighth month, and were refreshed together, being strengthened in the God of our salvation. Then we had a meeting at Bolton, about thirty miles from thence, where we met with Samuel Spavold, in his return towards Pennsylvania, he having visited most of the meetings in New England. We had a good season together. Saluting one another in that unity and fellowship which brethren and fellow-labourers ought to dwell in, we parted; and my companion and I went to Uxbridge, and had a meeting. Then to Mendam, where we tarried all night at Moses Aldrige's, and had a meeting next day; so on to Wainsokit, where we had a meeting. The weather being very hot, many people were nigh fainting; but praises be to the great Name, the meeting concluded well.

On first-day we were at Providence yearly meeting, which is only for worship. It was very large, and tended to the gathering and staying people's minds on Christ, the chief corner stone and Rock of ages; for truth had the dominion, and the Lord's power was felt. We had our outward entertainment at Stephen Hopkins', then governor of Rhode Is-

land. He and his wife treated us with hearty kindness. We had meetings at Cranston, Warwick, and East Greenwich, and upon Conanicut island. We then crossed the river, and came to Newport, and attended both their meetings on first-day, which were large; a great number residing thereabouts, who go under our name. But, with sorrow of heart may it be said, in the time of ease and plenty many have taken their flight.

We left Newport on third-day, and had a meeting at Portsmouth, in which we had good service for Truth. Then crossing the bay, had a meeting at Freetown upon the main, in which we were favoured with the openings of Truth, and left them in peace. I took notice of a negro man who was with us at several meetings, and by his own industry, with the help of some friends, had purchased his freedom, that he might attend meetings; having, for some time, been convinced of the blessed Truth, which he much prized, and told me, as he had been obedient to the operation of it, which worketh by love, he found himself engaged in his mind to exhort his fellow-creatures to come to the Divine principle in themselves; that they, by yielding obedience, might know a being saved by it; or to that effect. This I could not gainsay or discourage; but desired him to be faithful to the manifestation of Truth in his own heart, and the measure of grace he had received. We parted in love and good will, being brethren of one Father.

Our next meeting was at Little Cranston, after which I parted with several friends in the unity of the one Spirit, which had brought us into nearness and fellowship with each other; they returning to their places of abode, and I, with my companion, and a young man who accompanied us several weeks, still kept forward. I was enabled to labour through these parts beyond all outward expectation; for though the meetings were large, by reason of a great coming in of other people, I found that gracious promise fulfilled; "As the day is, so shall thy strength be." We were at Accoakeset, Newtown, and Dartmouth or Aponiganset, and had a meeting at each place. The last meeting, I thought, did not consist of less than eight hundred people. At Acushnett, Rochester, Taunton, and Freetown, we had many living and good opportunities to declare Truth in the free extendings of gospel love; also at Swansey on a first-day, had a satisfactory opportunity. Whilst we were visiting those places, we took up our quarters at Paul Osbourn's, who often accompanied us from one meeting to another, his heart being free and open towards his friends, and to serve Truth.

Having well cleared ourselves, we went towards the yearly meetings at Boston, Lynn, and Salem, the 22nd of the ninth month. They began at Boston. I do not remember that I had seen so much stillness and gravity in so great an assembly, as I observed there. It consisted of people of different persuasions. We have great cause to bow in humble thankfulness to the God of all our mercies, that he hath been pleased to make way for his people to enjoy their religious meetings without the least molestation, in this and many other places, where our worthy friends formerly suffered sore persecution, by long imprisonment, grievous whippings, spoiling of goods, and some of them laid down their lives for the testimony of a good conscience. And though our God be a gracious, merciful, and long-suffering God, yet he will take vengeance on all the workers of iniquity, and the day of his wrath will break forth like a consuming fire, in a time when it is not looked for. As he said, so he will do; "For," said he, "I am a jealous God, visiting the sins of the father upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments." So it is plain the Lord is equal in all his ways; for, concerning those that are the offspring of that hard-hearted, wicked and perverse generation, that persecuted and shed the blood of the innocent servants of the Lord, if they but turn to him with their whole hearts, so as to love him, and keep his commandments, they will surely find mercy; but if they continue in a state of rebellion and hardness of heart, and sin against his light and good spirit in their hearts, as did their forefathers, he will visit them with his judgments for their iniquities; and for the sins which they and their forefathers have committed, he will pour forth the cup of his indignation without mixture.

After those yearly meetings, we, with several friends, went towards the yearly meeting at Dover, and Cachey, taking several meetings in the way, as at Ipswich, where no friends lived; but we got leave to have a meeting in their court-house. It was disturbed by a man standing up when I was in testimony, who said that I struck at the foundation of their principles. He was a very hot man, and held the doctrine of absolute predestination. I told him, Truth struck at the unsound foundation; but as he was in heat and anger, not fit to dispute about religious matters, he sat down, and a woman sharply reproved him for his rude behaviour, she being grieved that the meeting should be disturbed; for it was in a good frame. Several of the people,

I believe, were ashamed of his conduct. After a little silence, a friend stood up, and had a good opportunity. Then I had to clear myself of what was upon my mind, and the people being still and attentive, the meeting concluded well. The man who had opposed me shrunk away, and I saw him no more, though I looked for him, and in coolness thought to have a little further discourse with him. That night we went to Newberry, where we had a meeting, much to my comfort and satisfaction. We had meetings also at Amesbury, Hampton, and Dover. Friends had been sorely wounded and scattered in their minds hereaway, by an unstable spirit. Those yearly gatherings were large, and I hope tended to the honour of Truth. We went next to Berwick, and had several meetings there; and travelled through the woods to Casco, where we had an opportunity with friends, and such as attend their meetings.

We crossed the bay to Small Point, and in our return had a meeting upon a neck of land called Meryconeague. The meeting at Small Point was the northernmost settlement of friends upon the continent. We returned by Boston, having several meetings in our way; and from thence to Pembroke, Sandwich, Yarmouth upon Cape Cod, Suckanessit, Wood's Hole, and thence took passage to Nantucket. We staid upon that island about a week, visiting friends in their families, and had several public meetings with them. It was an exercising time to me, finding the true seed or life of religion suffering much, by reason of strife and divisions. I left them sorrowful, because I thought the root of bitterness was not removed, though I was comforted in several meetings among them with the shedding abroad of divine favour, which strengthened me in the discharge of my duty; and indeed there is a living remnant still among them, which I charitably hoped would be preserved in the innocency and simplicity of the unchangeable Truth. Several Indians were there, natives of the island. I had a desire to have a meeting among them, and acquainted them with it, which they freely consented to; and at the time appointed, their priest was waiting for us with his meeting-house doors open, and said he would have me go up into the place where he used to preach. I told him, I chose to sit below with my friends. I had a living, open time among them, to set forth the necessity there was for them to turn their minds to the grace of God in their own hearts, a measure whereof they, as well as others, had received according to the apostle's doctrine; which, if they gave good heed unto, and yielded obedience to the manifestation thereof, would bring salvation. The

meeting ended in prayer and praises to Almighty God, for his great mercy and loving kindness to mankind, in sending his Son to be a light to enlighten the Gentiles, and for his salvation to the ends of the earth. Solidity appeared in their countenances, and they behaved with sobriety very becoming the occasion of our assembling together. I should be glad there was more of it to be seen among those that profess Christianity.

We parted with them in the love of the gospel, which I felt in my heart towards them. The wind coming fair, we took our leave of friends and went on board a vessel, a friend named William Hussey being master. In the evening of the same day we landed upon an island called Martha's Vineyard. We quartered at a man's house that called himself by our name, and I thought he had some zeal for Truth, and the promotion of it; for after he understood we had a desire to have a meeting, he hastened and called in his neighbours, and a solid, good time we had together.

The next morning, being favoured with a fair wind, we crossed the Sound to Dartmouth, and landed nigh the meeting-house, where we met with several friends, who had attended the quarterly meeting. The meeting ended that day; we had a confirming, sweet opportunity together, in waiting upon the Lord, before we parted with them and those that came from Nantucket. Next day we got to Freetown, and in the evening had a good opportunity at the house of Abraham Barker, with the friends that lived thereabouts. To this meeting came the negro man I mentioned before. He told me he had been visiting some of his own colour, and was returning to Newport, where he lived; but in his way, he said, he thought he must go by Abraham Barker's, though out of his way, not knowing we were come from Nantucket. When he saw us, he seemed to be almost overcome with joy, and was of service to us; for we wanted to send somebody over the bay, either that night, or early next morning, to appoint a meeting for us at Portsmouth upon the island; and none readier and more willing than poor Cæsar; for he was stirring so soon in the morning, that he gave full notice up and down the island. So we had a large gathering collected in due time, though the time to give notice in was short, and seasonable advice was handed forth. From thence we went to Newport with our friend Thomas Richardson, with whom we had lodged when there before, and were at their monthly meeting; we staid with them also on first-day. Our meetings were richly favoured with the free extendings of divine power and wisdom;

so that I was truly thankful I had been helped to get through the various difficult paths I had to tread in this unstable part of the world.

On second-day we left Newport, and crossed the river to Conanicut island, where a meeting was appointed for us; wherein we were well refreshed together, and the conclusion was in prayer and supplication for each other's growth, preservation, and establishment in the blessed Truth. We here parted with some friends of Rhode Island, under a sense of divine favour, and in the uniting love of the gospel, which had caused us to be near one unto another. Then crossing the river upon the main land, we had meetings at Kingwood, Perry's, Richmond, and Hopkinton, and so passed through Narraganset, till we came to Westerly, the last meeting in those parts we had to visit. We took our leave of those friends that accompanied us in great good will; then travelled through the lower part of Connecticut government, crossing many rivers, and the weather extremely cold. It was hard for me to bear; but praises be to the great Name, I was preserved in health, and my natural strength did not at all fail.

When we had travelled hard about three days, we came again among friends; and on sixth-day had a meeting at Inomaranace. It was to me a good time; for the bread that refresheth the hungry soul was broken. We then crossed over to Long island, and were at the meeting at Flushing on first-day, the 20th of the eleventh month. On third-day we had a meeting at Cowneck, and on fourth-day at Westbury. Lukewarmness and indifference much prevailed in many places among the professors of Truth. I had often to bear my testimony for the blessed Truth against earthly mindedness, and all the deceitful and false coverings of the flesh, which had been the cause of it. I returned back to Flushing in order to be at their quarterly meeting, which began on seventh-day, for ministers and elders. It was attended with a degree of divine favour, to the comforting of our souls. Those meetings were measurably blessed with the presence of the great and good Master of our assemblies, and his voice was heard by some, to speak as never man spake; and we had to conclude in humble supplication to him for his help, and the continuation of his mercy, in visiting and turning the hearts of his people to himself. I then visited the meetings upon the island, which I had not yet been at, and had meetings at Rockaway, and again at Westbury monthly meeting, where I was closely exercised on Truth's account; but was helped to clear my-

self of what lay upon my mind, and came away easy.

I then went to Bethpage, and had meetings also at Sickatauge and Oyster bay, where there had been a large meeting, but it was much declined; yet we had a large meeting, accompanied with divine power, to my great comfort. On first-day I was at Jericho. The meeting consisted of several hundreds of people, who heard the Truth declared with great attention, the power of it being over all, to the praise of Israel's God. Passing through New York, I staid their meeting; then crossed over by way of Staten island, to Rahway in East Jersey, where I had a meeting with friends, and some others that came in, to the edification and comfort of several, myself in particular; being therein strengthened and encouraged to go forward in the future service I might be engaged in. We lodged at Joseph Shotwell's, and on sixth-day had a meeting at Plainfield. It was small, by reason of short notice, yet favoured with the overshadowing of divine favour; for which our souls were bowed to the Father of all our mercies.

I rode to Whipiny on seventh-day to the quarterly meeting, which began on first-day. It was a good, satisfactory time. I staid there on second-day, and was at the preparative meeting, which was satisfactory, divers things being opened and delivered in the pure wisdom, concerning the things of God, and the good order established in his church. I had some good, seasonable opportunities in some friends' families; and on third-day had a meeting at Rahway, appointed for those of other societies; which was to good satisfaction. On fourth-day we went to the Great Meadows, where we had a meeting with the friends there, amongst whom is a living remnant. We were made to rejoice together in a true sense of the shedding abroad of divine love in our hearts. On fifth-day I went to Kingwood monthly meeting. I had some service there for Truth, in recommending to the good order of the gospel in each branch of our Christian discipline; which I observed to be much wanting among them. On sixth-day I had a meeting at Amwell, at the house of Gershom Mott. It was an open time, Truth in a good degree prevailing. On first-day had a meeting at Crosswicks; a close, searching time it was, many states being opened in the love of the gospel. On second-day I was at a meeting at Freehold, in which I was largely opened in the free extendings of divine favour. On third-day, the 19th of the twelfth month, I had a meeting at Upper Springfield. I was led to speak to the states of the people in a close manner, and

the meeting ended well. On fourth-day I had a meeting at Old Springfield. It was an edifying and good meeting, Truth having the dominion, to the praise of Israel's God. On fifth-day I went to Little Egg Harbour, and had a meeting there next day, in which I was enabled to clear myself in a good degree, and came away easy.

We crossed the river in the evening to Great Egg Harbour. The weather being very cold, and having much ice, our journey was attended with some difficulty; but we got well over the river, though in the night, to Great Egg Harbour, and lodged at Robert Smith's, an ancient friend, who, with his wife, entertained us very kindly. We had a meeting there on seventh-day, held at a friend's house, by reason of the extreme cold season. We had a solemn, comfortable time together, and after meeting, rode to the other meeting along the bay shore, towards Cape May, which was on first-day, the 24th of the twelfth month, 1758. It was a close, exercising time with me. The frost was so sharp, we could not cross the bay to Cape May, but were obliged to ride round to a bridge, where we crossed the river; which was about forty miles out of the way, and being strangers to the road, we met with much difficulty through the woods, and there was no beaten path to be seen for some miles. I saw that the friend who pretended to be our guide, was going wrong, and told him, if we took that course, it would lead us much out of the way; for I was very uneasy. Upon which he took out his compass, and finding it so, altered his course to that which I thought lay towards the road. I then found my mind quite easy, and said, I thought we should soon find it, which so happened. I said not much to the friends, but was thankful to the Lord, to find he was pleased to draw my mind towards the way we wanted to go.

Night coming on with much rain, we lodged at a tavern, and next morning got to William Townsend's, where we had two meetings to pretty good satisfaction. On seventh-day we rode about forty miles to John Reeves', at Greenwich, where at the meeting on first-day, the 31st of the twelfth month, and had good service for Truth. In that place there is a promising appearance among the youth, of the prosperity of Truth. Second-day, the 1st of the first month, we had a meeting at Alloway's creek, which was attended with good; I being helped beyond my expectation. On third-day I had a meeting at the head of Alloway's creek, where I was led to speak to several states in a close manner, and came away much refreshed in the Lord; praises be to his great Name for evermore.

I had a meeting at Salem on fourth-day, there being a marriage, and the new wine was handed forth, which made several rejoice under a sense of divine favour communicated to our souls. On fifth-day I had a meeting at Pilesgrove. It was large, several of other societies being there; I was opened in the free extendings of gospel love to their souls. It was a good time to many, magnified be the God of our salvation. On sixth-day I had a meeting at Woodbury, which was a solid, good time.

The 6th of the first month I went to Haddonfield, and lodged at the widow Eastaugh's, where I was very kindly entertained. On first-day I went to Evesham meeting, where I had been before, and had service for Truth in the love of the gospel. Haddonfield monthly meeting being on second-day, I staid there, and had an exercise on my mind for the honour, promotion, and prosperity of the blessed Truth, and that all might act in the wisdom, power and life of it, and might know self kept down by the power. I rejoiced that I was at this meeting, Truth favouring and the Lord's power being over all. I was made thankful in my heart to the great Author from whence all our blessings flow.

I went to Philadelphia on third-day, but finding my mind drawn towards the eastern shore of Maryland, I set out again on fifth-day, the 11th of the first month, and reached Wilmington that night. I lodged at William Shipley's when at Wilmington, and having seen his wife Elizabeth, when in old England, in the service of Truth, the remembrance of which had often been revived upon my mind, believing her to be a mother in Israel, and a sanctified vessel fitted for the Master's use, I could not but rejoice to see her again, and find her alive in the Truth, now in her declining years. Our next meeting was at the head of Sassafra. It was a hard time with me in the fore part of the meeting; yet I came away well satisfied, Truth favouring towards the conclusion, to the honour and praise of Israel's God. After meeting I went home with Joshua Vansant, where I lodged.

The next morning was at Cecil. I was exceedingly poor and low, and deeply exercised in my mind, but was helped over all, and beyond all thought and expectation of my own; for I think I may say in sincerity, I had no trust or confidence, save in the Lord alone, who hitherto hath been my rock, and my strong tower, my sure helper in every needful time. May I, with all mine, put our trust in him, has often been the earnest prayer and supplication of my soul. I had a meeting at Queen Ann's, which ended well, the Lord's power being felt among us, to our

comfort: I lodged at ——— Furner's, where we had a meeting with the family, and several others who came in. I hoped it might tend, in some degree, to stir up the careless, and warn the unfaithful. The 21st of the first month I had a meeting at Tuckahoe. It was small, but attended with good, the Lord favouring us with his presence, according to his gracious promise.

On first-day I crossed Choptank river over to Marshy creek, and was at their meeting. I was much comforted, and had peace in the discharge of what I believed to be my duty; though I travelled in great fear and much weakness at times. I was at Choptank meeting on second-day, which was silent; yet I came away easy, with sweetness upon my mind, having been strengthened in my silent waiting. I had a meeting on third-day at Third-haven, where I was sensibly affected with the states of those who were not willing to take up the cross to their corrupt wills and inclinations; and had to bear testimony against unfaithfulness, disobedience, truth breakers, and such as brought dishonour upon the truth and our holy profession. I felt the love of the gospel flow freely, even towards the backsliders; and in it warning them, I came away sweetly comforted in my spirit. Fourth-day I went to the Bay side, where we had a meeting on fifth-day, with a few lukewarm professors. I had to exhort them to more diligence in keeping up their meetings, and waiting therein, that they might know the renewing of strength in the Lord, and be enabled to worship him, as he is a spirit, in spirit and in truth. On seventh-day I was at the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders at Third-haven, where I had some service for Truth. On first-day I was again at Tuckahoe meeting: Truth favouring, in the love of the gospel, many divine truths were opened to the edification and comfort of our souls; and it ended in humble supplication and prayer to Almighty God for his help, strength, and preservation in the way of truth and righteousness. On third-day I was at Third-haven, at the quarterly meeting, where several friends had good service for the truth, in the love of which we were comforted together in the Lord, and helped to bear testimony against those things which are crept in by reason of unfaithfulness among the professors of truth. On fourth-day, the 31st of the first month, I went with several friends towards Lewistown. On sixth-day had a meeting at Cold Spring, where is a poor company of indifferent lukewarm professors. On seventh-day I had a meeting at Motherkill, which was pretty large, and attended with the shedding abroad of divine love to the people.

I was at Little creek on first-day, where we were comforted together in the Lord. Here is a promising prospect among the young people of the prosperity of truth. I was at Duck creek meeting on second-day, which was small, yet a living open time to several. Thence I passed to George's creek, where I had a meeting; and so to Wilmington, where I met with Samuel Spavold, who embarked for England on fifth-day, the 8th of the second month, 1759. I staid the monthly meeting, which was that day, in which I was largely opened to the states of several, things being much out of order, by reason of a difference which had happened among them. I came away, I thought, clear and easy in my mind. On seventh-day, the 10th of the second month, I was at Concord quarterly meeting for ministers and elders, which was solid, and much good advice was handed forth. On first-day I was at Kennet, and had large openings to the people, in the free extendings of divine love. On second-day was again at Concord quarterly meeting for worship and discipline, in which Truth's testimony went forth against disorderly gainsayers and libertine spirits. I had a word of comfort and consolation also to the weak, feeble mourners in Zion. Things closed well, and we parted refreshed in the Lord. On third-day I was at a meeting at Providence, held for young people chiefly; it was to good satisfaction, and ended well. On fourth-day, the 14th of the second month, I had a meeting at Birmingham. I felt the Lord with us, helping and making way by his own power; praises be to his great Name for ever!

After meeting, we crossed the river called Brandywine, and went to my kind friend William Harvey's, where I was kindly entertained. On fifth-day, the 15th of the second month, I had a meeting at Centre, in Newcastle county. I was glad and thankful in my mind, to feel myself fully given up to what the good hand was pleased to give forth, either to speak, or be silent. On sixth-day I had a meeting at Hockesson, which was pretty large, and in degree favoured; yet could not say I rejoiced, for in that place I felt that the Seed suffered, as well as in many other places, where my lot has been cast of late; especially among the elders, and those that should be the foremost rank in religion. I could not help mourning in secret, at times, under a sense of the relapsed state of the church of Christ in many places. How departed from the innocency and simplicity, and decking herself with her own ornaments of self-righteousness, and also stained and spotted with the world, and the filth of the flesh! On seventh-day I was at the meeting for ministers and

elders, held at London-grove for that quarter, and also at their meeting on first-day, which was blessed with the company of Him that dwelt in the bush; for his sacred fire was kindled in our hearts, with living desires, that the mount of Esau might be consumed. On second-day, after a solemn humbling season together, in true spiritual worship, which ended with thankfulness and living praises to Almighty God, the affairs of the church were carried on, and transacted in brotherly love, and condescension towards one another. We had also a comfortable and confirming time together on third-day, at our farewell meeting, which being a fresh seal of the Father's love and continued regard for his church and people, in uniting and making us to rejoice together in him, will remain, I hope, upon many minds, with gratitude to the great Giver of every good gift.

Whilst I was here I lodged one night at John Smith's, an ancient friend, who had kept his place well in the truth, and also at Joshua Pusey's, a good solid friend, who had a hopeful offspring. Hence I went to West Caln, and lodged at George Singular's, and was at the meeting on fourth-day, the 21st of the second month. It was an exercising time with me, yet I could not say but I thought truth had the dominion. After meeting I crossed the Brandywine, and went to East Caln, and was at the meeting on first-day, the 22nd of the second month, which proved an helpful edifying season to many. I went after meeting to Downing's town, and had an evening meeting at a friend's house, which was thought by some to good service. On sixth-day I had a meeting at Nantmill, after which I felt easy in my spirit, notwithstanding I had close and hard labour. On seventh-day I had a meeting at Pikeland, which was a watering time, for the Lord hath a living seed in that place, which in his own time he will raise up to the praise of his own great Name!

On first-day I was at Uwchland meeting. It was large, and attended with a good degree of divine favour, which made it satisfactory to many, though not so open to me as at some other times. Our next was at the Forrest, or Robinson's. I was much exercised to recommend to an inward waiting, which by many professors is much neglected. Our next meeting was at Exeter. On fifth-day we had a meeting at Reading, and afterward went to Maiden creek. At Reading our meeting was in the town-house, or court-house, where several soldiers came and many of the town's people, who behaved very soberly; the good power of truth coming over all, and prevailing, many minds were humbled and brought low. It was a good time, especially to some

of the soldiers, who were reached by the invisible power of Truth. The meeting ended in praises and thankfulness to the Almighty, for his unspeakable favours; who is over all, worthy for evermore!

After meeting we went to Maiden creek, where we had a meeting on sixth-day. It was large, and to tolerably good satisfaction. We lodged at Moses Star's. On first-day we had a meeting at the Great Swamp. It was a living satisfactory time to several; and, in general, an edifying season. I dined, after meeting, at Morris Morris's, the husband of the worthy Susanna Morris, and then rode to Plumstead, where we had a meeting on second-day, the 5th of the third month. The good power of Truth was also felt among us in this meeting, to the edification and comfort of our souls. On third-day I was at Buckingham monthly meeting, in which I was favoured with the pure life and fresh spring of the gospel, which ran freely in the love of it.

Here is a large body of people in this province of Pennsylvania, the elders of which are too much in the outward court, which is only trodden by the gentiles, or such as are in the spirit of the world; yet a young and rising generation is here, as well as in several other places where my lot hath been cast, since I came into this land, whom the Lord hath visited by his power and good spirit in their hearts, which, as they take good heed in yielding obedience to, and bring all things into the obedience of Christ, will crucify all their inordinate desires, evil thoughts and imaginations, and enable them to bring forth the fruits of the spirit, which are love, joy, peace, gentleness, meekness, long-suffering and goodness; against these there is no law. I have often travailed for them since I have been among them, lest the labours of love, which have long been bestowed on thee, O America! thou favoured of the Lord! should be bestowed in vain; and instead of bringing forth fruits to the praise of the great Husbandman, thou shouldst bring forth wild grapes, fruits of the flesh, such as he can in no wise take delight in; and instead of a blessing, draw down a curse, and provoke him to take away the hedge of his protection, and thou be trodden down and laid waste by the devourer; and for thy ingratitude, disobedience and unfaithfulness to him; yea, lest he should even command his clouds not to rain upon thee any more. Mayest thou never harden thine heart and stiffen thy neck against so tender a Father, who hath so long nursed and fed thee; so merciful a God, who hath often pardoned thine iniquities, though they have been as a thick cloud. He hath so visited thee, in

mercy sparing thee, and waiting for thy return, that if thou return not with thy whole heart, his anger and indignation certainly will break forth against thee, so as not to be quenched; no, though thou mayest make many prayers, and spread forth thine hands, he will not hear nor regard; inasmuch as thou hast hated instruction, and did not choose the fear of the Lord, but hast set at naught all his counsel, and would not take heed to, nor regard the secret reproofs of instruction in thine own heart. He will also laugh at thy calamity, and even mock when thy fear cometh; when thy desolation is unavoidable, and thy destruction as swift as the whirlwind. I humbly beg this may never be thy doom; but in order that the days of his mercy and thy tranquillity may be lengthened out, let truth take place, that equity, justice, and true judgment, may run down in thy streets like a mighty stream; then shall thy peace be as a river, or as the waves of the sea, that never can be dried up.

I was at Wrightstown on fourth-day; it was an exercising and low time with me, but I trust truth did not suffer on my account. On fifth-day I was at Makefield. It was a living and precious time in the meeting, Truth's power prevailing to the dividing of the word aright; the sense of which is cause of true thankfulness to the humble hearted. I had a meeting at the Falls on sixth-day, to solid satisfaction; and afterwards rode to Bristol, and had a meeting on seventh-day, the 10th of the third month. I was glad Truth in some good degree had the dominion. I staid the meeting on first-day, the 11th of the third month. This was a good time to us; the Lord's power was over all, to the praise of his own great Name!

On second-day I had a meeting at Abington, in which I was favoured with the openings of truth in the spring of the gospel, exhorting all to faithfulness, even the rebellious and gainsayers; that they might come to know salvation to their souls through Christ. My next meeting was at Horsham, which was large; in which Truth favouring, it was made a precious time to many, as I then felt. On fourth-day I had a meeting at Gwynedd or North Wales, where there is a pretty large body of friends; the sight of whom, in many places, and the sense of divine favour still extended towards them, was cause of humble thankfulness. On fifth-day, the 15th of the third month, I got to Philadelphia, having in this visit been absent from thence about nine weeks. I made my home, whilst there, with the widow Rachel Pemberton and her son John, worthy friends; she a mother in Israel, and a great care-taker of

the poor servants who have been sent, not only in opening the door and kindling the fire, but in ministering every thing that she thought might be a help and service to them in their journey; for which, I am fully persuaded in my mind, she, with many others, will not lose their reward. "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of those little ones," saith our dear Lord, "that believe in my name, ye did it unto me."

The 31st of the third month I left Philadelphia again, in order to visit a few meetings in Chester county, which I had not yet been at. On first-day I was at Providence meeting, which was a good and satisfactory opportunity, the state of things was much opened, and our minds in a good degree humbled, under a lively sense of divine favour. I was at Concord on second-day. John Churchman also being there, was very helpful to settle the minds of some, who had gone into jangling about some things which had happened among them. This being their monthly meeting, we left them to appearance in a pretty quiet frame of mind, and things ended well. After meeting I rode towards Haverford, and on third-day was at that meeting, which was well. On fourth-day I was at Darby meeting. It was an exercising time to me, things being much out of order, some differing in their judgment concerning what was, and what was not, consistent with our religious principles in regard to military service, in which several who go under our name, had been meddling and concerning themselves. This brought great exercise and trouble on the faithful. A grievous refractory libertine spirit I saw appeared; yet it was in a good degree kept down, and truth, in some measure had the dominion.

On fifth-day, the 5th of the fourth month, I was at Springfield. It was a large, good, seasonable opportunity to many. On sixth-day I was at Newtown meeting; in which Truth's way was largely opened, and livingly set forth in the power of it, to the humbling and solid satisfaction of many: a day to be remembered by the sensible. After meeting I went to George Miller's, where I had been before; a very kind friend. On first-day I was at Middletown meeting. It was a large gathering, and Truth had the dominion over all; though many dry professors were listening and longing after words, which sometimes causes the living stream to be withheld for a season; yet the great goodness and condescension of a merciful God is wonderful, in that he is pleased to cause the living stream of the gospel ministry to issue and break forth in a wonderful manner, to the refreshing of his own heritage. The glory

and honour, with living praises, be given to him, and that for evermore!

I had an evening meeting at the school-house; it also was an opportunity of good to our souls, which were refreshed together in the Lord. Isaac Greenleaf, of Philadelphia, being with me, on second-day, we were at Goshen meeting, which was attended with good; truth in some degree favouring. We lodged at Aaron Ashbridge's, and on third-day had a meeting at Bradford. We were much hindered in our way by the waters being raised, and a friend was in great danger of being carried away, but was preserved. We got to meeting, though friends had been gathered an hour or more. It proved a good season; the Lord had compassion on us, and caused his gospel rain to descend on the thirsty ground, to the refreshing of that which was of his own right hand planting, and also to the placing judgment upon the unrighteous part, and all the fruits thereof. I came away thankful in my spirit to the Lord, for his great goodness to his poor people; because I saw his mercy and loving kindness endure for ever.

On fourth-day we had a meeting at the Great Valley, in which I perceived the extendings of good were offered, even to the gainsayers and rebellious: a mercy unspeakable! After meeting we went to a friend's house, with whom Margaret Ellis abides, and were at Radnor meeting on fifth-day, the 12th of the fourth month; in which, though I was attended with much weakness, I thought I had some service for Truth. On sixth-day I had a meeting at Merion, which was not an unprofitable season, I trust, to several. I returned that day to Philadelphia, and on seventh-day, with John Pemberton, I rode to Plymouth, and was at that meeting. On first and second-days, at New Providence. On third-day returned again to Philadelphia, with some degree of satisfaction, and attended their week-day meeting, there being a marriage. Several rejoiced under a renewed sense of the ancient power and loving kindness of our heavenly Father's tender regard, in that he was pleased to cause his love and life-giving presence to be felt amongst us, to the refreshing of the sincere and upright hearted. Glory and praise be to his great Name; for he is worthy for ever!

I staid in and about Philadelphia between three and four weeks, in which time I attended meetings as they came in course, and also paid several religious visits to families, as I found my mind drawn in the movings of Truth; in all which service, though but small in comparison of some others, I found my spirit favoured with sweetness, and a degree

of peace. Whilst I waited here, supposing my service to be mostly over upon the continent, having paid a general visit, I unexpectedly, and pretty suddenly, felt a strong draught towards Barbadoes, or the West India islands. I acquainted friends therewith, and made some essay for a passage, yet saw not my way quite clear; but in waiting felt my way open towards the Jerseys, and on the 12th of the fifth month, went with John Pemberton to Mount-Holly, and was at the two weeks' meeting on first-day; and on second-day at Moorstown, where a meeting was appointed for two friends, who were on their way towards Salem yearly meeting, where I was also with them. On third-day John Pemberton left me at Ancocas, which meeting was in a good degree satisfactory, and also to the honour of truth, the edification of the Lord's people, and the praise of his great name! On third-day evening I came to my worthy and well esteemed friend Elizabeth Eastaugh's, where I lodged. On fourth-day I was at a meeting at Haddonfield; on fifth-day at Woodbury; sixth-day at Solomon Lippincott's; and seventh-day at Pilesgrove. All these meetings, I thought, had a good tendency to the edification of the churches, and ended well. Thanksgiving and praise be to Him who lives and abides for evermore!

The 19th of the fifth month, 1759, the yearly meeting for worship at Salem began, where we were much comforted together, in the enjoyment of divine goodness. The free extendings of the gospel spring flowed plentifully, to the watering the heritage of God; the sense whereof bowed many with humble reverence, in praises to his great and everlasting name, who is worthy for ever! The 25th we had a meeting at Evesham, and went next day to Mount-Holly, where also we had a meeting; on seventh-day to Crosswicks, where their quarterly meeting began for ministers and elders. On first-day I was at Bordentown in the fore part of the day, and at Trenton in the evening; at which meetings we were measurably comforted. On second-day I was at Crosswicks again, at the meetings for worship and discipline, wherein truth favoured us in a good degree. On third-day the meeting was very large, and I was deeply engaged for the honour of Truth's cause, there being a loose libertine spirit amongst some who go under the name of friends, yet never came under the yoke of Christ, to know the deeds of the body to be mortified; but live at ease in the gratification of their hearts' lusts, and cause the way of Truth to be evilly spoken of. My concern was chiefly to such as live at ease in Zion, and to the backsliders in Israel, yet I had a word of comfort to the

mourners in Zion and the heavy-hearted in Jerusalem, that they might hold on their way. I was glad of so seasonable an opportunity, wherein I was led to speak closely to the states of many, in true gospel love, which was as a seal of divine favour.

Upon our taking leave, we committed one another to the Lord, and parted in great love and true gospel fellowship. I then crossed the Delaware at the falls, in order to see my friends once more in Bucks county, where there is a large body, and got to my worthy friend John Scarborough's, on fourth-day, with whom I had travelled several weeks, both in the Jerseys and Maryland. I had great satisfaction in his company, he being a man of a good understanding, a tender spirit, and very serviceable in the church. The quarterly meeting for ministers and elders began at Buckingham on fourth-day, the 30th of the fifth month, which I attended, and also on fifth-day a meeting for worship and discipline, and I thought different sentiments were getting in amongst them. If great care is not taken to keep to Truth's teachings, and the unerring guidance of it, which will subdue and keep down all unruly spirits, there will be great trouble and uneasiness, if not a separation, in many places; for I saw an evil spirit of dissention was got into the church, and in the ways of its workings, it appeared in divers shapes, in order to draw after it the hearts of the simple, and such as, like itself, are unstable; for it is an unstable spirit, and by this it may be known, and such as are led into its ways and own its workings. For they will be restless, not easy, under the cross; and will cast off the yoke of Christ, and go from his teachings, meekness and humility, into a haughty, proud spirit, which is rough, full of hatred and envy, despiseth counsel, and will not bear reproof. This spirit, I thought, I perceived working in the mystery of iniquity; but its time is not yet fully come to bring forth its monstrous birth. The Lord's mercy is very great to his people, for this seed of the serpent hath hitherto been crushed and put by, in its puttings forth; and the true seed, though through hard labour and travail, has been brought forth into dominion, to the praise of Israel's God.

This quarterly meeting consisted of several hundreds, mostly a young generation. The gracious extendings of divine goodness were felt, and Truth's power prevailed over all the powers and spirits of darkness. I was glad I was here, and my spirit rejoiced in the Lord, the God of my salvation. After meeting on sixth-day, I went home with Samuel Wilson. On first-day I was at Plumstead

meeting, which was attended with good, the power of Truth prevailing. In the evening I was at a meeting near Buckingham, at a school-house. It was a large gathering, and we were much comforted and refreshed together in the Lord. I was at their monthly meeting at Buckingham on second-day, the 4th of the sixth month, in which, through the prevalence and owning of Truth, which came over the minds of the people, things were carried on well, both in the time of divine worship and in transacting the affairs of the church; for the power of Truth kept down all restless and unruly spirits, which at times are putting up their heads in opposition to the testimony thereof, and are for trampling all discipline under foot. I was deeply exercised in my spirit before the Lord at times, that I might be kept in the innocency, meekness, and pure wisdom. Some being, as I thought, righteous overmuch, I was afraid lest they should destroy themselves, and so dishonour the cause of Truth, which they at times had so zealously contended for.

After this meeting was over, I went to Wrightstown monthly meeting, which was next day. In this meeting I had hard labour and exercise; yet things ended well, and I came away satisfied and thankful in my heart to the Lord, for his unspeakable mercies. The Falls monthly meeting being on fourth-day, I was there also, had some service for Truth, and parted with several friends in much love and tenderness, we not expecting to see each other again in mutability. On fifth-day I was at Middletown monthly meeting, in which I was drawn forth in the living spring of the gospel, both in the men's and women's meeting. Then feeling my spirit easy and clear, I left them in love and the unity of the one spirit, which had united us together in a near manner.

On first-day I was again at North Wales, and had good satisfaction at their two meetings. On second-day I returned again to Philadelphia, having been about a month from the town. On third-day, the 12th of the sixth month, I was at the Bank meeting, in which we were comforted together, it being an edifying season to many. I staid in and near Philadelphia about four weeks, visiting some families and attending meetings as they came in course, though in meetings I had little to say, being shut up and much bound in my spirit to keep silence in that city. The cause is best known to the great Overseer of his people, who can do with them as seemeth to him good: and I saw it was good for his servants to be resigned and contented with all the openings and shuttings of his hand; with the various dispensations he is pleased to lead

through, that there may not be any confusion throughout the camp of God's Israel. I could not but rejoice in thankfulness of heart, that I was quite silent and still in my spirit; being made sensible it was the Lord's own doings, and indeed it is marvellous in our eyes, that he who is the Captain of our salvation, should call for such a cessation of arms for a season, that his soldiers may take a little rest in his royal pavilion and under the canopy of pure love.

I was at Darby week-day meeting the fourth of the week; on fifth-day at Chester week-day meeting; and on sixth-day at Chichester, where a meeting was appointed for me; which was large, and accompanied with the free extendings of divine mercy to our souls' refreshment. On seventh-day I was at London-grove monthly meeting, and also at their meeting on first-day. It was a contriving and bowing time with many, and we parted in the true unity, fellowship, and heart-tendering love of the gospel of peace. On second-day I was at Concord monthly meeting, which was a hard, laborious, exercising season, both in time of worship and discipline; things being much out of gospel order, by reason of strife and discord, as opposite to the pure and peaceable government of the church of Christ, as darkness is to light. The evil spirit was kept down in a good degree, and that which was out of order much helped by the power of Truth.

The 10th of the seventh month, 1759, I got to Philadelphia; the 18th, several friends accompanying me, we went to Chester, and the 19th on board a vessel which was bound for Barbadoes. Some time after we were got to sea, I was closely exercised in my mind, which brought me very low, in humble supplication before the Lord, that he would be pleased to enable me to go through whatsoever he, in the course of his infinite wisdom, might suffer to come upon me, whether for a trial of my faith, or any other of his wise and good ends. I could appeal to him in great sincerity, it was in obedience to his requirings that I had undertaken this voyage; and not in my own will. This was indeed with me as a time of renewing of my covenant and coming under a close engagement, that if he would be with me, to deliver and preserve me in the way that I had to go, so that I might return again to his house in true peace, then he should be my God, and I would serve him. May I therefore, with all the Lord's servants everywhere, not only make covenants when under close and deep exercise of soul; but Oh! let us be concerned strictly to observe and keep them; for I am a living witness for him, that he is a covenant keeping God with his people.

Whilst I was under this living and fresh baptism, those to whom I am the most nearly united in the closest ties of nature, were brought nigh to me in spirit, though far separated in body, with strong desires and fervent supplications, that they might be preserved in the truth, and that the Lord in his infinite mercy, would be pleased to visit their souls with a fresh visitation of his pure love. The churches also of the Lord, especially those people I had so lately visited, and had at times been so closely engaged for, in the love of the Father, were spread before me in the nearest manner, with fervent prayer, that they might abide in his love, stand in his counsel, and live in his holy fear; that so we might still be a people to his praise, and bring honour to his great and holy name, and the profession we are making of the blessed Truth; that the blessings which he hath reserved, and laid up in store, might not be withheld, but plentifully showered down upon his heritage.

My mind now was much eased, and that which had been as a load upon my spirit was taken away, and I was freely resigned to the will of God. At that time, if I rightly knew my own heart, the fear of death was also removed, and I trust, the occasion of it, which is sin; for I did not find that my conscience condemned me, though I well know, I have nothing to trust in but divine mercy, through my dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in whom, and by whom, all our sins are taken away, and we are redeemed unto God, and that by his most precious blood. It is by him also we have access to the Father, his spirit bearing witness with our spirits, that we are his children, often crying, Abba, Father, through the eternal spirit, which helpeth our infirmities, and maketh intercession for us; enabling us to ask aright, and pray in an acceptable manner.

I may not omit remarking at this time, when the French were nigh taking us, my spirit was so at liberty, and over them and all the powers of darkness in the Lord, that I did not see it would be so; and having had great freedom and liberty in my mind to go in this same vessel, I could not reflect upon myself for missing it in any respect, except it was in making mention of it sometimes too freely, which it is likely some might lay hold of, and that not to their own advantage. When we were taken, the Frenchmen, considering all their views were for plunder, did not use me ill. They took my little money, some of my linen, and part of my other wearing apparel; but my bed and chest, with many other necessities, they let me keep; which was of great service to me afterwards. I was now in a part of the world where I was

a stranger, and no money of my own left; yet I do not remember that I either murmured or repined at what had befallen me; or that any distrustful thoughts rose in my heart, so as to trouble and oppress my spirit; which I esteemed as one of the many singular favours I have received from the great and merciful hand.

The privateer belonging to Martinico, we landed at a town called St. Peter's; a great part of which was laid in ashes about two weeks after we were set at liberty, as I was afterwards informed. We were all had to prison; but our captain, myself, the mate, and a passenger, were put into a little room, which opened into the prison yard. I think it was about twelve feet square, and we upwards of twenty, if I remember right, to lie in it. Before we left the place, my fellow prisoners behaved courteously and civilly, none of them offering me any abuse, though I had often to reprove and exhort them to amend their lives.

It was extremely hot weather, and our yard, where we had liberty to walk, as well as our lodging room, was exposed to the sun most of the day. They let me have my bed in the night next to the door and window, for the benefit of the air, which was an advantage; but, alas! I had a great disadvantage along with it, for the wash and filth of the courtyard came through a hole in the wall, very nigh the window where I lay, so that oft in the night I was nigh fainting with the smell, which the heat of the weather made very nauseous. The bread allowed us was pretty good, but almost every kind of victuals was loathsome to my stomach in this stinking unwholesome place. There were salt beef and pork for those that could eat them; but it being neither soaked nor half boiled, I perceived there was but little of it eaten by any. My chief living, whilst there, was bread and water, sometimes a little coffee, but that was seldom, for we could not always get it boiled. Oatmeal mixed in water was what I often drank, it serving also for food. The water they let the prisoners have, I believe, is very unwholesome, it being taken up below, where the negroes wash their clothes, and also where the filth of the town is cast in. Most of the prisoners, I perceived, were troubled with a diarrhoea, and I had not been there above two or three days, before I was taken with it; which, with the extreme heat and unwholesomeness of the place, brought me so low and weak, that it was hard work for me to walk about a little in the prison yard; but I strove, and was helped indeed beyond my own expectation; for after we were set at liberty from the prison, we were six days on board the vessel that set us upon the English

island, in which time I think I suffered more hardship than whilst I was in prison; for being very weak, and the weather still hot, close and sultry, I could not abide in the cabin among the people, but was forced to lie upon the deck, where I could get air, though I was exposed to the night dews, and gusts of rain, which we sometimes had; all which tended to increase my disorder. The French captain gave me the liberty of the cabin, and showed me kindness in other respects. We were becalmed under the island of Gaudaloupe, and came to an anchor in a cove, where we took in fresh water; but I went not on shore. I was informed there was a great mortality among the English soldiers; and many others who went about business, were taken off very suddenly at this place.

The 7th of the ninth month they landed us at the island called St. Christopher's, where I found some kind, friendly people; though the generality were very gay, light, and airy. After I had been there a little time, my disorder abating, I began to gather strength, so as to walk about; and I found a few here who had some knowledge of friends and their principles, by reason of their education. One Joshua Lawson, a sail-maker by trade, a man of good report among his neighbours, was willing I should have meetings at his house, he having a large room very suitable for that purpose. So I had several meetings, the town's people coming pretty generally, and several were reached, I believe, by the heart-searching power of Truth, which opened to them their states and conditions, especially some of the younger sort, who were tender, and very desirous to have meetings. But alas! their eye and expectation began to be so upon the poor, weak instrument, that I queried in my own mind, whether I should have any more meetings with them; for that spirit, which hungers after words, sometimes shuts up the spring of the true ministry; or it is withheld for a time on that account.

It now revived in my mind, that I had felt a draught of the Father's love towards the island of Nevis, when we sailed past it, in our passage from Martinico; though I was told by one that knew the place, such was the conduct of many of the inhabitants, there were little hopes of getting a meeting, or being received there. But this did not discourage me, finding something in my mind which removed that obstacle out of the way. Therefore I, with Caleb Copeland, a young man from North America, took boat, and in a few hours arrived at Charlestown, the chief place on the island. We took up our quarters at a tavern. The day following being

their general court, many of the inhabitants came to town, and the place where we were being nigh the court-house, and the grand jury doing their business and dining there, drew a pretty deal of company. Most of them, at their first seeing me, seemed as though they could hardly be satisfied with gazing; but I endeavoured to keep my eye to the Lord, whose presence I felt to be near me in a good degree, to keep me still and quiet. So they had their full view of me, till their curiosity was pretty well satisfied. They offered no other incivility than fltering, Ishmael like. The grand jury, either out of kindness, or further to satisfy their curiosity, sent us an invitation to dine with them; but it being late before they went to dinner, our landlady ordered ours sooner. I did not find any thing in my mind against eating with them, though many of them are a light, vain, airy people, and their company not desirable to a solid mind.

They sent a messenger for us when they sat down, by whom I sent word we had dined. But they sent again, so I went in and told them we took their invitation kindly, but we had dined, and therefore desired to be excused from sitting down with them. They did not seem so light and airy now as they did before; but said they should have been glad to have our company. I observed they are very much in the custom of drinking healths, as well as using many other vain compliments, which I had to show my dislike to, not only by not using them, but in letting them also know they were against our principles, and the apostle's advice to the believers, where he saith, "Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed, by the renewing of your minds." I much desire my children may take notice of these little remarks, and put in practice that excellent advice of the apostle, not to be conformable to the world's language, vain customs and fashions, which deface that beautiful image and likeness man was first created in. For every thing was good that God made, and had an excellency and beauty in it, and man, the greatest of all, as long as he keeps his commandments; but he loses that likeness and image of innocence, by hearkening to the voice of the serpent, who is called the prince of the power of the air, that now bears rule in the hearts of the children of disobedience. I would therefore, my dear children, that you may come to know a being transformed by the renewings of the grace and good spirit of Truth, upon your minds and understandings, into the nature, image, and innocency of the children of God, and stand in it, by keeping his commandments; for herein is man's perfection.

A meeting had been proposed to be held in the court-house, several seeming to forward it, especially an old priest, who bestirred himself pretty much; which I thought somewhat strange. When it was nearly time for the meeting, he went along with me to the court-house, where the justices and several others had dined, and had not yet broken up; but that was more than I knew before I went in. However, the priest told them there was a gentleman, as he was pleased to call me, wanted to give them a sermon, and requested that they would give liberty of the hall for a meeting to be held; but one whom they called their chief judge started up in a heat, and said they had not done; and besides, they wanted no sermons; as for his part, he never loved to hear one in his life. A vulgar and unsavoury expression to come out of the mouth of one in his station; and it made me that I could hardly tell what to say about having a meeting that night, only as several of the people from divers parts of the island were there, it seemed a very suitable opportunity. However, the old priest was not at all discouraged with the repulse he had met with; he being resolved I should have a meeting, went over to the tavern where we lodged, and got the liberty of a chamber, and then came and told me there was a convenient room, and several already waiting. I went, and found every thing in good order for a meeting, except the people's minds; I was also in great poverty, but I think quiet and much resigned. I sat in silence a considerable space, in which time they were very restless, and rude in their behaviour, such as I had seldom seen or heard before; at length I had something rose in my mind to say, which reached, I believe, the witness of truth in them; for they became very quiet and still, and sat like another sort of people; and many after meeting confessed to the truth of what had been spoken.

I had another meeting at that place, and many came. It was a solemn baptizing time. The Lord's power had the dominion over all the rough and unruly spirits; praises be to his all powerful name for ever! There stood up a man at the close of this meeting, and said, he hoped what had been delivered would have a good effect; for it was very suitable advice. More he said, which is not needful to pen; and I thought it was in a good degree of sincerity. Then turning to me, he gave me a friendly invitation to his house. I told him I took it kindly, and should come if opportunity would serve. The company being pretty much gone, he entered into a little discourse with me, and told me, he himself was also a fellow-labourer in the Lord; but he had as lit-

tle the look of a priest, as any I had ever seen, as I thought. He told me also, he perceived that we had the advantage of them, in that we did not tie ourselves up to one text of scripture, as they did, and so could speak to the several states of the people; for he said, it could not be supposed that one remedy could be suitable to every disease. I made some remarks on his just observation, with something concerning the true ministry, the operation of the spirit, and that it was not to be limited; against which he made no objection, but freely assented to the Truth. We parted in a kind and friendly manner. I found he was a man of good understanding, bore a very good character among the people, and was well beloved.

In the evening, after he was gone, there came a messenger from one Burnet, a man of note in the island, to desire me to pay him a visit before I left the place; which I did the next morning. He received us very respectfully, without making much ceremony. He asked me some questions concerning my travels and usage amongst the French, which I gave him some account of. He did not seem to want to enter into any discourse about religious matters, but desired I would stay longer with them upon the island; for he said there were several who were the descendants of Quakers, and undoubtedly would be glad to see me. But that did not at all induce me to stay, I finding myself pretty easy to leave them; hoping the Lord in his own time will send his servants and faithful labourers not only into this island, but many others in this part of the world, where the gospel rain hath not been so plentifully bestowed. O, England, and North America! Though these people are too much in the churlish dog's nature, yet many of them would be glad to partake of the crumbs that fall from your tables. Your dainty full stomachs have often loathed the honey-comb, and their poor souls are wandering about upon the barren mountains of a lifeless profession, seeking the living amongst the dead. May we therefore, that have received the knowledge of the Truth, and been so often watered, be faithful, and bring forth fruits, answerable to the blessings received! Then will the Lord, I am fully persuaded, send forth from amongst us such as shall bring them to Christ the good Shepherd and the fold of true rest and peace.

But to return. After I had staid as long as time would permit, and was taking my leave of the man, he put a parcel of money into my hand, which I returned, and told him that we did not receive any money for preaching. He said, we could not travel without expenses, and I had been taken by the French, and had

suffered some loss, and as he gave it me freely, I might receive it. I told him, I was not then in necessity, therefore was not free to take it; but acknowledged it was his good will, and so took my leave of him. After I had been a little time at our inn, we understood he had sent his servant to the landlady, to charge her to take nothing of us, for he would pay all our expenses; but it was already paid; and I saw it to be highly expedient for us, to remove all cause from them that might take occasion, that the ministry might not be justly blamed. I left them in a loving good disposition of mind towards friends, and am fully persuaded there are hungerings begotten in the hearts of some of them after the true bread.

After I returned to the island called St. Christopher's, where I had taken lodgings, not knowing how long I might stay, I was not easy to omit having meetings, especially on first-days. Several people coming out of the country, I had freedom to sit with them, most of them behaving in a becoming and solid manner. Truth sometimes favoured us in time of silence; and though I had thought I should have been shut up, I found the spring of the gospel was still opened towards the people at times, in the free extendings of God's love. And it came into my mind, in the opening of Truth, that the Lord hath a seed sown in those islands, which lies under the clods of the earth; but its rising and coming into dominion must be left to his time; he being able to dethrone antichrist, bring down his kingdom, with all his strong holds, and in the room thereof, to establish his own everlasting righteousness; that so in the very place where it was said, they are no people, there shall they be called the children of the living God.

I found some of them desirous that I would visit them in their families, which I complied with, as I found freedom; often having to set before them their unchristian practice, in keeping their fellow creatures in slavery for term of life, and the cruelty they used towards them, which exceeded all that I had ever seen before; and it raised such a just indignation in my heart, that I used great freedom of speech sometimes in conversation. Yet I trust I did not exceed the bounds of Truth, for I perceived it always had some good tendency, either to silence, or bring some acknowledgment from them, that the practice was unchristian, and not to be justified; that they had no right to plead for keeping them, but that of force, and they were a daily plague, and caused them to run into a great deal of sin. Thus I have heard some of them complain, wishing they had never had them, or

had some other way to get their bread. So we may perceive the Lord is rising, by his pure witness, in judgment in the hearts of those negro keepers, showing them the practice is evil, and they cannot justify it, because the light condemns it, and maketh it manifest to them to be evil. I tarried at this place longer than I expected; but hope it was not time spent altogether unprofitably. And although I have been hindered from going to the place I at first set out for, I have evident tokens of God's love and fatherly care over me, in the various steps I have had to tread. Yet notwithstanding this evidence of divine approbation, I have not been insensible, that mouths would be opened, not only against me, in saying I was wrongly led, or under a deception, but also against the Truth; for the Truth hath many enemies, and none greater and readier to judge others, than those that are making a profession of it, but dwell not in the life and power. But it is not a new thing to be counted deceivers, and yet be true.

Whilst I tarried here, I often enquired for a passage to the windward islands, that such occasion might be taken away, and I be clear of the blood of all men. I thought by way of Antigua might be proper; but when I made some attempts towards it, I was always stopped in my mind, not being free to leave the place where I was. But when I had tarried some time longer, and had divers good opportunities among the people, I felt myself quite easy to leave the island; and not only so, but likewise a strong desire to be gone; also that view, and those drawings I had before, to visit the other islands, were entirely removed, and I was easy to return in a vessel which was then bound for Philadelphia. Therefore, taking leave of those I was pretty nearly acquainted with in Basseterre, the chief town on the island, I went by land to Sandy Point, where the vessel lay to take in part of her cargo. Here I had a meeting with the town's people the day before we set sail, which was the 2nd of the eleventh month 1759, having been upon this island, and Nevis, eight weeks.

Whilst I tarried in those islands, there was a great mortality among the people, but it did not bring that awfulness and humility upon their minds, which it ought to have done; and therefore the divine hand undoubtedly will be stretched out still. The captain and men behaved very civilly to me in this passage. I had several meetings with the ship's company, which had some good effect, I believe, upon the seamen. We arrived at Philadelphia the 29th of the eleventh month, where I was very kindly received by my friends, who had, I believe, nearly sympathised with me in my

late exercises. I staid in the city a little more than two weeks, except a short visit to Wilmington. A conference was held with the Indians whilst I tarried here, which I was at; and Daniel Stanton and myself, with a few other friends, had a meeting with them at Philadelphia in the state house.

After some time of waiting in silence, I had something to say, and one Isaac Still, an Indian, who could speak English, delivered the substance of what I said in the Indian language. He appeared tender and well satisfied, being a sensible sober young man. Tedeuscung, and several of the Delaware chiefs were present, and a few of the Jersey Indians. They were solid, attentive, and behaved in a becoming manner. The meeting ended in humble prayer and supplication to Almighty God. My stay being but short here, after I returned from the West Indies, I endeavoured to take my leave of friends in as general a manner as time would permit, and the 16th of the twelfth month 1759, being the first of the week, after a good and satisfactory season with friends at Pine street meeting house, I took my farewell of them in the uniting love and pure fellowship of the gospel of peace.

I went on board the ship *Carolina*, at the wharf; the master's name was James Friend, a kind, courteous man. We had a very difficult passage, by reason of high winds, and a leaky vessel; yet, through the mercy and goodness of kind Providence, we arrived safely at London the 29th of the first month 1760, where I staid but a few days before I took leave of friends there, and returned home to my dear wife and children, who, in my absence, with all that I had, had been kept, blessed, and preserved, far beyond my own expectation, or indeed my deserving as a creature. I desire I ever may be thankful for such unspeakable favours and mercies, and give him the praise, who is worthy forever!

WILLIAM RECKITT.

SUPPLEMENT.

IN the course of these travels the author often had his wife and children in his remembrance, and wrote to them, to encourage them to trust in that hand which had drawn him into service.

By a note, dated the 8th of the eighth month 1768, on one of his letters, he desires that they might be preserved for the sake of his children: "When," says he, "my head is laid in the silent grave, and my soul at rest with the Lord; and also that my Journal may be transcribed for their perusal;" adding, that the very fragments should be "gathered up, that nothing may be lost." For the benefit of

his surviving relations, and of mankind in general, the following extracts are inserted. They show the care he had for their welfare, when far absent, and bespeak the fervency of his love. The first was from France, while he was a prisoner there, and is as follows.

"Carhaix, in France, the 23rd of the Twelfth month, 1756.

"Dear wife and children,

"This comes to inform you of my welfare, and though outwardly confined, not having liberty to proceed on my journey at present, yet I dare not complain, nor say, the Lord is an hard master; for in his great mercy and matchless loving kindness, he hath been a present help in every needful time, as mine eye hath been single to him—he hath supported me under the exceeding great exercises I have already met with in this journey. Glory and honour be to his great Name for ever!

"I would that none of you might be cast down about me, but still trust in the name of the Lord. I am fully satisfied you will find it to be a strong tower, and as the shadow of a mighty rock in a weary land. And there is one thing I do greatly desire of you, that is, live in true love and unity one with another, and, as much as in you lies, with all men every where, and then the God of love and peace will be with you to the end of your time. I wrote about the seventh or eighth of last month, in which I informed you how I fared, and was in health; since which I am removed to this place, a tolerable situation, and provisions pretty cheap. I have a chamber to myself, and a good bed, being under no restraint, but have the liberty of the town and fields to walk in when I please. I hope to receive a letter from you in a little time. I most dearly and tenderly salute you, and bid you farewell.

WILLIAM RECKITT."

"Philadelphia, the 29th of the Fifth month, 1758.

"Dear wife and children,

"I came here this day, having been something more than six months in the southern provinces; in which visit, though the journey has been attended with some difficulties and dangers, yet I have no cause to complain. I lacked for nothing, it having at times been made easy, pleasant and comfortable to me in Christ, for whose sake and the Gospel's, I have endeavoured to be given up, according to the dispensation of his grace given to me, in obedience to his will, in which I desire I may stand faithful to the end. The same desire at times, is strong in my heart for all of you that I have left behind, that you may be faithful to the measure and manifestation of

grace given unto you. I am not without fear, lest some of my dear children, who are grown to years of understanding, should through unwatchfulness and carelessness, be drawn away into hurtful things. It drops as a watch word for you to take notice of, which, if you do, and walk agreeably unto the blessed principle of truth, which you have heard, and I trust, believed in, the Lord hath blessings in store for you, which will make you truly rich, and add no sorrow with it. I should have no greater comfort at my return, than to see it was your care and chiefest concern to be faithful to the Lord, according to the best of your understandings. This would be more to my comfort and solid satisfaction, than for you to have abundance of this world; for they that first seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness, the promise is, that all other things shall be added. I often breathe to the Lord, that he, above all things, may be pleased to sanctify and cleanse your hearts from all sin, that so he who hath hitherto been the help, strength, preservation and deliverance of your poor father in his exercises and troubles, may in mercy bless you all, and take delight in you, so as to tender your hearts, and favour you often with his power and living presence, is the sincere prayer of yours, in that love that neither distance nor length of time can separate. WILLIAM RECKITT."

"Newport, in Rhode Island, the 5th of the Eleventh month, 1758.

"My dear wife,

"These may inform thee and the children, that I have hitherto been favoured in a good degree of health and strength to go through the exercises and travels, both inward and outward, which have laid before me, for the sake of the gospel; in the discharge whereof, at times, I find great peace and inward consolation.

"My time of stay in this land, at present, seems uncertain; yet I am ready to conclude it will be until another year; if sooner, I believe it will be acceptable both to you and me: if we be willing to wait in patience the Lord's time he will be well pleased with us, and undoubtedly his blessing will follow, which will make truly rich, and add no sorrow with it.

"I have received two letters from you, in which I had an account of your welfare, in a good degree, for which I am truly thankful to Him that hath hitherto helped us and preserved us. May he have the praise, who is worthy! His ways are all ways of pleasantness, and his paths are indeed paths of true peace, and his mercies and loving-kindness are towards all them that daily live and dwell in his holy fear.

"May all my children learn the fear of the Lord, is often my earnest cry and prayer to the Lord for them. Then would they be preserved out of the evils that are in the world, for they are many, and lie close to their youthful inclinations, and if they give way to them, will draw their hearts from the Lord, and out of his holy fear into a loose, wanton, and libertine spirit, which I caution and warn them to watch against and beware of, lest they lose the blessing, as Esau did, and the time come they may carefully seek it with tears, and cannot obtain it. Time is very precious, and ought to be prized by all. Some very young in years, when on a dying bed, have bemoaned themselves, and lamented their mispent time, the sense of which causes me almost to tremble, lest it should be the state of any that see or hear these lines read. Therefore I entreat there may be a turning to the Lord with the whole heart; and make no reserves or excuses, but yield obedience to his holy will in all things, according to the best of your understandings, though through a great cross to your inclinations. It is the way to obtain mercy with God, and admittance into his everlasting kingdom of rest and peace, when time in this world of troubles shall terminate.

"I dearly salute thee and our children in the love of the Father of all our mercies, desiring you may all dwell in his love, that so you may feel me to be near you in spirit, though outwardly far separated. The dead cannot praise the Lord, but the living; the sense of it at this time, for his unspeakable favours to us, with many more of his dear children, whom he hath begotten into a lively hope, bows my spirit. May we all be preserved under a living sense of this life, that when under a degree of divine favour, we may be enabled to draw near to Him, who knows all our wants, and put up our prayers and supplications for each other, in a manner that will find acceptance, is the pathetic breathing of thine in that love that changeth not, including our dear children.

"WILLIAM RECKITT."

"Philadelphia, the 12th of the First month, 1759.

"Dear love,

"I have received several letters from home, which intimate thine and our children's welfare, as to health, which gives me great satisfaction, with desires, if it be the will of divine Providence, such blessings may be continued, and we truly thankful.

"I returned yesterday from New England and the eastern country, having been somewhat more than five months in that journey.

Health of body is in a good degree still continued, and true peace of mind; for which I am made, at times, to bless that great and everlasting Name, who is over all, worthy for ever! I see I cannot enlarge, only recommend thee to that which hath hitherto kept and preserved, and still will, I am sensible, as we put our trust and dependence upon it. I desire neither thou, nor any of you, will think me long. I shall, as soon as I am clear, hasten home; shall not conclude for myself, for I am not at my own disposal; yet seem to think I shall look homeward in a little time. My dear love to thee and the children, sympathizing with you in great nearness, I dearly salute thee and them, in that which never changeth. Thine in the Lord.

“WILLIAM RECKITT.”

“Philadelphia, the 15th of the Sixth month, 1759.

“My dear wife and children,

“I am in the perfect enjoyment of health, except some pain in my breast, which is now much better. It hath been a long time since I had a letter from England, but here have been but few ships from London this summer. I cannot conclude of fixing my return, I having had drawings in my mind to visit Barbadoes, and purpose taking the first suitable opportunity to embark for that place. There are only a few meetings in Barbadoes, so that my stay is not likely to be long, except I have to visit any other islands. I may thus conclude at present, but leave it to that great and good Disposer of all things, that hath been my support. I may with gratitude and thankfulness say, he hath been my present helper in every needful time. Oh! may our eye be single to Him; he is good indeed unto all that put their trust in Him; though great storms may rise, and clouds of thick darkness may appear, I am strong in the faith, the Lord still will be on our side, as we are concerned to be faithful unto him; and if he be on our side, who can be against us? I cannot enlarge much, but desire that you and I may be enabled to commit ourselves to his care and protection; for assuredly, a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his permission, and if we be faithful to him, we are of more value than many sparrows; for, saith he, the hairs of your head are all numbered. My earnest cries and supplications have often been for your souls' welfare. I would not have any of you think too much about me, though I trust we love one another by the nearest bonds and ties of nature; yet when the love of Truth prevails, we should give up one another for the sake thereof; then in this world shall we be entitled to the hundred fold, which

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is true peace, and in that which is to come life everlasting. As a most affectionate husband and tender father, I dearly salute you, and bid you farewell.

“WILLIAM RECKITT.

“P. S. I desire my children would not give way to accompany themselves with those that are not friends, for that hath been the ruin of many of our youth. Endeavour, at all times, to attend religious meetings, and also to learn and improve in reading and writing. I am afraid lest you should not do well; then I shall be grieved and sorrowful if I should live to see you again, instead of being comforted and rejoicing in you.”

“Christopher's, the 9th of the Tenth month, 1759.

“Dear wife and children,

“These are to inform you, and all inquiring friends and relations, that I have great and good satisfaction since I arrived at this part of the world, in the discharge of what I have thought to be my duty, notwithstanding I have been exposed to some hardships, and have likewise been out of health about four weeks, but am now as well as usual, can travel, and have a good appetite. Yesterday I came from an island called Nevis, where I have had several meetings; and though I have thoughts of visiting another island or two, I shall not, I trust, stay long in these parts, except I am detained longer than I expect.

“I have you all nearly and dearly in my remembrance, though I have been already longer from you, or am likely to be longer than I expected; yet I trust we shall find it hath all been the Lord's doings, and as we patiently wait on him, shall find his ways to be ways of pleasantness, and his paths to be paths of true peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and that his time is always the best time. I would that none might be too anxious and thoughtful concerning me, seeing the same hand that drew me forth is as able, if he sees meet, to return with me, and bring again to you in safety; and if not, let us not murmur or repine, if it may but be with us as it was with the apostle, who said, “To me to live is Christ, but to die is gain.” I cannot write much for want of time; the ship is near sailing, as I am informed, but commend you to the Lord, as into the hand of a merciful Creator and tender Father, tender in mercy to all that faithfully serve, worship and obey him.

“My spirit salutes thee and dear children, &c.

WILLIAM RECKITT.”

Our friend having left no further account of his travels after this voyage, until his se-

cond embarkation for America, there is reason to suppose he travelled but little, except attending the yearly meeting in London, or some short distances near home. But about the year 1764, he again found a concern to visit friends in America. For this purpose he embarked in company with Thomas Goodwin and William Horne, who were returning home from a religious visit to this nation, and arrived safe at Philadelphia, and proceeded through most of the provinces; but his wife dying during his absence, he, on account of his family, rather hastened his return, and embarked in a vessel bound for Ireland; from whence he came to London about the fourth month, 1766, and soon after returned to Wainfleet, the place of his residence.

Of this voyage, he kept only minutes of the meetings he visited; so that we are deprived of a particular account thereof.

After his return, he visited divers parts of this nation, and in particular the city of London, which he often hinted he thought might be the last time; but his love to the cause of Truth continued, and it was evident the fervency of his mind was as strong as ever.

He was a man of great integrity of heart, a lover of peace, and sought the promotion thereof, and had often a word of counsel to drop tending to edification. Not only at particular opportunities, but often, when absent, has he imparted of the goodness and mercy of the Lord to his soul, and also been helpful in counsel by letters. In one of the last I had

from him, he expressed himself thus: "The sap of life lies very deep in the root, and that must be waited for in those pinching times I have met with; and yet I have a comfortable hope raised in me of late, that all will be well in the end, the prospect of which to me, hath seemed exceedingly pleasant, and, if safe, should much desire it might be hastened; but that is not my proper business to look for, or to desire the reward before the day's work is finished. I have served a good master, but have ever looked on myself as one of the weakest of his servants; yet have endeavoured to come up in faithful obedience to his will made manifest in me, and in this now I have great peace and an assurance of an inheritance that will never fade away, if I continue in the way of well-doing to the end of the race."

His illness was very short; he was taken with a fit of the ague at night, and next morning, about four, departed this life, the 6th of the fourth month, 1769, and was interred in friends' burial-ground the 9th of the same, at Wainfleet, aged about sixty-three years.

The long and intimate acquaintance I had with our deceased friend, hath induced me to prepare these accounts for more general service, in which I have had real satisfaction and comfort; and if they afford the same to the reader, my end is answered.

THOMAS WAGSTAFFE.

London, 29th of the Seventh
month, 1776.

MEMOIRS
OF THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABOURS OF
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL,

WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE.

ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF

THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF HIS FATHER, JOHN FOTHERGILL;

AND NOTICES OF SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY GEORGE CROSFIELD.

PREFACE.

MORE than seventy years have now elapsed since the decease of SAMUEL FOTHERGILL. It has often, during that period, been wished that some account of his life and gospel labours should be written, and that his letters should be published; that thus the example, the sentiments, and the experience of one, who, in his youth, was so remarkably visited by Divine Grace, and in more mature life was so eminently gifted for religious service, might not be lost, but serve for the benefit and instruction of others. It is this feeling which has led to the present publication, with a desire that such may be its fruits.

Doctor Fothergill contemplated the publication of such a work, and made some progress in collecting materials for it, soon after the decease of his brother; but, whether from his numerous engagements, whether from the diminished energy which is generally the attendant upon advancing years, or from whatever cause it might be, he never carried his intention into execution.

By much the larger portion of the letters contained in the present work, have been long in the possession of my wife's family, her mother, the daughter of Joseph Fothergill, having carefully preserved them, from the time of her uncle Samuel's decease, and transmitted

them to her children as a valuable record of their honourable relative. A few original documents, belonging to some other branches of the family, also several letters and papers, long in the possession of my friend Croudson Tunstall, of Nantwich, have been kindly supplied to me.

In the present volume, the address and conclusion of the letters are, except in a few instances, left out, and in many of them the introductory sentence is also omitted, which may give them an appearance of abruptness. In order to make the account of some of the events during the life of John Fothergill more clear, the order of time is a little departed from in the narration of them, and in the arrangement of a few of the earlier letters.

It will evidently appear that the letters were written in the full freedom of affectionate and familiar intercourse; but as those who wrote, and those to whom they were addressed, have all long since passed away from this life, most of them without any surviving descendants, I feel a liberty to insert names, and to retain the expression of sentiments and the mention of circumstances, which otherwise it would have been proper to withhold.

GEO. CROSFIELD.

Liverpool, Fifth month 20th, 1843.

MEMOIRS

OF THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABOURS OF

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

CHAPTER I.

IN contemplating the characters and services of those chosen servants of the Lord, whom, in his Divine Providence, he does, from time to time, raise up in his church, as monuments of his mercy and instruments in his hand, we often feel desires raised, that some record of their labours should be preserved, and that their memories may be handed down to succeeding generations; that thus, though being dead, they may still speak, and that their lives may tell of the goodness, and proclaim the praise of Him by whom they were so eminently qualified—who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light—who had sustained them through life, and in the end mercifully granted an entrance into his everlasting kingdom; so fulfilling the declaration, that they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.

Amongst these may be numbered JOHN FOTHERGILL, of Wensleydale, and his son SAMUEL FOTHERGILL, of Warrington, members of the Society of Friends, and both faithful and eminently qualified ministers of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

In one of those small sequestered dales which are contiguous to, and in some measure form branches of, the larger valley of Wensleydale, in the north-west of Yorkshire, stands Carr-End, a respectable looking mansion, on the banks of the small and quiet lake of Semer-water. Here John Fothergill was born, in the first month of 1676; and this was for many years his residence, as it had been that of his ancestors.

He was the son of Alexander and Ann Fothergill, of whom he has left this testimony. "My parents [were] not only convinced of the blessed Gospel dispensation of God to mankind in sending the Spirit of Christ to enlighten and reprove for sin, and to lead the believers in it into truth and righteousness as testified unto by the people called Quakers, but [they] also endeavoured carefully to feel after, and live up to, this powerful principle of

Truth, whereby they were both instructed and enabled to be exemplary in life, and in a religious concern to attend meetings for the worship of God, and in a humble, steady, diligent waiting upon him for the appearance of his enlivening presence and power, to enable them to worship acceptably. This also led them into a godly care to train up their children in the fear of the Lord, and to take them to religious meetings, both on first-days and other days of the week, which they seldom failed to attend; especially my mother, whose care herein, and her spiritual, reverent travail of soul in meetings, (often [held] in silence,) for the sacrifice of a broken heart to be prepared in her by the Lord, had very early a deep, affecting impression on my consideration."

From a very early age, great was his care and inward fear lest he should offend the Lord. "This," he says, "with some heavenly touches of the life of truth, enabled me to live more self-denyingly and gravely than some others of like years, which my mother particularly noted to herself, with some comfortable hope for the future."

The death of his tender, careful mother, which took place in 1689, when he was about thirteen years old, proved a great loss to him. Soon after this event he became for a time less watchful and less thoughtful for his soul's everlasting welfare, and the heavenly desire and looking towards God, which had previously been his care, became stifled and neglected. He was very young at this time, but these declensions were often a burthen to him, and occasion of much secret sorrow: strong desires after repentance ensued, and by renewed convictions and visitations, he was brought to see and consider his weakness and unfaithfulness, and to mourn over them with secret lamentation.

"Yet," he says, "as I was kept for a time thus low and watchful to this heavenly principle of Truth, which let me see my sin and the danger of it, I was favoured with springings of hope for mercy and salvation, and then my cry was frequent and strong, to be

purged thoroughly, whatever I had to bear, if the Almighty would but enable me. Thus I wrestled for several years, and durst not believe that I gained any effectual victory; and as the baptism of Christ by his Spirit had begun to operate in me, to bring a death unto sin and the lusts of the flesh, that through faith and diligent attendance to his power I might live to him in newness of life, I had some hope that the fan in his hand would thoroughly purge me, which was the very earnest cry and longing of my soul. But the winnowing, refining work of the spirit of judgment, and of burning, now kindled to take away my dross, was so heavy upon me that I was often tempted to conclude that I was forsaken of mercy, and that judgment and darkness were to be my portion
 a resolution in a degree of living faith, was firmly fixed in my heart, to endeavour to lie and to wait as at the Almighty's footstool, and as this desire after divine favour and mercy, and devotedness of heart, to lean towards and wait for his arising, was of his own begetting, so he was graciously pleased to stay my mind in humble resignation, until he brought forth judgment unto victory by degrees, and caused the Sun of righteousness at times to arise upon me with healing in his wings; yet he often saw meet to hide his face from me again, and to strip me, not only of any sense of his favour, but even of hope of obtaining a place among the redeemed. At this time, the Scripture which saith, It is good to hope and quietly wait, to see the salvation of God in the land of the living, and some other like sentences, were brought to my remembrance, accompanied with glimpses of heavenly goodness, which graciously helped to stay me in some patient hope under the heavenly refining hand the blessed presence of the Saviour of the world, which at times filled and overshadowed my soul in my thus following him, though mourning, is never to be forgotten by me. This was about the seventeenth year of my age."

When he was about eighteen years old, his father was prosecuted on account of his Christian testimony against the payment of tithes, and carried away from his family to prison at York, about fifty miles distant from his own dwelling. John being the eldest then living, the care of the (three) younger children, and of the business and servants, devolved upon him: this, with his father's imprisonment at such a distance, and in a poor state of health, brought him into much anxiety and concern of mind. One, coming to see him, urged him strongly to give him liberty to agree with his father's prosecutor, and thus procure his discharge from prison,

and to have the money reimbursed afterwards; but he says, "when I considered a little, my understanding was fully satisfied that it was the mind and cause of God, that this testimony against tithes in this dispensation should be borne, and that what suffering soever might attend our faithfulness to him, he could readily make up, and I then believed he would; and so, on the other hand, that he could soon blast and consume any seeming advantages that might be hoped for by giving way to selfish reasoning, or shrinking from the faithful and reverent bearing of that testimony."

After being imprisoned for conscience' sake for about six months, his father was released, but did not long survive his liberation; he departed this life on the 6th of seventh month, 1695. "This," says his son, "increased my exercise in divers respects, but as I endeavoured to seek the favour and counsel of the Most High God, he was pleased to remember me with merciful help many ways." Yet many were the baptisms and deep conflicts of soul through which he had to pass; at times much sorrow and distress was his portion; at other seasons, he says, the Lord "was pleased to deal gently with me, mixing mercy with judgment, and filling my soul again and again with reverent hope, as well as humble supplication that he would thoroughly purge me, and spare nothing alive in me that was offensive to him. Thus was my heart often exercised both by night and by day, often, likewise, when about my business; and sometimes the brightness of the salvation of God, and the enlargings of his love, were so abundant in my soul, that I could scarcely (nor did I always) keep from falling down upon the ground to adore and worship his glorious presence. And at some times, I apprehended it might be required of me to open my mouth for the Lord in the congregation, which was exceedingly humbling to me."

Abiding thus, "with some patient hope under the heavenly refining hand," John Fothergill became fitted and prepared for service in the Lord's cause, and in the twenty-first year of his age he came forth as a minister of the Gospel, and continued a diligent and faithful labourer therein to the end of a long life.

He did not enter upon this important work until very close and strict examination had convinced him, that the call to this service was from the only true and right source, and great was his fear lest he should be too forward, or proceed without right authority.

On this important subject he has left the following instructive remarks:—

"I am not without fear that such a due

waiting for, and distinct certainty of, the immediate call or requirings of the Word of life, have not always been suitably practised, and for want hereof, some have appeared as ministers before [being] ripe, and have brought forth fruit of very little service, if not detrimental; because none can give what they themselves have not: whereas, if these had waited with proper diligence for the living Word to open and engage in the entire subjection of self, they might have been great and good instruments, as clouds filled by the Lord with heavenly rain. And as the divine and certain requiring of truth is the only right entrance into the ministry, because the Lord said, 'Some run, and I sent them not, therefore they shall not profit the people;' so it is only his fresh and renewed requiring, not only opening the matter to speak, but engaging to speak at this time, whereby the church, or individuals, are edified, as our Father would have his children edified."

Having thus given up in obedience to the Divine command, he was engaged in the exercise of his gift, visiting sometimes one neighbouring meeting and sometimes another; yet still was he closely tried, and many hidden sorrows were his portion under the weight of the refining season, through which he had to pass, but a degree of living hope was often revived in his mind, "that in time he might, through humble attention and godly care, be set more at liberty in the freedom of a son." Great was his care and anxiety diligently to wait for the distinct openings of the light of life, and that all his proceedings might be in obedience to it.

In the twenty-second year of his age he felt a concern of mind to pay a religious visit to Friends in Scotland, which he accomplished to the satisfaction of his friends, and returned with peace. About this time he believed it right to dispose of his business and to let his land, that he might be more at liberty; yet, whilst careful not to be so involved in temporal concerns "as to hinder him from true inward retiring often to feel the life of truth, for the daily support of his soul;" yet he also thought it right not to be without suitable outward employment, as therein "there appeared," he says, "both then and since, a danger of being tempted to be easily drawn abroad, before or without that distinct requiring of truth both *to go and return*, in which only the ministers of Christ move in true safety, and to right edification, and be in danger of missing, or losing, the knowledge of the pure requirings of the everlasting High Priest; and so make way for formality, a barren ministry, and unprofitable labour." So careful was he

to endeavour to avoid errors on either hand, and to be found obedient in all things.

A few months after his journey into Scotland, he visited several parts of Yorkshire, and the county of Durham. Of this visit he thus writes:—"Though this labour was like a fire to the house of Esau, and, therefore, unpleasant to some; yet the inward and living among the people were relieved and made glad in the Lord, whose favour and peace often filled my heart with awful reverence towards him, with strong desires purely to know, and to be helped to do his will faithfully."

About this time, several in the northern parts, whither he had been led in gospel labour, were convinced and gathered into a knowledge of the truth, of whom some became valuable ministers.

His next service from home was an extensive visit to Friends in the western counties, and the city of London, where he remained several weeks. From thence he went into Cornwall, and on his return attended the yearly meeting at Bristol; he also visited all the meetings in Wales, and returned home through Cheshire and Lancashire.

In the year 1701, he visited Scotland a second time, passing through Cumberland to Edinburgh, and so to the north of Scotland; visiting the meetings everywhere in those parts, and returned to Glasgow. In many places he was truly comforted with Friends: "They were encouraged and glad in a loving sense of the continued fatherly regard and extendings of the love of God toward them in that nation, amongst a hard, self-conceited, and, in some places, an envious people." In Edinburgh and Glasgow a rude spirit prevailed, causing them to disturb Friends in almost all their meetings, sometimes throwing stones, &c.; some with all the noise they could, "endeavoured to drown the voice of any who were concerned to minister publicly. Yet, at times, the power and authority of Truth arose over those wicked endeavours, and the evil spirit was overborne and weighed down, and some of the worst would go away, and others lend some attention to the testimony of truth; and Friends were the more edified, and their faith and hope in God strengthened. At Glasgow, when I was there on a first-day of the week, the people had very much disturbed us in meeting, in their usual manner, and followed Friends along a large open street, some shouting and scorning, others throwing stones and dirt. The people who were gathered in great numbers about their doors, and saw what passed, seemed rather to be pleased with the abusive behaviour of the mob towards us,

than to offer any discouragement to them: whereupon, a soldier, an Englishman, began to cry aloud three times, as if he had some public proclamation to make; and when he had thus gained attention, he called aloud again: 'Behold the godly town of Glasgow, how they entertain strangers!' and repeated it three several times. This reproof made the people so ashamed, that they mostly took to their houses, and got out of sight; and the more grown up people retiring, the rest soon left us, and went off likewise. I heard, when I was at this place some years after, that the people had never offered the like disturbance again to Friends, either in their meetings or in the streets."

From Glasgow he went into Ireland, and paid a very general visit to Friends there. At Dublin, he says,—“I met with our ancient and honourable friend William Edmundson, whom I had a great desire to see, having a deep and reverent value for him.” He thus concludes the account of this journey:—“With the love of my friends, and an humble and thankful heart before the Lord of all true help, I took leave of Friends at Cork, and went over to Minehead, in Somersetshire, having something remaining towards a few places thereaway, and about Bristol; and from hence came pretty directly home again, with reverent awe towards the ever blessed helper.”

In the following year he was engaged on religious service in the eastern and midland counties, also in the city of London.

A concern had for a long time attended his mind to pay a religious visit to Friends in the several provinces of North America; and, with the unity and approbation of his friends, he and his companion, William Armistead, who was under a similar concern, embarked at London, in the second month, 1706, and at the end of ten weeks arrived safely in Maryland.

After travelling diligently through those parts of America where Friends were then settled, they proceeded to the West Indies, and had religious service in Barbadoes, Antigua, and Jamaica: in the latter island there were at that time four meetings of Friends mostly kept up. Amongst the Friends of these meetings, and the inhabitants generally, they were engaged for about three months, and then embarked for England, where they were favoured to land in safety, in the first month, 1708.

Previously to this visit to America, he had become acquainted with Margaret Hough, the daughter of Thomas and Ellen Hough, of Sutton, in Cheshire; of a family in good esteem, and Friends rightly concerned for the support and maintenance of the principles of

truth. She was herself at times engaged in the ministry, and was greatly beloved and esteemed for her piety and worth. The following letter, addressed to her during his absence, presents a beautiful expression of affection proceeding from the surest source, and based upon the safest foundation—a true love and unity in the fear of God.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO MARGARET
HOUGH.

3rd of Twelfth month, 1706.

My near friend,

Having thee often fresh in my remembrance, in a near and tender manner, for the truth's sake, which brought our spirits into a degree of nearness many years since, which never yet, I believe, has altogether worn away, I have in my mind to give thee a few lines with the salutation of inward love, which sometimes has comfortably spread over my heart when thinking of thee since I left my native shore; with increased well-wishing for thee, and the aboundings of immortal virtue in thy tender, often bowed heart, which I often think has more secret distress and besetment to grapple with than many are aware of, yet this I am satisfied of, that love and care from above are extended towards thee. Lean steadfastly upon that arm which has been with thee, and has fed thee, and led thee afresh to springs of water, sometimes when they have been almost hid. Dear Margaret, methinks I feel it has been something after this manner with thee, yet the Lord's tender regard has been, and is towards thee: my spirit is sweetened in its reachings forth to thee at this time, as at many others these many years, at times and seasons when we have been far absent in body. I desire a place in thy remembrance when it is well with thee. I am in an exercising country, yet have no cause to repine, because that engaging life which brought me hither, fails not, but often makes the weak strong; and I have yet some hopes to see my native land and near friends again, though I fear not so soon as I hoped for, but must leave it to the great and worthy Disposer. And, dear friend, my heart saith to thee, lean carefully upon the truth, the virtue of it, and it will keep thy mind and spirit in dominion over the clogging, loading things of this world, and be as a stay to thee in times of trial which thou meets with in divers respects. I have written larger than I did intend, because my heart is open towards thee in true love, which in a solid manner runs forth to thee in sympathy with thee in various straits, and in the continuance of it doth tenderly embrace

thee, and remain thy near friend and fellow-traveller in many besetments.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

On the 5th of the third month, 1709, JOHN FOTHERGILL and MARGARET HOUGH were united in marriage. They settled at his own house at Carr-End.

In the same year, accompanied by Gilbert Thompson,* the uncle of his wife, he was engaged in an extensive religious visit to the western and southern parts of England, returning by way of London. With this exception, he remained at and about home for several years, diligently engaged in the care of his concerns, and of his increasing family; frequently visiting the meetings in the immediate neighbourhood of his residence, as well as some more distant.

In the year 1719, a very close and affecting dispensation was permitted to befall him. After a happy union of ten years, during which he had indeed found in his wife a true help-meet, a tender sympathizing partaker in his exercises and labours, and a careful, watchful mother of his children, she was taken from him by death, soon after the birth of their eighth child.

Of the particulars of this affecting event, and of her character and worth, an account was drawn up by her husband, of which the following is an abridgment.

MARGARET FOTHERGILL was of exemplary piety and prudence, even from her tender years; and whilst very young, she not only delighted to attend Friends' meetings, but came under a concern of heart that she might become acquainted with the Lord for herself, and witness his quickening power and virtue in her own soul; which concern he was graciously pleased to regard, and visited her heart with his power and love; and as she grew up, through the pure influence

thereof, she came to be remarkably clothed with a meek and quiet spirit, and was of a grave, modest, and exemplary behaviour, and was at times concerned to exhort Friends to a close walking with, and true dependance upon God, and to beware of an unconcerned mind.

After her marriage she continued in the same watchful state, a true lover of meetings, and a humble waiter for the arising of the life and truth in them, wherein alone is ability for the performance of acceptable worship. Being often very weakly, and having several young children, she was often unfit to attend meetings, but would frequently express her care that the affairs of truth might be conducted to the glory of God, and was not without hopes of living to have more ability, and to be more at liberty for these services, and to discharge herself more fully for righteousness' sake. But a few days after the birth of her eighth child, she expressed her apprehension that she should not recover, speaking with much resignation and cheerfulness, saying, "I wonder that I cannot be troubled at being likely to leave my little ones and my dear husband." These expressions much affected her husband, and she added, speaking to him—"They will be cared for, *thou* wilt be helped, and there is a place prepared for *me*. They will not be left under the care of a father, who, like too many in these days, will neglect their truest interest, but with one, who, knowing whence good comes, will seek, I trust, with proper care, to the Gracious all-sufficient Helper, both for himself and for his children."

She gave many exhortations to those who came to see her, to prize their time, and to make a right use of the visitation of God to them; often reviving what had been a prevalent concern in her mind, that none should content themselves with a bare going to meetings, or sit down in them, in a careless, unconcerned frame of mind, but sit as at the Lord's footstool, and wait to hear his gracious words; and said, she well remembered she had to advise Friends against an unconcerned mind, and indifferency, the last time she had any thing to say in meetings before she left her own country. And, with great weight, further said, "It is great or absolute mockery, to go and sit down before the Lord in meetings in a careless manner."

After this, though her weakness much prevailed, yet her strength was renewed in the power of truth, wherein she prayed in a very humble, fervent manner for the church in general, and for her children, saying,—“Let me be bowed down before the Lord, that the fruit of my body may be enriched with the

* Gilbert Thompson resided at Penketh, near Warrington, where he conducted a boarding school, which, under his care, and afterwards that of his son Gilbert, maintained, for a long period, a high, and justly deserved reputation. He was a man of great use and service in the church, and in his station as a schoolmaster, was eminently qualified for the instruction of youth, being endued with wisdom and skill to govern them by mild and gentle means. He was prosecuted for keeping a school, and suffered on this account an imprisonment in Lancaster castle. His labours in the work of the ministry were useful and edifying, being pure and unmixed with the enticing words of man's wisdom. He travelled in this work through most parts of Great Britain and Ireland. He died on the 22nd of Fourth month, 1719, aged sixty-one years.

same favour, love, and goodness;" and so continued praising and glorifying God, in the aboundings of his love and mercy, much to the tendering of the hearts of those about her. Though she had a hard struggle with death, yet its sting was taken away: she patiently continued in humble acknowledgments to the Lord for his goodness and mercy, and in praises to him, who was, she said, worthy—worthy of praises for evermore, as long as her words were intelligible; and so departed in peace, on the 16th day of the second month, 1719, in the forty-second year of her age.

Thus was her husband deprived of a faithful and affectionate companion, and her seven surviving children, of whom the eldest was not ten years old, of a tender and religious parent; but her strong desires and the secret exercises of her soul for their preservation and spiritual good, her tears and her prayers for these, her "little ones," were not forgotten before God;—they were seen and remembered by their Father in heaven;—*His* care and protection were extended to them, and in after years, his love and power mercifully visited their hearts; in an especial manner was this gracious visitation extended to her son Samuel, who became an eminent and favoured servant of his Lord.

CHAPTER II.

THE loss of his beloved wife, was to John Fothergill a great bereavement and very close trial, but he submitted with holy resignation to the Divine will, saying, in answer to a sympathizing friend, "The Lord gives, and he takes away: his will be done; he is worthy. But what if I also must be called from my little ones?" Thus alluding to a belief which he then felt, that it would be required of him, before long, again to visit North America and the West Indies. The prospect of this religious service was a great trial to him, as it is recorded that few, or perhaps none, ever exceeded him in tender, paternal care and affection for his children. Yet, when he became fully assured that the Lord required this sacrifice, he gave up freely, saying to his children, that though he had all the anxious concern of a father for them, yet he must obey the holy call of the Lord, who he believed would care for them in his absence.*

In entering upon such an engagement, and under his circumstances, the important duty

* See an affecting account of this and similar acts of tenderness and care, related by Samuel Fothergill, during his visit to Ireland, in 1762.

of committing his children, during his absence, to the care of relations and suitable persons, obtained his close attention.

He left home in the spring of 1721, with the full unity and approbation of his friends, and having the company of Lawrence King; they embarked at London, and arrived safely in York river, Virginia, in the fifth month of that year.

After an extensive visit in America, they proceeded to Barbadoes, and whilst there, John Fothergill wrote an Epistle to Friends of Dover meeting, New England; and another to the professors of truth in Antigua, Anguilla, Jamaica, or thereaway.

From Barbadoes they sailed for England, where they were favoured to arrive safely, in the fourth month, 1724, having been absent three years. Upon landing, they proceeded to London; and to the yearly meeting, then just commenced, an account was given by John Fothergill of their travels, and of the state of Friends in America, of which the following is an abridgment.

"We first acknowledge, in humble reverence to the Lord Almighty, that he mercifully favoured us with his love and countenance very often upon the sea, and guarded us thereon from wicked men, into whose hands some fell who were very near us.

"After a moderate passage we arrived safely in Virginia, and entered upon our service, and, going towards North Carolina, had many large and open meetings, both among Friends and others. In both these provinces we found great willingness in the people to hear the truth declared, many of whom appeared tenderly affected. There seemed to be a comfortable opening among the youth, and some growth in the elder as to religious care: Divine mercy still reaches freely towards them, and in some places there is an increase in righteousness, and truth is in good esteem; but in others, the love and friendship of the world occasions a decay.

"In Maryland we found great loss, by the decease of many of the elders, and of the more zealous and concerned Friends; yet there are in several parts some who are hopeful and religiously disposed; yet a love of ease and vain liberties has prevailed, and hindered the work and honour of truth. There is some openness among several of the neighbouring people, and a gracious extension of Divine love to them, as well as of a helpful hand in heavenly wisdom towards Friends.

"In Pennsylvania we found an openness in many places, among people of several professions; some were convinced of, and received, the truth in the love of it. There is a large body of religiously-minded people among

Friends, who are growing up in a true care for the honour of truth; yet these are mixed with many earthly-minded, and some loose, libertine people, who occasion much exercise to the right-minded: yet the Lord's goodness and care is near and over that country, and his truth prospers in it.

"In the Jerseys, Long Island, and New York States, there are a considerable number of Friends, and in some places a hopeful openness among other people. Though vain liberties in some, and too much carelessness and indulgence in others, have stained or obstructed the progress and dominion of the work and beauty of truth; yet the visitation of heavenly love is freely extended, in order to repair and build up in righteousness. There are some honestly concerned Friends there-away, among whom we had a satisfactory labour in the fresh visitation of Divine power and love.

"In Rhode Island, New England, &c., we had many meetings and close labour, but on the whole much to our satisfaction. There is a considerable body of Friends, and we believe they are increasing in the knowledge of the power of truth, and in stability in righteousness and faithfulness to it, in those parts. We had many meetings amongst the neighbouring professing people, especially in the eastern parts, and several, we hope, were effectually reached by the power of truth, and received and joined in with it in humility and gladness of heart.

"We laboured diligently, through the ability received, in most parts of this country, and took leave of Friends in solid hope, on account of the Lord's work, and much love and heavenly peace in ourselves, with holy thankfulness to the Lord, the great helper of all his faithful servants.

"Returning thence to Pennsylvania, &c., we had some comfortable service thereaway, and Friends were encouraged and strengthened in the Lord. We sailed thence to South Carolina, and had meetings with the few Friends there, and among others. The Lord our God was with us to our comfort and help, though the generality of the people seemed but cold and indifferent about true religion. There are but few Friends in these parts, and but very few who seem to love the truth in uprightness; yet some there are who do thus love it and remain in the simplicity: these were very glad of our visit, and we were comforted together in the Lord.

"We sailed next to Barbadoes, where Friends received us with gladness, it being long since any Friends from England had visited them. We had many meetings, both among Friends and others in the island, which

were to the comfort of the living amongst them; many other people seemed glad of the visit, and behaved soberly and respectfully; but a loose, lofty, and irreligious spirit has too generally prevailed, and, to a sorrowful degree, has obstructed the spreading of truth, and has brought on a decay and diminution of numbers amongst Friends; yet there are a few, in different parts of the island, who retain their integrity to God, and love and are concerned for his honour.

"The Lord was pleased to own us with his help and wisdom to divide the word aright, in warning the unfaithful, and in encouraging and comforting the lovers of truth; and we were made sensible that the day of love and mercy from God was yet freely extended to many in that unworthy place.

"And now, feeling clear and easy, we took our leave of Friends in love and peace, and were favoured with a good passage to England.

"To the Lord, the support, the defence, and the rich rewarder of his people and servants, in awfulness of soul be ascribed all glory and pre-eminence, with fear and praise for ever."

Soon after the return of John Fothergill from America, and in the same year, 1724, he was engaged in a religious visit in Ireland, including several parts of the nation where no Friends resided. In a letter to a friend he says—"I have travelled very closely during a month, with great toil; but satisfied as much as I could wish, that I was in the Lord's counsel and work. I and three other Friends were seven days and nights, and had meetings among other people, without coming to a Friend's house; we travelled hard, having in that time rode near three hundred miles in almost constant rain, which hurt my health. However, the glorious name of the Lord was with us and was magnified."

During his absence in Ireland, his son William departed this life, at the age of twelve years. A peculiar sweetness of temper, often tendered and encouraged by a sense of Divine regard and heavenly support, enabled him to bear his painful illness with exemplary patience and resignation. Many affecting expressions he uttered during his illness, and various and frequent were the instances of his care and fear, whilst in health, not to offend the Almighty, the sweet influence of whose awful presence seemed often to be near him.

The death of this promising youth, in whom indications of so much seriousness and solid piety had thus early appeared, was a great affliction to his father, who was, however, enabled to say, that—"being satisfied he was

from him, in the counsel and service of the Lord, he must submit all to the Divine disposal."

At the conclusion of a visit, which about the end of this year he paid to some of the southern and western counties of England, he says—"I returned home with peace and true satisfaction, through the Lord's favour, whose holy and great name had and hath the praise, who is worthy to be feared, served, and magnified for ever."

FROM JOSEPH PIKE TO JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Cork, Eighth month 30th, 1725.

In that love which reaches over sea and land, do I at this time salute thee, even in that love which neither time nor distance can ever separate or wear out, so long as we continue to be, and keep in the cementing power and life of this heavenly love. Here it is that we can truly sympathize together, with all the Lord's children, in joy or affliction, especially in those things that relate to the prosperity of Zion, or the contrary; in rejoicing when it flourishes, and mourning when we see any thing that mars or stains the beauty of it; as I can truly say I do with thee, and all those that are heartily and zealously concerned in soul—that spiritual Jerusalem may become the praise of the whole earth, and that her beauty may shine to the nations.

But that which hath greatly obstructed this, at this day, hath very much proceeded from the lukewarmness, easiness, or coldness of too many of her watchmen, that should at first have stood in the gap, and endeavoured to make up the breaches that the enemy was making in the walls of Zion. And in a particular manner by their not standing their ground, and joining hand in hand together to keep out that floating, high and proud spirit of undue liberty on the one hand, and a spirit of worldly mindedness and covetousness on the other. Here I chiefly mean some of our elders, and, indeed, ministers too, who, some of them, in time past were zealously concerned to stand as watchmen upon the walls of Zion, and not only to give warning, but have themselves, for a time, helped also to keep out the enemy. But alas, for want of due watchfulness, and giving ground by little and little, another spirit has entered them, whereby they have grown indifferent, cold, and lukewarm, and have in great measure quitted their post, and their companions, and have left the burthen the greater upon their brethren that could not do the same for truth's sake. And then the load became too heavy for them, and they could not stop the torrent which the others had let in, while yet these

easy ones stood unconcerned at the sight, and have let things go as they will for them. Surely such as these will have a dreadful account to make in the end, and far more dreadful than such as never knew the truth or the power of it.

The consideration of these things, more or less apparent in most places, has often wounded my drooping spirit, even to the affecting my poor weak body. And this great declension is very much owing also to the want of stretching the line of justice and judgment in due time upon offenders, in the way of church discipline, which was left us by our first worthy elders; and the same spirit that led them to it in the beginning, would lead us to it now, if we all were truly led by it. But oh! these easy and careless watchmen will tell us they must not overdrive the flock, but must persuade and gain the lukewarm by love and softness. And by their smoothing and daubing with untempered mortar so long, and keeping off and fending the stroke of discipline from taking hold of these unruly ones, either in their families or others, as truth would lead to, that in the end they have grown so strong and numerous, that they are past persuading, bending, or ruling, and then, in a stout and sturdy spirit, they will tell us they will be convinced of this, that, or the other thing, which the testimony of truth has gone out against, before they will leave it off, or do otherwise. And this has been the effect of this lukewarm, indulgent, and smoothing spirit; whereas, if in the beginning the discipline of truth had been strictly kept to, I verily believe it had been quite otherwise than it is at this day in most of the churches of Christ.

And, indeed, in the seeing and hearing the examples of these lukewarm elders, even for many years past, when I was able to travel, I have made the application to myself, with earnest desires in my soul that it might never be my own case, but that the Lord in his mercy would keep and preserve me to the end, from that spirit which had prevailed upon many that I far esteemed above myself, and who had run well for a season, and for a long season too, and also were very zealous for the testimony of truth in all its branches, and yet, for want of due watchfulness, had not continued zealous to the end. For we right well know that it is holding out to the end that crowns all, and gives us an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of God. And it will be our own fault if we attain not to it, for the Lord hath done his part; he has given us a measure and gift of his Holy Spirit, that will lead us to it, by which we may be preserved to the end.

But if, for want of inward watchfulness, we neglect or go from it, then the adversary gets ground, we are led astray by this enemy of souls, and at last miss the crown. And, therefore, it was that our blessed Lord, knowing the aptness of our natures to frailty, says to his own beloved disciples, watch and pray always, lest ye enter into temptation. This was our first parent Adam's case, though created in innocency; for want of watchfulness, notwithstanding the Lord had given him sufficient power to keep his command, yet by not obeying it, he therefore fell; and likewise, it was for want of due watchfulness that many very great and good men of his posterity did miss their way, and displeased the Lord, as great Moses, Aaron, David, Solomon, and others, and all for want of watchfulness, and keeping close to the Lord their guide. And if we descend even to our own times, how many great, bright, and largely-gifted men have greatly missed their way, and others totally fallen, and all for want of keeping close to this inward guide of the Lord's holy light and Spirit. And since we have so many and great examples, we may draw from them this warning to ourselves, to take diligent heed to our own standing, and keep upon our watch at all times, lest at any time the enemy prevail upon our weak sides. But, dear friend, I don't write any of these things for thy information, who knows them, as well or better than myself, nor yet that I have any ground or cause of fear of thee, but in the flowings of the love of God in my soul, as they came into my mind, in order that it may contribute to our mutual love to one another, and stir up our pure minds by way of remembrance.

I received thy very kind and acceptable letter from thy own habitation; giving an account, with other things, thou left this nation pretty cheerful and easy, which was a comfort to me after so long a time and labour spent therein, which I have often thought of with endeared love, in that thou left thy outward concerns to freely spend thy time in the Lord's service, which I know was great in this nation, and the more so in thy continuance therein so long. And though nothing that the best of men can do is meritorious, yet surely the Lord will reward thee, and all those that labour and spend their time in his vineyard. And to this I may add, in freedom, that if it stood consistent with the Lord's divine Providence, I should rejoice to hear thy lot was likely to be cast in this nation for the service of truth, for we really want help here, though, as to my own part, considering my age and great infirmity of body, I cannot expect to live to see the benefit of it.

I find our dear friend H. Jackson is mar-

ried, and I hope to a suitable companion, and with it that the good hand of Providence has gone along with him therein; for I truly love him, and desire his welfare every way. Give him and his wife my dear love, and to all those who inquire for me, both known and unknown to me, who truly love the Lord Jesus, with whom I have fellowship in the holy seed of life, all the world over, more especially those that are zealous for his name.

I remain thy truly loving and affectionate friend and brother,
JOSEPH PIKE.

In the year 1726, having accomplished the several services then required of him, and finding himself at liberty to attend more to his temporal concerns, he began again to keep house; he collected his children around him, and industriously applied himself to the care of his family and business; yet careful diligently to attend meetings for worship and discipline, both those at home and some more distant, as he felt himself engaged, and frequently the yearly meeting in London. Services quite compatible with a due attention to outward engagements, in business where a right exercise of mind is maintained; thus fulfilling the injunction to be "servent in spirit, diligent in business, serving the Lord."

In 1727 he was married to Elizabeth Buck, of Netherdale, a Friend of a grave, becoming deportment, and of suitable age. They lived together in harmony and affection during the remainder of his life, she surviving him about a year.

Feeling an engagement to pay a religious visit to Wales and some other parts towards the south, he left home in the second month, 1732, and proceeded through Cheshire to Bala, where at this time was held the yearly meeting for Wales; "and great was the concourse of people, who, in general, behaved civilly, and were very attentive to the testimony of truth, which was livingly declared by many Friends in the several services of that meeting."

After travelling through Wales, he proceeded to Bristol, where their yearly meeting was begun, and he says, "it pleased the Lord of all our mercies, eminently to own and help his people, greatly to our comfort and the exaltation of his own testimony, which seemed to make impression on many hearts, and the glorious name of the Lord our God was magnified."

From Bristol he went through Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and to London, and after attending the yearly meeting, returned home. Near the close of this year, Thomas Fothergill, his second son, died, in the twenty-second year of his age; of whom his father has been

frequently heard to say, that he never once displeased him. And thus, as he had feared God and honoured his parents from his youth upwards, so he felt the approach of death without terror, and departed in innocence and peace. It is recorded of him, that so manifest was the religious awe and godly fear that was upon him, both in meetings and in his general conversation, as often to impress others with a sense of it, and to excite some, who were less regardful of their duty, to more diligence.

In the following year he was again engaged in an extensive religious visit to several of the southern and western counties of England, having the company of Benjamin Bartlett.* From Bristol they went into Devonshire and Cornwall, and returned through several of the midland counties. From Port Isaac he wrote the following letter:

FROM JOHN FOTHERGILL TO ———.

“My health is sustained mercifully, and holy help afforded to live and labour in the service for which I am drawn hereaway, in a manner which occasions reverent bowing of soul before the Lord, and revives my faith in his name, who hath, as it is his due, the praise of all: and though it is a time of great lowliness hereaway, respecting that dominion which Christ should have in the hearts of his people; yet the Father’s love in mercy often strongly runs, and in part prevails, to the comfort and joy of the truly inward; and the searching, piercing labour, at times, makes some impression, giving to hope that it will not be quite in vain. However, the arm of the Lord is working, and helps the truly honest, whereof we have a share of rejoicing in him, and holy thankfulness for his humbling help from day to day; and my heart is deeply reverent at this time, in mentioning Divine mercy herein. We have been through one side of Somersetshire, most of Devon, and at the Land’s End, in this county; we expect it will be near three weeks before we get through Somersetshire, from whence we propose to go homewards pretty readily.” JOHN FOTHERGILL.

For a considerable time after his return from this visit, he remained at and near home; and during this period, as well as at many other times, he was often engaged in writing letters to his children and others, as well as to some meetings of Friends, earnestly exhorting them to mind the day of their visitation, and humbly and steadily to seek the

Lord and his truth. The following are some of the letters written about this time.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON JOHN.

“And some tastes [thus] afforded thee in the Father’s good will, he will not neglect, though he suffers a plunging into sorrow and doubt of getting rightly along to attend, in order to keep best care and pursuit necessarily vigorous, and secondary things in their places; which is the safety, beauty, and true riches of men. For heavenly care leads to a quiet and balanced sort of living and walking here on earth; a favour and privilege of unspeakable advantage, and which multitudes deprive themselves of by bending their chief, and many almost their whole application to seek terrestrials, and so want the stay of all stays in needful times. Thus, near love and care in my heart ceaseth not to prompt me to desire and long for thy right improvement, which I am still given renewedly to hope will be granted.”

“..... My true salutation attends thee, under a continued desire that thou mayest often reverently and duly keep in mind from whom all lasting good comes, and whose addition to our endeavours gives the valuable improvement; and that labouring to walk and act in steady regard to and hope in God, will bring the most holy quiet and serenity of mind at home, and gain the most truly honourable regard abroad; and, at the same time, help to walk safely on the sea of glass, to which this world may be well compared: wherefore, look carefully to truth, and the beauty of its simplicity, and thou wilt have to behold the reeling, chaffy spirit, and ways of this world, rather with an eye of scorn than love, and be thankful that thou art in measure already gathered and set above it. And it will be good to consider also, that though diligence is a great and necessary thing, and in seeking the Divine favour the most profitable, because therein is all treasure, both for time and eternity, and there is certainly a blessing from God on the truly diligent; yet it may likewise be necessary to remember, that “the race is not always to the swift,” but patience, with the exercise of faith in the hidden arm of power, brings to see great things many ways. And thus, dear child, may the hand of the God of the living be with thee, and guide thee in his counsel, and to his praise: and this is my earnest longing for thee.”

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON JOHN.

“Wherefore, dear son, as a wise man hath exhorted, with all thy getting, get understand-

* Benjamin Bartlett lived at Bradford, Yorkshire, and died there, Twelfth month 21st, 1759, aged eighty-two.

ing. I accordingly entreat thee to seek principally after improvement in acquaintance with the sanctifying hand, and to learn the way and the end of its turning; and also that stillness is required, when we see that no hand but the Lord's can open the way, and bring the longed-for help. And yet that help and salvation is to be looked for reverently and hopefully; and in so applying on our part, the Lord our gracious God doth, and will, delight to regard, and work so that his arising may fill the soul, and engage it in present gladness, and strengthened faith in his arm, and renewed trust, yet to travel on. And thus his gracious workings bring forth praise and holy admiration to his great and mighty name, wherein alone is that salvation, and those riches, that are good for all."

"May the feeling knowledge hereof, and an humble hope and trust to be guided and balanced by the invisible Holy One, guard and stay thee through the unsettling struggles that may attend thee. For, betwixt the converse and pursuits of the unmortified world, however polished by human endeavours, and the earthly nature in ourselves; with the gilded appearance of penetration, comprehensiveness of reasoning and finesse, of many among the more learned part of mankind, and the little, low, yet pure and powerful seed, which at times makes itself known indisputably, yet hides itself again; creatures are liable to dangerous tossings, and good beginnings, ideas, and desires, of God's own begetting, have unhappily miscarried; and, instead of coming nearer the experience of salvation being as walls and bulwarks about them in a quiet habitation, too many, for want of carefully looking towards the true port, have been gradually, by one wave after another, carried off to sea again, and shipwrecked in the loose, unbottomed conceptions and interests of this world. Wherefore, cleave close, I pray thee, to the immovable rock, the spiritual appearance of the Father and the Son, in whom is all might, and all sufficiency; and I fully believe he will be thy God, thy Saviour, thy Shepherd, to lead and feed thee, thy Shield, and exceeding great reward. Amen." JOHN FOTHERGILL.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON JOHN.

"..... As my mind has been concerned in much affectionate care on thy account, and sometimes a lively hope hath affected my soul with comfort, that thou might become a man for God, and so to walk in his fear that he might be pleased to manifest his gracious care over thee, so I am under humble and anxious

desires, that thou may watch against the pollution of the lying vanities of this corrupting age, and the spirit of the world; being well and thoroughly assured the Divine Being requires it at our hands, and is only well pleased with those who walk uprightly before him, and are truly afraid of, and, therefore, steadily strive against leaning to any thoughts or practices which are contrary to the Divine mind, either in greater or lesser matters; and they have the easiest work of it who are the most duly resolute in early time, and firmly stand and walk according to understanding; whereas, bending a little here, and a little there, for which excuses will be ready at hand, but of the evil one's preparing, and yielding and leaning aside always weakens and enslaves, and renders that dwarfish which the Lord of all power would make strong, healthy, and sound, and able to walk in his way with alacrity."

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

CHAPTER III.

DURING this interval of comparative cessation from the more extended services in which, as a minister of the gospel, John Fothergill had so often been engaged, an exercise of mind which he had felt for some years, once more to visit the churches in America, was matured, and at the close of the year 1735, being clear that the proper time was come for the performance of this important and arduous engagement, he made preparation for it, being then in the sixtieth year of his age, and left his wife and family in the second month, 1736, proceeding towards London, "having," he says, "many good meetings, in the sense of the love and power of truth amongst Friends, in many places."

"After some weeks' stay with Friends in London, in the labour of the gospel, under the merciful assistance of the power and love of God, my spirit being clear and at liberty, and a ship being ready, I went on board a vessel bound for Philadelphia. We sailed the next day, and arrived there safe and well on the 6th of the sixth month, having an easy, good passage, and more especially so, because of the favour of the lively sense of the Divine presence being often renewed, under which my soul humbly worshipped God, who is worthy for ever."

At the time that he embarked on this his third and last visit to America, he had five children remaining, who will be briefly mentioned here, before proceeding with the account of his son Samuel, whose life and labours form the more immediate object of this work.

ALEXANDER, his eldest son, at this time twenty-six years of age, was married and settled at Carr-End, which his father had relinquished to him. He had afterwards a numerous family, and continued to reside upon the family estate until his death in 1788, when it was inherited by his son William Fothergill, who also lived at Carr-End until his decease, in 1837, when the property descended to his children.

JOHN, the second surviving son, was born in 1712. After leaving school, he was placed as an apprentice at Bradford, with Benjamin Bartlett, a Friend and surgeon there. He afterwards prosecuted the study of physic at Edinburgh, where, in 1736, he took the degree of M. D. He then passed some time at Leyden, and other places on the continent, and settled in London. Here he became justly distinguished for eminence in his profession, and as a zealous promoter of science and natural history, as well for his extensive benevolence and philanthropy, and for his great use and service as a member of the Society of Friends.

JOSEPH, the next son, born in 1713, married Hannah Kelsall, of Warrington, where, at the time of his father's departure for America, he was settled in business, and where he continued to reside, respected and beloved, until his decease, which took place in 1761, in the forty-eighth year of his age, leaving one son and six daughters, some of them of tender age, to lament their great loss, their mother having died a few years before.

ANN FOTHERGILL, the only daughter of her parents, was born in 1718. She was never married, but continued with her father until his decease; she then passed a few years in the family of her brother Joseph, at Warrington. In 1750, she removed to London, to reside with her brother John, and with him she remained, his constant companion, friend, and helper, until his decease, in 1780. She survived him many years, continuing to reside in London, esteemed and beloved; and in 1802, closed a long life of usefulness and benevolence, being in the eighty-fifth year of her age, and was the last survivor of the family.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL, the sixth son of JOHN and MARGARET FOTHERGILL, was born at Carr-End, on the 9th of ninth month, 1715, O. S. He was very little more than three years old, when the death of his mother deprived him of her tender care. Of his early youth but little is now known. He and his brother John were at school together at Briggflats, near Sedbergh; and he also passed some time at Sutton, in Cheshire, the resi-

dence of his maternal uncle, THOMAS HOUGH, to whom, with others of his relations and friends, John Fothergill committed the care of his children, during his second visit to America, and when absent on other religious services. Of this charge a large share devolved upon Thomas Hough, who was well qualified for the trust, and discharged it faithfully. In particular, the care and education of John and Joseph had devolved much upon him, and through his means their brother Samuel was placed apprentice, as a shop-keeper, with Henry Ardern, a Friend at Stockport.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL was at this time about seventeen years of age; he was endowed with considerable talents; he had a strong mind, and was of an active, lively, and even volatile disposition. These qualities caused his company to be much sought after, and early introduced him into society at Stockport, of an injurious and hurtful character, calculated to dissipate and eradicate those lessons of piety and virtue which his worthy father had earnestly laboured to impress upon the minds of all his children.

Yielding to the temptations to which he was thus exposed, Samuel gave way to the indulgence of his evil passions, and, with his new companions, abandoned himself to the pursuit of folly and dissipation. This downward path he continued for some time, and the state into which it brought him, as afterwards described by himself, and the view which he subsequently took of his condition at this time, is striking and affecting:—"I wandered far from the garden enclosed, and laid myself open to the enemy of my soul: I kept the worst company, and subjected myself to almost every temptation, broke through the fence of the sacred enclosure, and trampled it under my feet; and when, for a time, I found the least inclination to do good, evil was present with me, and I went on from one degree of iniquity to another. My wickedness so far increased with my diligence, that at length, alas! I beheld the strong wall broken down, the garden wall destroyed, the mound left defenceless, and no hope left of returning peace to my afflicted soul!"....."I strayed to that degree, that my life became a burden to me, and I wished that I had never been born."

The downward course which he thus pursued was not, however of long duration, nor was he utterly cast off nor forsaken, even in the midst of this sinful career. Many were the strivings of the Spirit of Truth with his soul, and frequent the visitations of Divine grace. He says—"He who had kindled breathings in my soul after Him, would [even

then] sometimes break in upon me." And again:—"Though I had drunk up iniquity as an ox drinketh up water, although I had exceeded all others in sin, and had long done despite to him, yet there was mercy with him that he might be feared."

Yet did he continue for a time to resist these offers of mercy, and to turn aside from the visitations of Divine regard, thus graciously continued to him; and many were the deep trials and conflicts through which he passed, alternately yielding and resisting, until at length his spiritual state and his danger were very forcibly brought before him, attended by a deep persuasion that these offers of mercy would be no more renewed, and that if he now any longer resisted, the day of his visitation would be over, and his destruction certain and inevitable. So powerful was this impression, that it brought him into great trouble and distress, and caused renewed and very earnest prayers for help and strength; he cried mightily for deliverance, and says: "My lips quivered, and my belly trembled, that my soul might rest in the day of trouble."

This help and this strength were mercifully granted, and he was enabled to maintain his ground: he was now twenty years of age, and the altered circumstances in which he was placed were favourable to the progress of repentance and conversion: he was removed from Stockport, and had found a shelter and a home in the family of his brother Joseph at Warrington; here, and in the house of his uncle Thomas Hough, at Sutton, he had many seasons of retirement, peculiarly favourable to the present state of his mind.

The intended departure of his father for America, and their parting interview, were also conducive to his help.

Deeply afflicting to John Fothergill was the past conduct of his son Samuel: the evil of his ways, and his grievous departure from those paths of truth and virtue, in which he had, by long example and often inculcated precept, endeavoured to train all his children, caused him much sorrow and distress. He was now about to embark for a distant land, in the service and cause of his Lord and Master, and the conviction that he was leaving behind him a beloved son, for whose restoration and welfare he had often put up his prayers, and yet who had so deeply revolted from the law of God, was as the worm-wood and the gall—bitter indeed to his soul. Memorable and affecting was their last interview; after once more imparting to his son deep and impressive counsel, he took his leave in these words:—"And now, son Samuel, farewell!—farewell—and unless it be as a

changed man, I cannot say that I have any wish ever to see thee again."

These parting expressions, this powerful appeal from a father whom, notwithstanding his disobedience, he still tenderly loved, uttered during what might probably be the last time they should meet in this life, together with the awful solemnity and deep feeling with which they were accompanied, produced a strong impression upon Samuel Fothergill; they remained as if engraven upon his heart, and assisted to confirm and strengthen him in the path of repentance and conversion upon which he had entered, and which, happily for him, he now experienced to be permanent.

Thus, yielding to the powerful convictions of Divine grace, and as the Spirit that convinceth of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, wrought in his heart, he came to feel the terrors of the Lord for sin, and was made willing to abide under his righteous judgment, because he had sinned, and so was brought into a state of deep repentance; and as a brand plucked out of the burning, and as one awakened from the sleep of death, in due time, he witnessed a deliverance from the bondage of corruption, and a being created anew unto holiness, the end whereof is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Of the many conflicts and baptisms through which he passed during this work, or of the advancement which he was enabled to make towards that thorough establishment and settlement in the truth, which he was favoured afterwards so eminently to experience, no distinct or separate account is now to be found: such a record from his own pen would have been interesting and deeply instructive. Yet there is ground to believe that after a time his progress was rapid and steady.

In his correspondence he was sometimes led to speak of his state, and of the dealings of the Lord with his soul, as some of the following letters show; they also contain proofs of the rejoicing which his return and conversion produced in the minds of his friends, mingled with excellent counsel and earnest solicitude for his stability and preservation.

Amongst those who thus extended towards him this care, was SUSANNA CROUDSON, of Warrington; she was an acceptable minister in the Society, of which they both were members. She was some years older than himself, and by her religious experience, and the care, advice, and judicious encouragement, which were early and frequently extended, she was made peculiarly helpful to him. He found in her a friend to whom he

could unburthen his mind of a portion of its distress, and from whose sympathy and advice he often found relief, and with whom, as he advanced in his spiritual path, he often took sweet counsel.

Some of his feelings under the change which had been wrought in him were communicated to his friends in the following letter.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO THE MONTHLY MEETING.

Dear friends,

It hath lain heavy upon me for some time to write a few lines to you upon the following subject.

The Lord Jesus Christ, in his everlasting kindness, that hath long strove with my soul, has been pleased to unstop my deaf ear, that I might hear him, the Shepherd of his flock, and to open my blind eyes, and let me see my state as it really was, very desperate and very lamentable; he has shown me the dreadful precipice I was at the brink of, and breathed into me the breath of life, in order that I might arise from the dead, and live: he has set my sins in order before me, and shown me how far I had estranged myself from him, raising strong desires in me to return to him, the Redeemer of my soul; the consideration of which has raised in my heart a just abhorrence of my former practices, that induces me to make this public declaration of them, which I desire to do in a few words.

I know my sins are so many, and so obvious to every one, that it is impossible and needless to recount and remark upon them, for I was then in the bond of iniquity, though it has pleased the Father of mercies to bring me since into the very gall of bitterness, and into anxiety of soul inexpressible, yea, not to be apprehended by any but those who have trod the same path, and drunk of the same cup; yet, blessed be the name of God, he who hath kindled breathings in my soul after him, would sometimes break in upon me, and though the waves of Jordan have gone over my head, his supporting arm was underneath, that I should not be discouraged. He, in his infinite love, has given me to understand that the things which belong to my peace were not utterly hid from my eyes; that though I had drunk up iniquity as an ox drinketh up water—although I had exceeded all others in sin, had long done despite to him, yet there was mercy with him that he might be feared.

Now would I address myself to the youth among you. In a certain sense of the Divine

extendings of *that* love wherewith he hath loved us do I salute you, with sincere desires that that God which visited our fathers while aliens and strangers to him, may be our God, that we may embrace the day of our visitation, and not turn our backs upon so great a mercy as he, I am sensible, is daily extending. Oh! I have tasted of his love; I have had to celebrate his name; and though unfit for the work, I cannot be easy, nor discharge my known duty, without entreating you to forsake the vanities of the world; for the end thereof is unavoidable sorrow, and endless torment; but happy are they who give timely application in earnestly seeking the Lord, who will, I speak from blessed experience, be found of those who earnestly and diligently seek him, for he has appeared to me, when I was afraid I was forgot, as a morning without clouds, to my exceeding great encouragement and consolation, and strengthened me in my resolution to follow him who has done so much for my soul.

Bear with me yet a little, for I write not my own words; that blessed Saviour has laid it upon me, who is willing that all should be saved and come unto him. Let him, I entreat you, have his perfect work in you; he will wash you, or else you have no share in him. I can truly say, that during the time of my first conviction, my lips quivered and my belly trembled, that my soul might rest in the day of trouble. I choose not to write this, but I cannot be easy unless I call others to the like enjoyment. In bowels of tender love to you do I again salute you, and take my leave of you, with strong desires that you who are advanced in years, and favoured in the Lord, may remember me, when it is well with you; and that I may be preserved, though beset with many temptations on every hand. The Lord in mercy be near you, saith my soul. Farewell.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

WILLIAM LONGMIRE TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.*

Kendal, 1736.

Thy very acceptable letter came safe to hand, and I am truly glad to find the happy remains of that holy visitation, which I was very sensible, when with you, was fully extended unto thee. It was no small satisfaction to perceive the son of so worthy a father brought to the baptism of the Holy Spirit,

* The letters of William Longmire are dated at Kendal, but I believe he afterwards lived at Sheepscar, near Leeds, and died there, first month, 26, 1763. G. C.

though by thy own will and actions far unworthy of such a favour, as also many more have been. And as I fully hope that thou hast long ere this sorrowfully seen into the follies, and wild extravagant ways of thy youth, and bitterly mourned over him whom thou hast pierced, so, I earnestly beseech thee, keep it often in thy remembrance, frequently retire alone, and let it become still thy delight to meditate on the law of thy God. Seek always to arm thyself with the weapons of the Christian warfare, which still are absolutely necessary to thy preservation in the way of truth, and thy complete conquest over all the force of the enemy: and O! think not that the work is already done; since thou hast been favoured with the glorious day of our God to break forth and dawn upon thee, to open thy understanding, to influence thy will, and rectify thy judgment, and fill thy whole soul with his precious goodness, he has made thy mountain strong, and the whole train of Christian graces have appeared in their own amiable beauty and proportions, and willingly attended; the enemy became baffled, and fell to a cessation of arms.

I am very sensible this is the respite that often the first gracious and humbling visitation of the Holy Being affords to his favoured children, to give them a full opportunity to view their own vile defilements and irregular passions, and the purity, truth and harmony of religion, with all its attractive qualities and perfections, and that the soul may be filled with an abhorrence of the one, and the pleasing prospect and delight of the other.

Thus as babes are we attended, taken by the hand, and gently led along; but after all, it is expected that we grow in strength, and in the more manly exercises of the soul than our infant state will admit of, and may, perhaps, be tried again and again with those very temptations which have formerly presented; and who knows but they may a little harden upon our hands, as we become more capable to determine our actions in favour of the Christian religion, and a truly sober and virtuous life. Enemies without may assail, and barrenness and poverty of soul within.

Then, oh! then, dear friend, patience, hope, and faith call in to thy assistance, and in the resignation be pressingly earnest with thy God to lift up his Spirit as a standard in thy heart against the enemy, and freely let him arise, and then shall the tempter, and all his pernicious means that he may make use of, flee before thee, but yet, if this should not be in thy own wish and time, pray fall not to murmuring and despair; let the first of these before named virtues have her perfect work.

Dear friend, I heartily wish thy preservation and prosperity in the blessed truth, a joy to thy parent, a comfort to thy brothers, and a blessing to society. I am, dear Samuel,

Thy sincerely affectionate friend,

WILLIAM LONGMIRE.

DOCTOR FOTHERGILL TO SUSANNA
CROUDSON.

London, Twelfth month, 1736.

I find by experience, that town or country is alike to me; I am weak in the one as well as in the other, when I leave the good hand, or it leaves me to stumble and suffer for offences. I find that when a degree of that power surrounds me, nothing is too strong for me, I conquer all; but, alas! how few, how seldom are these seasons! This, however, I find, that if we do stagger, our enemy very often gives us a push; and if we fall, he mostly tramples upon us and covers us with mire and dirt, whilst, perhaps, we think we are thrust down by another power. The time, perhaps, will come, it is our part to wait with patience till it does come, that we may be environed and folded with Divine love.

Dear friend, remember that whatever can stir up the pure mind in us will be of advantage.

J. FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN ROUTH.*

11th of Twelfth month, 1736-7.

I write to thee as to one who art regarded by the Almighty, and who hast, by regarding that visitation which I too long slighted, been preserved from the snares and temptations of the enemy, and hast, though young in years, attained to a good stature in the truth; which, oh! that it may be my chief care to press after, to seek for above all, is at present, and I hope will continue to be, the earnest intent of my heart; and though I find it my place often to be brought low and very poor, as it is at present, yet I desire to wait my appointed time, until he please to dispel those darksome clouds, which at times bring me yet near to a melancholy, drooping state.

But I desire to be entirely resigned to his will; that he may, if he please, again and again turn his hand upon me, until he hath purged away all my dross, and made me what best pleases him, and not myself or others. But the Lord, who has done wonderful things for my deliverance, has mercifully regarded

* John Routh resided at Manchester; he was an elder, and for many years an active and useful member of society. He died first month 31st, 1791, aged seventy-six.

and reached unto me, while in a state of open defiance to his tenderly striving spirit.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Second month 9th, 1737.

I could have been glad to have written a few lines to thee, but considering the distance my past behaviour had justly placed me at in respect to my friends' and relations' favour, I was somewhat doubtful of its kind reception. But, dear sister, I have found it is the want of inward peace that is more grievous than the want of my friends' favour, though that be very desirable. I found, upon examining my state, that I was upon the very brink of destruction and ruin, and it pleased the Lord to kindle in my soul earnest desires to be delivered from my dreadful condition, which the Lord in mercy showed to me as it really was, thereby bringing me into deep and unutterable anxiety of soul, that I often was ready to conclude my transgressions were more and greater than any one's else, and my state worse than any ever were in before. O! the anguish of that day; the weight of sorrow I daily laboured under was more than I can express, or any, not acquainted with the operation of the Spirit of judgment and of burning, can conceive.

It is like repeating an idle story to any that are unacquainted with it, but I have a different opinion of thee, and thou hast, I hope, known a degree of the heart-cleansing power of truth, though thou hast been preserved from those pollutions that hinder us from being properly acquainted with the Almighty, and finding thereby love and solid peace. But through infinite mercy I can now say, with a humbly thankful heart, it was a repentance never to be repented of; for notwithstanding my open rebellion and defiance to the tenderly striving Spirit of grace, that long strove with me in order for my recovery, I have in a degree, witnessed favour from the Almighty, and the knowledge of acceptance with him, which is more to me than any thing else. Great is my reason to be humbly thankful for his many mercies, which my soul desires never to be unmindful of, but, by a yet more humble walking and closer seeking after him, seek to redeem my former misspent and lost time, by redoubling my diligence; and with humble thankfulness press after him to find my peace yet more and more confirmed, now the Lord has given me to know they are not yet hid from my eyes, but yet may be in a greater degree attained upon my humble resignation to his divine will, and proper and frequent application to him for the farther discoveries

of it, and strength to perform it acceptably to him. Many yet continue to be the deep and humbling times I go through; many the anxieties of soul I have to pass under; yet the Lord in mercy is at times helping me over every thing that would hinder my spiritual progress, and giving to find times of refreshment in his divine presence. O! that it may be our care, dear sister, to seek properly after him, in order to find renewing of strength and acquaintance with him, that we may thereby witness strength to withstand the enemy of our souls in all his attempts. May it continue to be my care above all things, in true thankfulness to wait for his appearance, though it may be at times as a refiner with fire, and as a purifier of silver. May we suffer him to work effectually in our hearts; great will be our satisfaction thereby to witness that the Lord's regard is to us, and his love is near to us. I cannot with too great earnestness recommend this to both our consideration and practice, as one knowing the judgment of the Lord for sin, and by his help a learning to forsake it, and following him in the ways of his requiring; this brings a true and lasting peace. May I seek after him again and again, and enter into covenant with him; if he will but indeed be with me in my way, and direct me aright, I will fully follow him. So marvellous and wonderful is the goodness of God to my soul, I cannot sufficiently admire it, nor too often repeat it, for I am as a monument of that mercy that would have none lost, but that all should come to the saving knowledge of himself.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

ALICE ROUTH* TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Hawes, Third month 1st, 1737.

It was not because I feared thy not holding out to the end, made me write as I did, but it was in order to encourage thee in thy journey through this vale of tears; for I am sensible of the many deep plungings that those meet with, that have set their faces Zionwards. Oh, I have thought sometimes I was quite forsaken, and even left to myself; yet, it hath pleased him in these times of affliction to appear again, with healing virtue in his hand. Dear friend, it is my earnest desire that thou may be preserved to the end, for it was that same arm that turned thee which turned Saul, when he was going to persecute the church. I wish that it may have the same effect on

* Alice Routh was born at Hawes, in 1704; she early received a gift in the ministry, in which she continued during a long life, and died at Hawes, in the fifth month, 1791, aged eighty-seven. A minister more than sixty years.

thee as it had on Saul, for he reasoned not with flesh and blood, but was obedient to him that called. I would not have thee go into reasonings; for the enemy of our souls, when he cannot lead into those things which we have been prone to, then begins another way; that is, to bring us to despair of ever overcoming our enemies, because they are so numerous. But it was his arm that turned Saul, which brought salvation, and can overturn all our enemies, and bring deliverance to his afflicted seed; for they are as the apple of his eye; and although he may withhold his face for a time, it is in order to try our love to him, and to see whether we love him above all or not, for he will not admit of any rivals, but will have the whole heart or none. So unto the Lord do I commend thee, together with my own soul, who is the sure rock to flee unto. I remain thy sincere friend,

ALICE ROUTH.

JOHN ROUTH TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Manchester, Second month 12th, 1737.

..... And, as the operation of the power of truth is given way unto in our hearts, it will work out every thing that is of a contrary nature; that so we may become fit tabernacles for him, the Holy One, to dwell in, which, that it may be our chiefest care to press after, is many times the earnest breathing of my soul, notwithstanding the many buffetings, and hard exercises that fall to my lot: for the adversary, at times, strongly suggests the need I have of a more eager pursuit after the lawful things of this life; but I find that except the management of things temporal be kept in its proper place, we shall lose ground as to religion, and our appetite after Divine consolation will fail. Oh, that this may never be our case, but that we may still breathe to the Almighty for strength to undergo whatever we may be proved with, in the course of our sojourning here. When I have considered how some who have known the work of truth, and have been in a great degree cleansed and enlightened, yet, for want of watchfulness, darkness has come over them again; this has many times bowed me very low, in strong desires that I might always keep in a sense of my own nothingness and insufficiency; and as we keep here, I am not without hope that he who was appointed to open the prison doors, will in time set us at liberty to serve him in an acceptable manner.

JOHN ROUTH.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOSEPH BROWN.

Warrington, Third month 9th, 1737.

With renewed satisfaction do I now salute

thee, desiring our mutual welfare in the best sense, that by a close and diligent application we may have at times to experience a being drawn truly inward, and near to the Almighty helper and feeder of his people; there, in a secret manner, to renew our acquaintance with him, and one with another, in the uniting influences of best regard; there, surely, dear friend, stands our communion and nearest fellowship which flows freely in our hearts one to and for another, when outwardly far separated.

Thy letter was very acceptable to me, and I perused it with a good degree of pleasure, for I thought it gave me an idea of a mind steadily resolved in the pursuit of virtue, the only lasting and durable treasure, which truly makes rich, and brings no sorrow or sting with it. This we have both, I believe, frequently experienced to be our help and stay in times of deep and humble walking, and low goings down, when we have been ready to say no one went so low as we; that we had a path to tread few besides ever walked in. Then, my friend, this inward treasure has been richly manifested for the support and strengthening us yet to wrestle, in humble reverence, if happily we might at last have to say with joy—"I cried and thou heard me, O Lord, and helped me." This I know is more the concern of a remnant than any thing in the world beside, for it surely is only his appearance that can bring joy to the earnestly seeking soul. I was very glad to hear thou had so satisfactory an account to give of thy journey, every way, both inwardly and outwardly. The first being chiefly to be regarded; the welfare of the inward to be sought for in a diligent and yet fervent waiting upon the Almighty for further discoveries, and this will be more and more explained to us. O, my dear friend, here surely stands our happiness, in fulfilling and being made conformable to the will of God, our wills being entirely brought into subjection to the Divine will. Have not we, dear friend, in our low estate, when troubles came over us, and exercises been like the waves of the sea,—have we not then been ready to say, any way for peace, lead me in thy own ways, and with thy help I will surely follow thee? Let us, dear friend, not by any means fall short of true obedience, than which, I can by experience assert, there is no other way to peace. My mind is drawn out in an unexpected manner towards thee, yet with a good degree of hope that the same Eternal Being who first visited our souls, whilst in a state of alienation from him, will in a continued merciful regard, be near for our best help, and enable us to appear, if truly willing

and obedient, in his presence, with acceptance.

Now must I draw towards a conclusion, with breathings of soul for our growth in the best state, even to a measure of the fulness of our holy Head, and that our expectations may be yet more and more upon him. Then shall we be often engaged to seek him, and in private to retire before him, the chief Beloved of our souls. He will appear in these private opportunities, to our abundant consolation and help over our enemies; which, that it may be more and more our concern, is the desire of thy real friend in the unchangeable truth.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

JOHN ROUTH TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Manchester, Third month 15th, 1737.

I join with thee in real belief that we shall be helped forward towards the heavenly Canaan, as we are truly resigned in heart, to be made what the Divine Being would have us to be. Notwithstanding the many exercises we may meet with, a great share of which, I am many times ready to conclude, fall to my lot, I fully believe, as we are concerned to press through the crowd of opposition, if possible, to touch the hem of his garment, we shall witness heavenly virtue in the least touch of his love. If something of this were not witnessed at times, what would become of us when we are bowed low, under a sense of our own nothingness and insufficiency, to step one step forward in that way, that is well pleasing in his sight. I have often remembered the great strait that Israel of old was in, when the sea was before, the inaccessible mountains on each hand, and their old oppressing enemies pursuing hard after them, from whose force they were altogether unable to defend themselves. The command then was, stand still, and see the salvation of God: and, blessed be his name, he is still showing his salvation to his poor afflicted Israel, as they are ceasing from their own willings, and runnings, and actings, and depending only upon his providential care. It is, at present, my sincere desire, that we may press forward after a close communion with him, and that our pursuit after the necessities of this life may be bounded by his will, which, as we have an eye unto, I do not doubt that we shall be favoured with all that is necessary for food and raiment.

JOHN ROUTH.

ALICE ROUTH TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Hawes, Fourth month 8th, 1737.

I would not have thee discouraged by thinking that thou art out of thy place; for if

the enemy could not lead thee into other things which would have drawn down the displeasure of thy God upon thee, he was not unlikely to put fears in thy mind that thou didst not worship aright; it is what others have been tossed with; but praised be the powerful name of the great Being that hath not suffered the devouring enemy to destroy his plants; his regard is unto the workmanship of his hands, although we be tempted and tried with deep poverty; it was the lot of our dear Redeemer, but he overcame the enemy, and as we follow him we shall be made to overcome, in his due and appointed time.

ALICE ROUTH.

WILLIAM LONGMIRE TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Kendal, Fifth month 25th, 1737.

Dear Samuel,

I hope that good hand and power that visited thee, and made thee sensible of his will, and of the unfitness of thy own, and gave thee power in degree to deny the one and obey the other, to thy great and unspeakable joy, has not forgotten to be gracious and merciful in the time of need, but yet vouchsafes to administer of the comforts of his grace and love, to maintain and prosper thee in the heavenly truth. Let no poverty or barrenness of soul dismay thee; no new or unexpected surprise, as giants in the land, ever give thee reason to call the truth of the visitation and mission in question. Many are the fears and false reasonings which at times will rush upon the soul, especially in times of weakness and want. The imagination is scarcely ever more at work, and more apt to create false images, than when the Divine object is partly withdrawn. And if there is not a steady bearing and holding fast our faith, and a resignation of the whole soul unto God, we shall certainly, in such seasons, be very apt to suffer loss, and abundantly weaken our own hands, and give ourselves up into the power of the enemy. But, dear Samuel, be thou strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, and he will strengthen thee yet more, and increase thy joy, and confirm and stablish thee in his truth.

WILLIAM LONGMIRE.

JOSEPH BROWN TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Broxbourne, Sixth month 17th, 1737.

I am sensible that there is nothing that unites and brings so near one to another as the love of the most holy truth; and, as we abide in it, though we may be far separated in body, we shall be near in spirit, and wit-

ness that fellowship and holy communion that the worldly minded are ignorant of. So I sincerely desire that we may abide here; for, sure I am, there is no other place of refuge for us poor worms to flee to. There is a remnant who can experimentally say, that it has often been an inexpressible satisfaction to them, that in the Lord there is strength; were it not so, they had fainted long ago.

So, dear friend, although many are the trials, and exercises that those may meet with here, as they are sincerely engaged to look over all to their unconquered captain, Christ Jesus, he will keep them from fear and from falling into the snares of the wicked one. Oh, that I may keep my eye steadily to him; that so I may be enabled to follow him in the ways of his leadings and requirings; for sure I am, there is no other way to obtain true peace with him.

Thou hast been often brought into my mind, with desires for thy welfare every way; but in an especial manner in the most holy truth, which thou hast, through the love of our heavenly Father, chosen for thy portion; and I have to believe as thou comest to be more obedient and freely given up thereto, the Lord will enlarge thy heart, and pour down his heavenly blessings upon thy soul, like the former and the latter rain; and though thou mayest meet with deep trials, and provings, and reasonings, and, as it were, the valley of the shadow of death, to pass through at times; yet, as thou art engaged, in sincerity of heart, to look over all and through all to holy Jesus, he will preserve thee from the fear of evil, and from falling into the snares of the wicked one. Oh, methinks the Lord's love is extended towards a young and rising generation, and if they embrace it, he will be good to them: and as they are truly resigned and freely given up to his Divine will, I do believe that he will raise many up from the sheep-fold, and send them to see how their brethren fare: and not only so, but will strengthen and inspirit them to go against the great Goliath, that is so much vaunting over and defying the armies of the living God; and though there may be those that despise, yet the justness of their cause shall answer for them, like poor David in innocency saying,—“Is there not a cause?”

JOSEPH BROWN.*

P. S.—I often see thy brother John, and his company is very acceptable to me; his sweet, innocent carriage and deportment are exemplary to the youth of that great city

where his lot is now cast; I desire that many may follow his example.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Sixth month 8th, 1737.

The day after I received thine I was visited with the rheumatism, so that I have not quite, as yet, regained the use of my arms. I have had a very hard turn as I ever had in my life, for violent pain outwardly, yet I never was so easy under it, having often sensibly to enjoy the Divine presence of the Physician of value, who, blessed be his name, was near to my support, in encouraging love to draw me nearer and nearer to himself, where the true and humble followers of Christ find a secure rest in all their trials and exigencies of every kind. O, dear sister, may we be of the number of those who have chosen the Lord for our portion, and his truth for the lot of our inheritance; then, whenever we have to engage with sickness, or any other trial, our peace will spring up and flow like a river; our hearts will be united in a bond of peace which nothing can disturb, and which will last beyond the grave, and this makes every thing easy, so that we shall be ready to cry out—Lead me in thy ways, O Lord! be thou near me, and ready for my help, and I shall not fear the number of my enemies; if I may be favoured with thy presence, I shall not be afraid. The remembrance of the many mercies of the Almighty, extended to my soul, enlarges my heart, and raises strong cries that I may be helped to walk in the way that is well pleasing to him, in true thankfulness of heart.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

DOCTOR FOTHERGILL TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

London, Seventh month 7th, 1737.

The few lines which thou sent me were very acceptable, as they proceeded from a mind tinctured with good, and the openings of true fraternal love. May those dawns yet shine brighter, may they dispel all darkness, and kindle that endearing flame, which neither length of time, nor all the enemy's efforts, will ever be able to extinguish. In a sense of thy sufferings and trials, I salute thee; stand fast and immoveable; bear with constancy the enemy's assaults; Heaven will inspire thee at length with secret fortitude; thy hands will be strengthened; triumph and conquest will be known; but may we know sufficiently the command—Steady, steady, to be adhered to.

Through mercy, I am at present well;

* Joseph Brown died near Hertford, eighth month 20th, 1748, aged forty-two.

and though often in darkness and obscurity, the fruit of repeated acts of disobedience, yet secret hopes are sometimes revived that I shall see better days; I stagger and reel, but am yet in some degree upheld.

Dear Joseph Brown is often inquiring after thee. He comes hither sometimes, and it is a pleasure to cultivate a friendship with sincerity, wherever it appears: he is at too great a distance for me to see him often; otherwise, his ingenuous freedom, his undesigning simplicity and love, would induce me to pay him frequent visits. An acquaintance with such as these, when they stand faithful, are powerful monitors to call us to our duty, and a closer attention to that within.

Of late I am favoured with the acquaintance of a friend, who, next to dear T. A., has made the most considerable progress heavenward of any that I know, nay, seems to have outstripped him; the most unheard of oppression, by those of his own society, has buried him hitherto; but the Omnipotent now bids him arise, and hath arisen with him. To give thee his whole history would require a book. He has been amongst Friends, about twelve or thirteen years, in the ministry about ten. Refined by the severest trials and hardships, his ministry is living, powerful, and efficacious; to the most solid piety is joined an extensive knowledge of the languages and the mathematics, the product of uncommon industry and application; his appearance is rustic, but weighty and solid.

J. FOTHERGILL.

SARAH ROUTH TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.*

Manchester, Eleventh month 15th, 1737.

Thy very acceptable letter was a joy and a help to me, because I am satisfied it flowed as a fresh spring, in degree, from the one fountain of all fulness and goodness, to which I beg we may ever be favoured with having free access; and I am encouraged to hope, as we are diligently concerned to keep near, and follow on after that which hath visited, and cleansed, and in degree made us sensible of drinking, as at the living spring, we shall know it to flow in a more abundant manner in our hearts, to the washing away every hurtful thing, and yet comfort and encourage every thing that is good; for, satisfied I am, the Lord will strip us of nothing, the keeping whereof would be of any real advantage to us, except it be for the trial of our faith; and

then, if we freely resign all, the will will be accepted for the deed.

Let us, therefore, dear cousin, be encouraged to follow steadily on though through the deeps, and in the greatest denial of self, and most cross to our own wills; yet so our wills may become subject, and his will may be done in and by us; but this is a great attainment, and hard for us to get to, and yet I believe it is attainable. May we, therefore, press after it more and more; and I can say, my heart is at times made glad in the remembrance of thee, and I find my spirit united unto thee, in true love, at this time; and in that I dearly salute thee, and wish for thee, as for myself, that no storm or cross wind may ever be able to drive us back, but when we cannot get forward, we may be helped to stand still, that so we may indeed see the salvation of the Lord, and may have cause to acknowledge him to be our Saviour and our Redeemer indeed, and that because he lives we live also; that we may know him in us and we in him, our life being bound up and hid with Christ in God; this is the very travail of thy real friend and relation,

SARAH ROUTH.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Twelfth month, 16th, 1737-8.

We lately were favoured with a letter from dear father, dated Philadelphia, which was beyond expression acceptable, (however to me,) as being filled with the most endearing and tender expressions of an affectionate parent, whose soul was filled and warmed with Divine love, and in that, longs, I may even say wrestles, with the God of Heaven for a blessing upon his children, and in the most moving and pathetic manner labours with us, his offspring, to follow holiness, and tread the ways of God's commandments. And in the remembrance of this his tender regard, and likewise some sense of the love of the Almighty Father, my soul is often drawn into deep reverence before him, craving earnestly for us, the descendants of one so worthy and truly honourable, that our desires may be above all things to follow him, even as he follows Christ; and that, as we behold an eminently supporting hand near and with him, so we, by an humble, careful walking, may know, according to our measures, the same power to preserve and uphold us in well doing, and a steady perseverance to the end, which my soul longs may be our chief care, since it must be the end which crowns all, and the Lord alone is able to preserve it.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

* Sarah Routh, afterwards Sarah Taylor, was an eminent and deeply exercised minister. She died at Manchester, eighth month 19th, 1791, aged seventy-four, a minister fifty-four years.

ALICE ROUTH TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Hawes, Second month 24th, 1738.

..... Do not think that thou art either forgotten of God or of thy friends, for thou art near to my life. O! that we may so steer through this vale of tears, that when time here shall be over, we may meet in that mansion of glory that is prepared for the righteous; for many are their exercises and besetments; they are at times even like the lone sparrow upon the house top, or the quail in the stubble field. How are we pursued by the enemy of our souls, so that I have been ready to say, How can I go any further? and have said with David—My way is enclosed with hewn stones, that I cannot get out. O, let us trust in Him who multiplied the widow's oil and the little meal in the barrel. This hath done me good, when I have rightly considered it; for it was a time of favour when the prophet came to her, and bade her first make *him* a cake, and then one for herself, for she thought of eating it and dying. I would not have thee be discouraged, though it may be a low time with thee; that little will keep alive, until the pure rain be distilled again.

So in that pure love that I feel to flow to thee, I bid thee farewell. ALICE ROUTH.

CHAPTER IV.

JOHN FOTHERGILL, after landing in Philadelphia, in the sixth month, 1736, continued diligently engaged in religious service amongst Friends and others in America.

When the intelligence reached him of some reformation in his son Samuel, and that the change he so earnestly desired, and for which he had often prayed, was really begun in him, and some progress made towards a religious life, it filled his heart with gratitude and thankfulness for this his erring son; yet hope was mingled with fear, and he rejoiced with trembling, as some of the following letters indicate.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO ———.

(No date.)

..... As to son Samuel, I have been almost unexpectedly quiet in my spirit about him, knowing, however, I had honestly discharged myself to the utmost of my understanding; yet I have heard from several of an appearance of a religious mind and application, being hopeful to prevail with him to a reformation, to the comfort of those that rightly love him; which, to be sure, is as much desired by me as is necessary, I believe, and affords some comfort to me. But he hath

manifested so much instability in good intents, and I do believe resolutions, and an aptness to show, at some times, which hath not either been in reality, or he hath not brought forth fruit agreeable to expectation, which still induceth me to a cautiousness in rejoicing; though I believe the fan and the axe of truth are well able to cut down and purge away both sin and hurtful propensities, and make sound; for which sure experience, I with the earnestness of a nearly affectionate father to my own flesh, and entreaty of a sincere friend, do tenderly long and advise him to a humble and steady waiting for; that true judgment may be repeated and attended to, and so feel from time to time, which will bring forth fruits of steady humility and love to inwardness; and yet I hope Divine good may make him a living monument of mercy, and of a right returning. O that this may be his experience and gracious issue, to Heaven's glory and his salvation. Amen, Amen.

I am, in love and care, beyond what I can express, poor son Samuel, thy nearly well-wishing father,
JOHN FOTHERGILL.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON JOSEPH.

Philadelphia, Ninth month 12th, 1737.

My beloved son Joseph,

I am desirous to manifest my regardful remembrance of thee and thy dear wife by a few lines once more, wherewith reacheth near and true love, and strong well-wishing in every respect, which is very much in my heart for you, and chiefly that in and through, and above all pursuits, true godliness and favour with the all-seeing and Almighty pure God may be your chiefest; and with the most watchful diligence, and which, as you honestly and patiently seek, you will often be comforted and engaged in heart, in finding Divine regard to your souls, renewing reverent trust in, and fear before Him, who knows and can do all things, from whose hand every good gift comes. And I am often much satisfied that the gracious eye of this mighty Being hath been and is towards you for good, and to make you of some worth and service in that place; wherefore, neglect not to seek the love and sense of Divine favour in your own hearts, and heavenly mercy and sanctifying life will brighten, feed, and teach you in righteousness. My love and care is pure and strong towards you, not forgetting poor Samuel, who should walk as a brand plucked, in unutterable mercy, out of the fire of destruction, which, if he retain the sense of in heart duly, every part of his conduct will be adorned with fruit which will be beautiful in the eyes of God and man, and be a living monu-

ment of the effects of Divine power as it is turned unto. Oh that thus, immortal help and gracious goodness may prevail with, sanctify, and bless you, my truly-beloved and nearly cared for children!

Ninth month 14th.—Dear Joseph—This morning thine with others is come to hand, the contents whereof enliven my hope in the God of all mercies, on your account, with reviving comfort to my careful soul for your best good; for in my longing for you, and thee and thine in particular, I have had a sure evidence of Almighty regard and desire to bless, and help you to serve him; but am also assured that he requires that you should stand in awe before him, and seek his face and the feeling of his power, to season, govern, and redeem the mind, and beautify the conduct; that he may delight to work for and let forth his love and fatherly goodness to you. And to be sure, what I hear, of and from Samuel, is as comfortable as can be expected to an affectionate and heretofore deeply afflicted father. Yet, I rejoice not without awe and fear, though with lively hope, as he keeps duly mindful of his unworthiness, and under watchful fear lest any thing that is for judgment should escape; and to be duly assured of God's own putting forth from time to time; which brings to a careful desire after pure stillness in waiting, and so to heavenly salvation, and clear understanding of the Divine goings forth; and I hope all-sufficient help will be with you all; so be it. Amen.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO ———.

Philadelphia, 1737.

..... Let my heretofore strongly pressed caution, which I do not yet get clear from at all times, doubting the danger of its being not enough minded—which is to be aware of that devilish, bewitching, darkening, ruinous, enticing snare of often sipping and dabbling with strong drink, and the company that loves and useth it, and seldom without unprofitable conversation, though craftily, from that twisting, serpentine, adulterating spirit of this world, frequently excused and pleaded for, under artful disguises, to deceive the unwary. Therefore look at it in time, as an enemy to body and mind, to present and future interest; or else heaven will assuredly turn its back upon thee, and the earth will become as iron, and the bowels of thy true friends will be shut up;—and what can follow then?

I lay weight upon it, as I am sure it is an infernal, and as much as Satan can make it, a hidden snare; yet, I would strongly hope

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necessity for this may not be much; but my love and true care is a just excuse for me herein. May the love of righteousness and best riches win and guide thy heart and views, and the God of all goodness will be thy God and sure helper to blessedness indeed.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

This visit to America occupied John Fothergill nearly two years. In the course of it he attended several of the yearly meetings, and says—"On the 9th of fourth month, 1737, the yearly meeting began at Portsmouth, [Rhode Island,] and a large precious meeting it was; I returned to Newport, where the yearly meeting continued, and held four days, the assembly being large and peaceable, and at times comfortable in the arisings of the mighty power and love of God, who had the glory and the praise." "On the 24th the yearly meeting began at Nantucket, it was large, and continued four days, to true satisfaction, and the name of the Lord was glorified."

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON JOHN.

Philadelphia, Seventh month, 1737.

..... "As to myself, I am somewhat miraculously supported, as a creature, and am in good health pretty generally. The yearly meeting at this place ended last night; it was exceedingly large and upon the whole, generally acknowledged to have been very edifying, strongly good and helpful divers ways, and very much to my ease and humbling gladness in the Lord our God, and neverfailing helper; and Friends, in general, are in a good degree of harmony.

"My heart is nearly affected with the best of love towards thee and for thee, that nothing short of rain from the Divine presence may satisfy thee, for this is what only prepares the most acceptable sacrifice, *a broken and contrite spirit*, wherein is true light and durable joy. Thus farewell, farewell, saith thy nearly affectionate father, to the best of my capacity, in every respect, which I hope thou art and often will be sensible of."

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Of the conclusion of his labour in America he has left the following account:—"I had a blessed meeting with Friends, at Pilesgrove, and the next day was at a general meeting at Haddonfield, wherein the Lord our God graciously owned us, and blessed our meeting; giving us to part one from another in a living sense of his love and power; and his glorious name was worshipped and praised.

I came the day following to Philadelphia, where I stayed until the 8th of the tenth month, and had divers great and heavenly meetings; and after a very open and solidly edifying meeting, I took leave of friends there, in much true love and nearness of spirit, and heavenly unity in the Lord."

Soon after this he took passage to Barbadoes, and from that island he wrote to one of his sons, as follows:—

Barbadoes, Eleventh month 27th, 1738.

..... "I was brought hither well, in thirty-two days from Philadelphia, yet do not find myself free to leave the place, yet write to inform thee, that I am thus far on my way, and easy in the hope and sense of the Father's favour. Probably no other [vessel] will sail for England in less than two months, which is somewhat hard for me to think of, both in respect to the unpleasantness of the place, from the extreme heats, the small number of Friends, and the general remoteness of the inhabitants from religion. Though I am easy in resignation to all-wise disposal, and full of thankfulness, under the bending sense of gracious and strong extendings of divine good-will to many of the remote; and of fatherly succouring encouragement to the few spiritually minded here. May rain from heaven bedew thy soul and understanding, and cherish and revive the Lord's heritage everywhere.

"JOHN FOTHERGILL."

Barbadoes, Second month 12th, 1738.

..... "In the long absence which wisdom hath seen good to order, I am, for that reason, humbly cheerful in reverent hope; and for the present we must submit to be yet longer separated than I expected. I hope never to forget the merciful nearness and goodness of Truth to me here; both in affording the renewed sense of heavenly life, and in preserving my health.—I cannot well add much, nor is much more in my thoughts at present; but I may say, that though this is a poor irreligious place, yet both many of the people, and the few Friends here, are very loving and respectful; and I hope I shall leave the place with inward ease to myself and reputation to truth. From thy truly loving father,

JOHN FOTHERGILL."

Having been engaged in the island of Barbadoes for about three months, he embarked in a vessel bound for Lancaster, and arrived there on the 1st of the fourth month, 1738. He thus writes respecting the voyage: "We had a passage of six weeks between land and

land, through very rough hard weather; but I was preserved quiet, inwardly easy, and steady in hope. I am pretty well in health, as well as easy and sweet in spirit; worship and praise be to the holy author of all good."

From Lancaster he proceeded direct to his own habitation in Netherdale, Yorkshire, where he was joyfully received by his family and friends, with humble gratitude and reverence to that Divine power which had, through all, preserved and restored him to his native land.

CHAPTER V.

HAVING largely witnessed in himself the redeeming power and efficacy of Divine grace, and known the remission of past sins, and justification by faith, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, SAMUEL FOTHERGILL, very early after his own remarkable conversion, felt powerfully called upon to communicate to others the gracious dealings of the Lord with his soul; to tell them of his feelings—of what he had so eminently known of the power and goodness of God, and to incite them also, to strive after a participation in the same blessed experience.

Under this Divine and powerful impulse, and having passed through a preparation for the work, he came forth in the ministry of the gospel, exercising the gift he had therein received, in humility and much fear; but abiding steadfast and faithful, this gift was enlarged; his growth in the ministry was rapid, and he became an eminent and favoured servant.

The precise period at which he first appeared as a minister cannot now be ascertained; it is said to have been on the same day that his letter to the monthly meeting was read in that assembly. There are some circumstances which render it probable that it took place about the time that he attained the age of twenty-one years, being near the close of the year 1736.

The present practice of the Society, of taking into distinct consideration the ministry of those Friends who feel engaged so to appear in our religious meetings, was not introduced until several years after this period, and there is not any minute of Hardshaw monthly meeting distinctly recording him as a minister. The first time that his name occurs in the records of that meeting, is in the fourth month of 1737, where he appears as a representative from Penketh preparative meeting, of which Warrington is a branch, and he was at the same time appointed to attend the quarterly meeting for sufferings, at Lancaster.

The first occasion upon which a certificate was granted him to travel as a minister, was in the first month of 1739. He had, however, some time previously to this, visited a few meetings in Cheshire, along with his relation, Lawrence Callan, of Sankey. And about the same time Susanna Croudson had also been engaged, with certificate, on a religious visit to Friends of Bristol and that neighbourhood. The following letters relate to these engagements.

SUSANNA CROUDSON TO SAMUEL
FOTHERGILL.

Worcester, Sixth month 16th, 1737.

..... I have felt the weight of the burden to be very heavy upon me, and none to help, but the Great Master in his own time. I have been left to see my own poverty and weakness, and have often looked back at my coming out; yea, I have often desired in secret to know whether I should go forward or turn back, being willing to do any thing, so that I might but be in my place, however foolish I might appear in the sight of men.

..... Remember me when it is well with thee, for I have need of the help of my friends.

SUSANNA CROUDSON.

SUSANNA CROUDSON TO SAMUEL
FOTHERGILL.

Bristol, Sixth month 27th, 1737.

Thine was very acceptable, and came in a needful time, when I was very low; yet I have got a little faith and strength since I last wrote to thee, and something of inward peace of mind, and a sight of my duty, and a sweet belief that I am in my place, which is enough, and makes my journey as a home to me. I believe thou hadst faith for me, when I had none for myself; but I believe I am not alone in this, for many in this day bear weights and burdens because of the careless and lukewarm; and I believe it is good for us all to see our weakness sometimes, that we may know that we have no might of our own, and may be willing to seek for help, that we do not grow lukewarm.

SUSANNA CROUDSON.

SUSANNA CROUDSON TO SAMUEL
FOTHERGILL.

Warrington, 1738.

Thou art often in my thoughts, yet not with any heaviness, though I was much so when I parted with thee; yet as soon as thou

wast gone, a secret satisfaction was raised in my mind that thou wast in thy place, and better than if thou wast at home; and the same still remains with me, which pretty much makes up the loss of thy company.

Now, my dear friend, however weak thou mayest seem to thyself, or whatever troublesome, discouraging thoughts may present themselves before thee, do thy endeavour to look over them all to thy present business, for I believe thou art in thy place, and am in hopes thou wilt get to the same faith; though I know many are the discouragements that fall in the way of poor travellers, yet I believe thou wilt be helped through, and have the return of peace. I speak in a feeling sense of the renewed goodness near to the relief of the poor and helpless that have no might of their own; my heart is filled with sympathizing encouragement towards thee, more than I can write at this time.

SUSANNA CROUDSON.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO SUSANNA
CROUDSON.

Middlewich, 1738.

..... Thy letter was not only pleasing, but very encouraging and helpful, and came in a needful time, for the burden of the work seems to be still more and more weighty, and myself poor and weak; yet as I am carefully concerned to wait for the renewings of help and strength, I sometimes experience a gladness and satisfaction of mind that I am come out, and have made this small visit thus far, and I cannot say, (notwithstanding I am often very low and heavy,) that I have occasion to reflect on my leaving home in the least degree.

Thou art a frequent companion of my thoughts, yet the nearest enjoyment of each other is to be known in the life, in the drawings of our souls towards God, and in a secret access to his Divine presence. Oh, I have found great occasion for frequent inwardness and retired breathing earnestly after the Filler of the hearts of his people: my heart is open towards thee in the nearest and tenderest of affections, and therefore lets my pen run thus. Cousin Lawrence Callan came yesterday, and we think to be at Nantwich to-morrow.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO SUSANNA
CROUDSON.

Chester, Third month 2nd, 1738.

Through mercy I am well as to my health, and my mind quiet and easy in a con-

firmed sense that I am in the discharge of my duty, which greatly helps and encourages, in hopes that he who has made me willing to leave home, in obedience to his call, will support me to answer his requirings. I am not doubting his helping hand, knowing that he never requires anything from his children but he enables them to its performance. Peter Leadbeater went with me to Wrexham on first-day, when we had a satisfactory meeting: there are a very few Friends, but pretty many that are not of our name—a religious, quiet people,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

From this correspondence it will be seen that the friendship between SAMUEL FOTHERGILL and SUSANNA CROUDSON still continued. It had its origin in the sympathy she manifested for him, and the care with which she watched over and encouraged in him the early symptoms of his repentance and desires after a religious life; their mutual friendship grew with the growth of these feelings in his mind; it was matured into a near and tender regard for each other, and on the 1st of the sixth month, 1738, they were united in marriage.

She was the daughter of William and Mary Croudson, of Warrington, Friends of good repute, and well esteemed.

The union thus formed, based upon the surest foundation, proved a happy one. They lived together in true harmony and religious fellowship, being helpers to each other in their various religious exercises and engagements; she cheerfully setting him at liberty, and encouraging him in the many services to which he was so frequently called.

The following letters may be suitably introduced in this place.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON SAMUEL.

"Netherdale, Eighth month 1st, 1738.

..... I am glad to hear of your health, and also of [your] hope to live: the latter I doubt not, either with respect to here or hereafter, if honest, steady regard, in due attention for best succour and light, be but kept to with patience and content to be little; if but renewed in life and in merciful access, and in due remembrance of the child's state, and thy station is but such comparatively; always keeping a care distinctly to discern between what would seek something to self, and that which only seeks to know and to do the Heavenly Father's will for his glory only. Oh, that we all may purely mind this!

I have little to add further, but am earnest

and tender in true longing for your right thriving and preservation in the way of wisdom in every respect, and salute you both in a sense of best love: your truly loving and careful Father,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

DOCTOR FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

London, Eighth month 20th, 1738.

..... A few days ago I was plunged very low; a view of my present situation, and the disagreeable prospect of my future circumstances, were so heavy that I knew not how to bear them; however, they have, by degrees, abated, and now I am not sorry it was so. O, may my dependence be increased, may every scheme be destroyed, if its consequence should be to take off my regard from the Sovereign dispenser of all good. May the assistance afforded be deeply impressed on our minds, in such a manner as to produce thankful reverence and gratitude, only to be ended with our existence.

I was last night at a large meeting which is held here quarterly, under the name of the Young Folks' Evening Meeting. I was pleased to see a very numerous appearance of very promising young Friends of both sexes; several testimonies were delivered by some that have lately appeared in public: they seemed to be influenced with love and zeal; and it afforded satisfaction to me when I considered that it was possible some of these young heroes might one day stand as bulwarks against the general corruption and degeneracy among us, in the places of their deceased worthy elders and fathers. They had to tell us that better days were coming, that mercy was afresh extended, that Zion yet should shine more brightly. O, thrice happy those who live so near the centre of peace, as to be ready, when the alarm is given, to follow wherever the standard is fixed. I have sent thee a copy or two of Anthony Purver's verses, and a little book lately published by John Fry;* the poetry is low, but the maxims deserve regard.

I can only now desire this for thee and myself, that our dear father's example and precepts may insinuate themselves into our minds so far as to influence us to act, to speak, and even to think, as it becomes persons favoured in such an extraordinary manner. Dear sister, cease not to strive, though discouragements may too much prevail: may happiness attend thee. Farewell.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

* Of Sutton Benger, Wilts.

PETER LEADBEATER* TO SAMUEL
FOTHERGILL.

Chester, Eleventh month 18th, 1738.

I may say thou art daily and almost hourly in my remembrance since we parted, with ardent desires that we may be preserved faithful in answering the end of our vocation whereunto we are called, that the hope thereof may not be in vain; therefore, let us daily eye Him who hath called us unto holiness, and will perfect the same to his praise and our everlasting comfort, if we keep under the guidance of his Holy Spirit; which as we co-operate with it, will complete our sanctification throughout, in body and soul, and spirit. My soul is often deeply bowed under a sense of my own weakness and inability, and am ready to fear lest one day or other I should fall by the hand of my soul's enemy, who is not wanting to use his utmost endeavours, if possible, to lay waste and destroy, by his subtle devices, that work which God in his infinite mercy hath begun; may he be frustrated in every attempt, is what I earnestly pray for. Oh! dear heart, when thou art divinely favoured, let me not be wholly out of thy remembrance; as we keep near the Lord, we shall be near and dear one to another in him, and be as epistles written in one another's hearts, sympathising in one another's adversity, as well as partaking of each other's joy in prosperity. I was often truly thankful, since the last meeting we had, that my head was borne up above the waters of affliction which were ready to pass over the same; may the same arm of power still be underneath, to support unto the end through whatever I may yet have to pass, in which I will put my confidence. O, Lord, let me never be confounded. Thy truly sorrowful and afflicted brother and companion,

PETER LEADBEATER.

DOCTOR FOTHERGILL TO SAMUEL
FOTHERGILL.

London, Twelfth month 21st, 1738.

I had an entire satisfaction in reading thine, though I do not overlook a passage in this, as well as some others of thine, which insinuates

* Peter Leadbeater was a minister, and well esteemed in his day. He is spoken of as being "serviceable in his tender and seasonable advice; and also being of a good capacity, and clear understanding, helpful in the management of the discipline of the Church, an encourager of the youth, to draw them into service in the Society." He died at Chester, on the 13th of seventh month, 1751, aged fifty eight; a minister about forty three years.

that I expect rhetorical flourishes, and brilliant expressions, but it is not so. I love sincerity in the plainest dress; I dislike affectation of any kind, when I see it, whether in myself or others; and when, in writing to one another or speaking, we join words together with an intention of concealing our real sentiments, or to give an idea of ourselves which we are not, we forsake the plain language indeed; if this happens to have been the case in those which I have written, I acknowledge myself guilty of using a manner of speech which the Spirit of truth has declared against, and for the future will attempt to forsake and amend.

Thy affectionate concern for my welfare was doubly grateful; I wish I could give thee the like satisfaction, by returning such an answer as I know would be acceptable, but alas, I cannot; none but myself knows what I feel.

..... I sometimes resolve with myself to abandon all my designs, and endeavour to live to none but my Creator; and presently, my condition in this life appears in my view, and that part which regards only the present, too often prevails, and here I waste and decline. I see it, I feel it, yet I almost despair of ever being able to resolve on amendment. Thou knowest these bitter scenes, but hast had courage enough to give up, and become nothing for his sake. I every day see the happy consequences of such a conduct, but *video meliora proboque deteriora sequor*. Here is my condition, without disguise; it is easy to say more, but thou knowest by this the rest; but what can be said to a person, who is conscious how much it would be his interest, his eternal interest, how much it would rejoice the heart of the tenderest of fathers, to see a progress made in the internal life, how much it would also rejoice his relations, his friends, and all the good of his acquaintance, yet is cowardly enough to give up to the tempter. I often reproach myself, I can suffer it in some measure and at some times from others knowing how much I deserve it. I am not solicitous of hiding my case from those, who, knowing the weakness of human nature, can pity the failures and lament the unhappy condition of the person.

The anxious pressure I feel, perhaps, makes my expressions not guarded; I write to a brother whose assistance I am far from rejecting; let me hear from thee as soon as thou hast freedom.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Soon after the return of John Fothergill from his last visit to America, he went to the Quarterly Meeting at York, which was large, and attended by many Friends from different parts of the nation. His company was very

acceptable; and the occasion was, in a peculiar degree, solemn and instructive.

Here he met his son Samuel. Tradition has handed down (and there is no other record of it) a remarkable circumstance connected with this, their first interview, since the return of the father to England. It is said that, from some accidental circumstance, John Fothergill did not arrive in York until the morning of the day of the meeting, and that it was late when he entered the meeting-house: after a short period of silence he stood up, and appeared in testimony; but after he had proceeded a short time, he stopped, and informed the meeting that his way was closed; that what he had before him was taken away, and was, he believed, given to another. He resumed his seat, and another Friend immediately rose, and taking up the subject, enlarged upon it in a weighty and impressive testimony, delivered with great power. It is added, that at the close of the meeting John Fothergill inquired who the Friend was that had been so remarkably engaged amongst them, and was informed that it was his own son *Samuel*.

Their thus meeting together, under circumstances so different to those in which their last memorable interview had taken place, previous to John Fothergill's departure from England, was peculiarly moving and affecting to them both. The son *then* in a state of rebellion and alienation from good—*now* become "changed" indeed, and a fellow-labourer with his father in the ministry of the gospel, powerfully advocating and enforcing those great and solemn truths he had formerly neglected and trodden down, and engaged earnestly to beseech others to become as he was, reconciled unto God.

The good old man received his son as one restored from the spiritually dead, and wept and rejoiced over him with no common joy.*

Some time after this interview, John Fothergill was again at York, and proceeded on a religious visit to Friends in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and the city of London. Here he remained several weeks, visiting the various meetings in and about the city, much to the help and encouragement of many, and faithfully discharging his own duty. On his return home he had several large meetings, which, though attended with deep labour, were to some advantage, and accompanied with holy help, as he humbly acknowledged.

Early in the year 1739, his son Samuel

communicated to the Monthly Meeting—"his intention of visiting Friends in Wales, Bristol, and some other parts, and requesting our certificate, to signify our unity therewith; the same is now granted him, signed by several Friends." In returning from this service, he paid a visit to his brother in London.

Soon afterwards, Susanna Fothergill and Sarah Routh, (afterwards Sarah Taylor,) of Manchester, paid a visit to "Friends in Westmoreland, Cumberland, and some parts of Yorkshire."

Several of the following letters relate to these engagements.

PETER LEADBEATER TO SAMUEL
FOTHERGILL.

Chester, 1739.

I am truly glad, in humble thankfulness to the God and Father of all our mercies, to hear of thy health and welfare every way, which I pray may be continued, not only through this journey, but during the whole of thy pilgrimage through this world: strong are my desires that the Lord Almighty may go along with thee, and make thy journey prosperous and satisfactory to thyself, and serviceable to his church and people where thy lot may be cast.

Oh, dear heart! eye the great and good Guide, and neither run too hastily, nor yet stay behind, but mind the putting forth of the Divine hand; and as thou follows its direction, thou wilt yet feel the sweet incomes of Divine peace, and the love of God, to fill thy soul more and more, to the making of thy cup to overflow, in which praises and thanksgiving will be returned to God, the Father, the author and fountain of all goodness, for ever.

I am, and always was, fully satisfied that the Great Master, who calleth and sendeth forth his servants into his work and service, will never leave those who truly depend on him, and have no dependence upon themselves; though they may have often to go down into the deeps on account of the true seed, which lies very low in many places, and is oppressed, as a cart with sheaves, yet God, in his own time, will raise it into dominion, and they who suffer with it shall reign with it in glory. Be not discouraged, though thou may meet with a variety of spirits to encounter; He that was with his stripling David, will be with thee, and direct the stone to the mark; be valiant for his name and truth, in a faithful testimony, bearing it against all false liberty, which has crept in amongst the professors of truth up and down in this nation.

As thou discharges thy duty faithfully in God's sight, as made known unto thee, I doubt

* Several different versions of this meeting between John Fothergill and his son are extant, and I have thought it best not to omit it. The account here given, I believe to be the most correct.—G. C.

not but thou wilt return in great peace, and we shall again have to drink of the pure water of life, clear as crystal, which proceedeth from under the throne of God and the Lamb. Oh, may our souls often thirst after it, and never be satisfied with any thing short of it! If it were not for God's mercy in opening the fresh springs thereof at times, surely we had fainted long ago; but it is matter of encouragement to find that God has not forgotten to be gracious and merciful, at times beyond what we are capable of expressing in words, or are in the least worthy of; but in inexpressible mercy and goodness He taketh delight in nursing up his babes and children, as a tender father; may we always learn in true obedience to his Divine will in all things, in doing which we shall be his disciples indeed.

Love, boundless love, from Him who is love altogether: in this I salute thee, and am thy sincere friend and brother,

PETER LEADBEATER.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Carmarthen, First month 26th. 1739.

I am, through continued mercy, very well in health, and in a good degree helped inwardly by the renewings of Divine help and regard, which encourage to renewed waiting upon the divine Opener. Here are but few Friends, but these are generally a living, tender people, and such as are waiting for Divine consolation. I have had several heavenly opportunities amongst them; that have given me great reason to believe I am in my place, notwithstanding deep and plunging seasons fall to our lot. We have a perfect harmony between us, and that is one great help.

..... Believing myself in the way of my duty makes me more easy that the Everlasting Preserver will remember us in merciful regard, and will give us again to be sensible of his Divine favour together.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Bristol, Second month 20th, 1739.

..... I have now been nearly two weeks by myself, in respect of the company of Gharrett Van Hassen; but have at times been favoured with the Divine company of our Great High Priest and Minister. Meetings in this county—Gloucestershire—are small, and mostly hard in the general, though there be a few really living in the particular. I many times have to go very low in them,

and discouragement is ready to creep in, and sometimes ready to send me home again; but now and then goodness breaks forth, as the sun in its brightness, and dispels all these dark fogs. Remember me; but we never shall nor can forget one another, as we keep in mind where it was we contracted a near oneness and acquaintance one with another; thy remembrance is near and dear to my soul—next to the spouse, the lamb's wife, nothing stands in competition with thee.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

London, Third month 24th, 1739.

Perhaps this may come to thy hands sooner than brother gets home; if so, it may not be unpleasant to hear that we parted at Oxford on third-day last.

I have been much pleased with his conduct, as well as his company, since he came to town; thou may be sure that my affection for him led me to observe him carefully, and I can only say, upon the whole, that I, as well as we all, have fresh occasion to be thankful that Providence has placed you together. I take notice, with pleasure, of an increase in solidity and prudent behaviour, since I last saw him at Warrington; and I doubt not but his affection will engage him to regard whatever thou shalt think he ought to do; for I cannot but believe that his quick and steady progress has been, and yet will be, greatly promoted by thy watchful, affectionate concern for him. Gratitude, dear sister, calls for affection in return, for restoring us a brother, and in part making him what he is. The sensible part of Friends here have unity with him; the rest, who applaud or condemn, as mere fancy leads them, are not to be hearkened to.

J. FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Warrington, Fifth month 18th, 1739.

Thy very acceptable letter is come to hand. I can sympathize nearly with thee and thy companion in this engagement and labour, having been bowed in spirit for you, in a sense of the exercise you are attended with; but oh! let it not sink you too low, that many are upon the beds of ease in a profession, and the work goes on heavily: strong is he who is on your side, and abundantly gracious to his poor travelling seed and children, whose hearts are made sad, and not upon their own account, but because the love of others is declined, and few spirits unite and join, as shoulder to shoulder, to carry on the

work; but it is heavier upon a little remnant. But the Levites must enter Jordan, in this gospel day, before the rest of the people, and must abide there until the rest be got over; therefore think it not a light thing to be bearing the ark of the covenant before the people; but be humbly concerned to go forward in faithfulness, and the Lord, who said in the beginning, "Let there be light, and there was light," will separate and disperse the clouds, and cause light to shine, and in the fulness thereof, thou wilt know a walking with great peace and joy before thou return.

Nothing, my dearest, would be more satisfactory to me than to enjoy thy company; nevertheless, I would not stint thee in respect of time—take thine own time, and fully make thyself easy before thou return, that the answer of peace may attend thee.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON SAMUEL.

Leeds, Seventh month 8th, 1739.

Dear Samuel,

..... Be assured, I think both carefully and affectionately often of thee and thine; yet I more praise that gracious power, which hath shown such mercy to us in raising thee as from death, and is mercifully pleased to regard thee amongst his children, for thy own salvation, and, I hope, others' good, than too much rejoice in creaturely esteem; though I am reverently glad of thee, and have some comfortable hope that the Everlasting Father will help thee to remember his mercy to thee, so wisely, and with steady fear and care, that he may be pleased to continue his regard to, and help thee, in his fatherly goodness and living law, to live, every way, to his praise; and then it will be in a renewed sense of self-nothingness, and that He must do all that is truly well done, both in, by, and for us, and must have all the glory; so be it, saith my spirit, for ever and ever.

My salutation is truly affectionate and loving to you all, my dear and loving sons and daughters, hoping as well as desiring all your health and comfort. JNO. FOTHERGILL.

DOCTOR FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER
SAMUEL.

London, Seventh month 15th, 1739.

I received thy acceptable letter along with dear father's, both which came very seasonably—I was wanting to hear from you both. I wonder not at the tenderness thou expresses in thine; whilst he was here, my heart was filled with thankfulness, not only for such a parent, but also that I could see some marks

of that treasure of goodness, which it has pleased Divine love to place and treasure up in his soul. The wisdom of his conduct, his uprightness and humility, often affect me, and make me wish, "*Oh, si ut alter ab illo?*" Well, let us incite each other to a more close regard to that power which can make us in some degree like him; we shall then perform the duty we owe to each other; and may Divine goodness make us instrumental to each other's advancement in the way to perfection, by often inclining our hearts to stir up the pure mind in each other. Thou art nearer the bright day than I am—thou can act more regularly, as having more light. I wish to possess my soul in patience, and follow after the footsteps of the holy flock.

J. FOTHERGILL.

Early in the year 1740, Samuel Fothergill was engaged with a certificate in a religious visit, in the north of Yorkshire and Durham. Whilst on this journey, he met, at Lancaster, with James Gough, of Ireland, in whose journal the circumstance is thus mentioned—"Here I met with Samuel Fothergill, then young in the ministry, but even then appearing with that solemnity, brightness, and gospel authority, as gave Friends lively hopes of his proving, as he did, through the successive stages of his life, a bright and shining light; a vessel of honour indeed; of eminent service in the church of Christ. The public service of the quarterly meeting fell to the share of us who were young, though many weighty, experienced ministers were present; and, our good Master being with us, it proved a refreshing, satisfactory, and edifying meeting."

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

James Wilson's, near Sedbergh,
Third month 21st, 1740.

..... Well, dearest, let us be easy in separation, and truly given up to the disposal of the great Master; and I hope he will bring me home in peace, when this parting must give way to, I hope, a joyful meeting.

Things here afford a melancholy prospect, in respect to that life and greenness I expected to have found, though I am favoured with a very agreeable companion this week, but I fear I cannot have his company forward. It is Amos Robinson, father's late companion to London. We have had meetings appointed for every day, except seventh-day. I hope, after first-day, to pass away pretty quickly towards Durham, but cannot as yet see when I may set my face towards home. Oh! that I may be enabled, though in much weakness, to get onwards, so as to discharge my duty;

that low times of much want may not be renewed oftener than times of strength. But these meetings are suffering, bowing times. A strange deadness prevails. On first-day last, had a pretty good helpful opportunity at a general meeting; but it is soon lost by the succession of hard, dry seasons. Thus have I abruptly hinted at my case one way. Yet I trust in the great Helper and Deliverer of his people from under oppressions. As to my body it is through mercy very well.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Carr-End, Third month 25th, 1740.

I am through mercy very well in health, and pretty easy and quiet in mind, in a good degree of a sense of being in my place in this journey thus far. I heartily wish I may so watch as to experience renewedly the manifestations of the Divine will in respect to my duty, and suitable help to the performance thereof in an agreeable manner, to the honour of the Great Master, the edification of the church, and the peace of my own soul.

Well, my dearest, remember me when it is well with thee, for I find a prospect of hard, dull, heavy work; the seed is oppressed in many, and the well of life is oppressed with rubbish; though here and there are fellow-labourers, joined in heart and soul for the advancement of the glorious name; a remnant of such I met with yesterday, which helped me out of a very low place—a place of great want—and in some good degree renewed my strength.

My love flows strongly towards thee—that love that absence doth not diminish, nor separation lessen.....

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Malton, Fourth month 20th, 1740.

After a fatiguing week, I now find a little opportunity to write to thee. I have had meetings at Newcastle, Shields, Sunderland, Shotton, Stockton, Yarm, Yaton, (Ayton,) whence over the moors to Whitby, where, on first-day, had two large and powerful meetings among that high exalted people; but renowned be the name of the ever excellent Being, his eternal power was over all, to the breaking some rocky, adamantine hearts, and to the comforting of the true travellers. Next day I was at Castleton, which is Luke Cock's meeting. I spent an hour with that emblem of innocence, and in the afternoon rode ten miles, to the house where the ark resteth, *i. e.*, John Richardson's, who went with me next day to Pickering, and I went back with him to his home. On the following day was at Kirby meeting,

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which is the meeting to which that man of God belongs. It was a very heavenly season. Oh! let it be for ever remembered by all that partook of the benefit of it. The good man said they had always good meetings, but this was a very extraordinary one. The life of truth arose wonderfully, and that Father in Israel, John Richardson, took me home, where we sat up until almost daylight. We then repaired to our respective lodgings; but soon after five in the morning he came and sat by my bedside, and, though weak and very poorly, would accompany me ten miles to this place, and have here parted in mutual tenderness.

My soul admires the goodness of God. His words are faithful, just, and true, helping through depressing and trying times in many places; but the best are reserved, to recover my drooping, wounded soul; blessing and honour be to him who lives and reigns for ever and ever.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In this year, (1740,) John Fothergill, though under much bodily weakness, attended the yearly meeting in London, wherein, at the desire of his brethren, he gave a concise but instructive account of his late visit to America, the state of Friends, the increase of the Society in some places, and its declining state in others, with the causes which had most obviously contributed to produce this. He observed, that as the elders of the people were preserved in freshness and zeal, under a diligent care for the growth of spiritual religion, truth increased, good order was preserved, the discipline kept up, and the youth, in many places, tender and hopeful. On the contrary, where those who were of the first rank, both in respect to age and situation in life, declined in their religious care; where the spirit of this world suppressed the tender desires after riches of a durable nature; there, weakness, disorder, and unfaithfulness were too obvious, and a daily decay of real piety, as well as of numbers, prevailed, to the grief of the honest-hearted, and the loss of those who unhappily suffered this corrupting spirit to take place. He pointed out, in a clear manner, some parts where these effects appeared, and the deep sorrow which attended him when amongst those whose conduct occasioned these consequences.

In the latter part of the year 1741, he visited Friends in several of the northern counties. The following letters were written about the time of these engagements.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON JOHN.

Ninth month 27th, 1740.

I have been, and am, through merciful fa-

vour, preserved in usual health, and attended with best peace and comfort in our heavenly Father's goodness, though in the manifest appearance, as I have often looked at it many months, of a severe, threatening time of distress, in divers cases, to this nation; and if we be not quickened and excited hereby to diligence, in seeking to lay hold of eternal treasure, the love and favour of the blessed, infinite Rock and Fountain of all good, we shall be more inexcusable than others of mankind, who know not so well and clearly where and how to seek happiness and refuge indeed; which I often inwardly long and breathe in spirit we may lay suitably to heart. But after this little hint of what is much with me, I shall take notice of some of thy remarks on thy late journey into Holland and Germany, and first tell thee, thy account of those people called Mennonists, and Moravians, as I suppose they call themselves, exactly agrees with my secret and settled idea of them; for I believe both, and the latter especially, have had, in some measure, their eyes opened, but they set man to work, to form and imitate religion, and to build, without digging properly to find the Rock; yet many, from their pious intentions, make a show for a time, and some good may turn out of it: but it is a matter to be lamented, as I have very often thought, that there should be, as it were, an universal and continued propensity prevailing, amongst the Germans especially, to run away with speculation, and thereby so many valuable springings and glimpses of the heavenly day should have yet brought forth or produced no more durable fruits, in experiencing salvation in reality. But it ever will be true, no following Christ acceptably, without submitting to the cross, which hath always seemed to me to be the place at which that country-people in particular, as almost all nations in general, have miscarried. May the plough of God take more effectual hold amongst them, is my heart's desire. And may this consideration strengthen thee in fearing, and even loathing, a sort of living and delighting, or being at ease, in barren speculation, even upon best things or principles; but be still more and more animated to seek daily bread from the everlasting Father's own hand, who will hear and answer in due time the sincere and patient, though hidden cries for it; and thereby such will grow in the living Root, and bear fruit in due season, to the Father's praise and honour.

..... But above all, my longing is for thy spiritual access and enlargement in the heavenly pastures, under the leading and putting forth of the one heavenly Shepherd, which I

still hope, as well as often humbly breathe for, on thy account, being well satisfied of thy sincere desires, which, if properly retained and carefully cherished on thy part, I cannot but comfortably hope, heavenly Help will mercifully regard: so be it. Amen.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO ———.

Ninth month 6th, 1741.

..... I cannot lose hope, nor almost full expectation, but that the Divine power, which can do all things, will one time or other mercifully help thee, if thou labour in watchfulness and patience, to look to him for salvation, in true diligence, sincere resignation, and holy, humble trust: and that he will refine, through various manners of dealing, and distressing dispensations, his beloved sons, whom he would make chosen vessels in his house; and with such an eye I believe he hath looked upon thee, somewhat like as upon Jacob, when a stone was his pillow; yet the Lord of all power and majesty was in that place, though Jacob knew it not. And so have some others been made witnesses, that he in mercy and gracious goodness was even working in and near us, when sometimes the heavens seemed like brass, and the earth like iron, and fear and sorrow surrounded. Thus he hath and will winnow and refine, and will show that none else can save, and yet that he forsakes not those who would have no other God but him, the ever-living and all-powerful One, everlastingly worthy to have all our hearts, and to be trusted in, waited for, and praised for ever.

A measure of his glorious love and mercy covers my heart at this time, and bows my spirit in humble worship to his most worthy name; but I cannot express, like many others, according to my views, and must, therefore, leave what I have hinted, for thee to gather the substance as thou art capable. I am as well in health, through merciful support, as I have been many years, and was favoured with help from the best hand, in the little journey through the northern counties, to as much humbling gladness in the Lord as I have almost ever known; though we met with several afflicting cases, besides the common heaviness, or want of proper hunger, which is, more or less, almost a general hurt.—I had the good company of Michael Lightfoot most of the time.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON SAMUEL.

Darley. Tenth month 10th, 1741.

As you, my truly beloved sons, with your dear wives, whom I sincerely value, are

much in my remembrance in love, which begets near care and living breathing for your growth in the saving knowledge of truth, that the Father of all mercies and true good may be your shepherd, and help you to live to his praise; as this is almost all I can do for you, and is often comfortably renewed with me, so I now and then want to let you know I have you thus and often in mind. I am rather cheerful in my mind about thy having drawings towards London, and hope it may be made serviceable, as thou walks watchfully, and acts in humble care to be an instrument and servant directed by Christ, and rather be within than exceed. Remember thy temper is active; keep fear, therefore out of meetings and in meetings, for the Lord will help, and honours those who truly seek his honour, and, therefore, carefully attend upon him for food, and fresh help to do his will from day to day: thus may thou be so directed and enabled, that ancient and everlasting life may more and more be known among the people; then will the Lord God be worshipped, and have the praise, who is worthy, worthy, worthy for evermore.

I think, if thou be under no obligation otherwise, that John Hayward would cheerfully entertain thee, and I know not of a more worthy place; but they are not great *showers* of kindness, but *real*, where they meet with worthy objects.

My last little journey was made by truth very satisfactory, though very unpleasant circumstances are to be met with, particularly in Cumberland; yet there is a people in that county waiting for best help, and worth labouring amongst. I expect to be much about home this winter, but I grow to expect I shall see Ireland once more, but it seems not very near.

I must stop my pen, though love would still run on, and I hope will often live and move towards you. I will only add now, that I hope Joseph is yet alive, and I breathe with earnestness in the allowance of our Father's love for him and his dear wife, that they may be helped to sanctify the Lord of all power and goodness in their hearts, and carefully wait that the pure seed may not be hindered by visible things, but bear fruit to the glory of the mighty Husbandman, who surely waits to enable thereto.

So fare you all well, dear children, in devoted pursuit of heart to be obedient children of the Lord God, saith your nearly loving father,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

In 1742, after visiting Friends in Oxfordshire, he again attended the yearly meeting in London, wherein the same lively zeal, which,

under the guidance of heavenly wisdom, he had often before manifested on these solemn occasions, for the prosperity and growth of truth and righteousness, was again conspicuous.

The concern of mind which he had for some time felt to visit Friends in Ireland, was now matured, and was communicated to his son in the following letter.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON SAMUEL.

London, Fourth month 5th, 1742.

I have had a desire to impart some thoughts to thee relating to a visit to Friends in Ireland. I remember thou once queried of me if I had any thing of that nature before me; and though I could not say I had not, it seemed not then to be fully clear to me; and though I had not much inclination then to inquire the reason of thy question, I was led to think thou might have found something on thy mind of that nature, which induces me now to acquaint thee that I believe such a visit is now become my duty, and also that the time draws near; so that if it continue before me as it has done, I think to be forward about the latter part of next month, and I see not but thy company would be truly easy to me, if thou apprehend such a concern to be with thee, and also ripening as to time, which I would have thee to consider; and if so thou find it to operate, there may be the more strong ground of hope our going together may be sanctified to us and our friends. Meet me at York, with a few lines in answer hereto.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Samuel Fothergill having some prospect on his own mind of a visit to Ireland, received this proposal with much satisfaction; the offer of the company of his venerable father, and the prospect of travelling with him in such an engagement, were truly agreeable. But, in the exercise of that care which is so indispensable, to wait for the right time, as well as for the right authority, to proceed in such engagements, he believed that the proper time for him had not arrived, and, therefore, notwithstanding the strong inducements which the proposal included, he declined it; and *his* visit to Ireland did not take place until the year 1744.

Some account of his father's visit will be found in the following letters.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO ————.

Chester, Sixth month, 1742.

My hands and thoughts have been busy in hastening to discharge myself of this debt to

Ireland, and I now hope for a passage thither the first suitable wind. I am but in a low and heavy state of mind, and should be very doubtful of being helped to live and act properly, but that grain of faith is preserved, which hath heretofore often staid my mind in patient waiting, till merciful supply of food, and ability to labour again, hath been experienced from the all-sufficient and only right relieving Hand; and here is my centre, in reverent trust, where, as we endeavour steadily to keep, duly attending for fresh help, that we may be what we are, through the grace from on high, I believe we shall not be neglected or forgotten of the all-knowing Fountain of every good thing.

J. FOTHERGILL.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

London, Sixth month 28th, 1742.

I have received a letter from dear father, from Dublin; in it he acquainted me that he had a short and easy passage over, and was then pretty cheerful. A friend who saw him at Dublin, and is since come to London, gave me a pleasing account that his Great Master had eminently favoured him with his presence in several meetings, at which the friend was along with him. The need there is of such labourers everywhere, makes me cheerfully resign him to so hard a service as he must undergo in that country; but that wisdom and strength which attends him from above, I hope will support through it all, as well as direct. Oh, may we, dear sister, more and more seek our father's God! His favour to us will be all we want, and having him for our portion, nothing necessary can be withheld. I every day more affectionately esteem the best of parents, if I grow better myself, and I cannot without tears call to mind his more than paternal concern for our welfare. I have nothing so much in view as to contribute all in my power to the relief of those that want it, in the way of my profession, and to the happiness of those whom I am so nearly interested in, as my father and his beloveds. It gives me sometimes pain to think that, according to the common period, one-half of life is nearly spent, exclusive of any accidental blow, and I not better provided, either for this life or another. But I hope to cherish the thought, and make it my chief endeavour, to secure the last, and be content with whatever may be my lot as to the first.

J. FOTHERGILL.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO _____.

Mountrath, 1742.

..... I have kept closely stirring along, and much employed, to answer the end of my

coming as diligently and honestly as I know how; which, through continued merciful help and renewed supply, hath been hitherto as well, or rather better borne, as to the body, as well as in the chief respect, than I dared to hope for, and I am thus far thankfully easy on my own part, though, through deep labour, and at times much sorrow; yet I am glad I am here, because of the blessed favour of help to pay this visit, and also in that I am sensible of the strong extendings of gracious regard to this nation, and even that the dead may hear, and be made to live.

..... Thine was very acceptable, being accompanied with a relish of religious, as well as natural love and nearness, which both comforts at present, and increaseth reverent trust in, and regard to, the Almighty Source of all our good and true help, who hath hiddenly, yet mercifully, cared for us many ways, and requires our consideration as such, in order to encourage and instruct, in humble confidence, yet with watchfulness towards him, that he may be our Shepherd through time, and his glorious name may be renowned here and for ever. Bear with me, dear son, in thus reaching towards thee in the living sense of mercy, the staying comfort whereof is highly worthy of our secret notice, and solid commemoration.

I have been round the southern parts, and am now near the middle, going northward, and hope to be at Dublin at the half-year's meeting.

J. FOTHERGILL.

After his return from Ireland, John Fothergill continued much about home, visiting the neighbouring meetings as his health permitted; this grew more precarious, and the winter proving a severe one, he was prevented from going much abroad. His care nevertheless, for the prosperity of truth, was as fresh as it had ever been, his own inward strength being graciously renewed, as he often, with reverent thankfulness, expressed; and for the preservation of his absent family, and their increase in Divine experience and steady progress in the paths of humility and dependence, his soul was often deeply engaged.

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO FRANCES HENSHAW.*

Darley, First month 12th, 1743.

I had thee so much in remembrance in a loving care and sympathy, that I had thought of writing to thee again before I received

* Frances Henshaw, afterwards Frances Dodshon, was born near Leek, in the year 1714. Her parents possessed a considerable estate; she received an education according to her station in society, and was of good understanding. About

thine, which may truly be called a lamentation, and would render thy case very lamentable, but that I am fully persuaded Almighty and merciful care and succouring regard, from the infinite Being of goodness and mercy, is nearer and more regardful of thee, to stay and protect thee, than thou at present seems to apprehend; which revives my hope, if thou can but labour with some diligence to be quiet and reverently resigned, and endeavour to overlook the too much teasing thyself about false accusations, by which the enemy would deject and destroy thee, I still hope, with much quietness, that the day of salvation will by little and little dawn, and light and life spring up to thee again; for I cannot think there is so much wrath and judgment upon thee from the God of mercy as thou would, as it were, pull upon thyself in thy tender fear, and the evil disturber would work thy sinking temper in this time of trial, to fear and conclude; this is my real and steady hope and thought about thee, though I know it is hard to be quiet and to retain any lively hope in the truly loving soul, when the Beloved hides himself indeed; but clouds of witnesses bear testimony to the abundant mercy to humble seekers, and even to the loathness of Goodness to forsake poor man, but still more contrary to his gracious goodness, to cast off one that hath been and is desirous to follow him with full purpose of heart, as I believe is truly thy case; and if thou be but kept reasonably still, and somewhat cheerful, as very much otherwise would not be of service, but might rather offend; for in the most stillness we can get to, is help and strength from the mighty Helper experienced—I say, if thou so labour to be kept, no reproach will attend it, but what will, in due time, by best wisdom, be removed.

With respect to going to Grace Chambers' I am pleased with the invitation, and think thy being there awhile may be of advantage both to thy health and otherwise, for she is good and wise company: all that I hesitate about is, lest thy being there should be a

the twentieth year of her age, she was convinced of the principles of Truth as held by the Society of Friends, with whom she was received into religious membership. So full and powerful was the conviction, that even in the many deeply trying seasons through which she had to pass during the course of her life, the foundation of these principles in her mind, as she often expressed, could never be shaken. Soon after her conviction, she was called to the work of the ministry; she laboured much in the exercise of this gift, and travelled extensively. She had to pass through many afflictions, both spiritually and temporally. She lived to an advanced age, and died in the eighth month, 1793.

means of exposing the case, to thy future detriment, further than one could wish, because all people are not wise; but I seem not to fear but thou may live to see clear weather, and the light of Divine life upon thee again; but reverent stillness in mind, as at the footstool of the great knower of all our thoughts, as well as words and actions, I cannot but beg for thee as much as ever thou canst for thyself; and although I should be pleased to see thee, I see little probability of its being useful, nor can I ride much without great difficulty; but whether I see thee or not, my very soul steadily longs for and bears with thee, and almost believes I may live to see thee cheerful in the Lord, or, at least, that thou wilt live to be so, by the help of that eternal, most gracious Power which ever brings into a right mind: thus mayest thou be regarded and helped, and so farewell my friend, beloved for the Father's sake.

Thy sincerely affectionate friend,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

In the spring of 1743 his health and strength were much reduced, yet, though with some difficulty, he attended in the sixth month, the general meeting at Pickering, which was to him a favoured season, and he was well satisfied in having undertaken the journey. These meetings, which were held once a year, were commonly very large, and held in an open place, to which some thousands of the neighbouring people used to resort: on this occasion they behaved attentively: but they did not always comport themselves so well.

He continued very weak during the winter of 1743, getting but little out, and scarcely able to converse with those friends who came to see him at home; but his fervour of mind, and love towards the best things, abated not, but remained undiminished. And, in addressing at this time one of his friends, he says, "Though I am more than a little afflicted in body, yet I am not forsaken of the everlasting Helper. In a renewed consideration, and in a degree of the sense of his manifold mercies, and fatherly regard and succour hitherto, my heart worshippeth his name, and greets thee in love and true well-wishing."

CHAPTER VI.

AFTER the return of Samuel Fothergill from his visit to the north of Yorkshire, in 1740, until he went into Ireland, in the year 1744, there is but little left on record of his services, and only few of his letters.

In 1741 he attended the yearly meeting for

the northern counties, held at Kendal, and also the yearly meeting in London, and in the autumn he visited some parts of Lancashire and Cumberland; soon afterwards he had a certificate to pay a visit to some of the southern counties, and to the city of London, and spent the winter in this engagement.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Carlisle, Sixth month 5th, 1741.

..... I am preserved in a good state of health, through hard labour, having had as many meetings as days, hitherto, since I came into this county, and, through the support of Providence, I am so far sustained; and this I can with reverence and trust say, I never hitherto experienced in my travels, the opening, sustaining goodness of the Great Master to such a degree: have this day had a large, open and precious meeting at this place, with Friends and others from several parts of the county, it being the time of the assizes, for which, and manifold other mercies, my soul ascribes glory, honour, and high praise to the Rock of our strength; and in this holy love and life my soul salutes thee, and longs for our preservation in all lowliness and humility.

I would fain return, with the sheaves of peace in my bosom, and fully clear myself before I return, which will be longer than I expected.

In 1742 he was engaged with some other Friends, by appointment of the monthly meeting, in a religious visit to the families of Friends within that meeting.

The prospect of religious duty in a visit to Ireland, which had for some time been upon his mind, had continued, and believing that the right time for the performance of it was arrived, he proposed it to the monthly meeting, and with the certificate and unity of that meeting, he embarked for Dublin in the second month, 1744, and had a good passage.

The following are some of the letters written during this visit: one of them appears to be an answer to some individual who had applied to him for spiritual counsel; the applications of this nature which he received were frequent.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Dublin, Second month 27th, 1744.

On my arrival I came up to this city about eight, and went to meeting at ten; it was very satisfactory; the goodness of the Great Master was evidently manifested, to the abundant encouragement of my mind; it was as a seal of my commission hither, and very much encouraged me.

..... I would have thee be entirely easy on my account; I hope that I am right in this concern, and that He that has called me will preserve from every danger; sufficient is His power to keep us both in our respective situations.

The Papists here are quiet, and profess an attachment to the government, by their observing the late fast in a solemn manner. There are fourteen French ships in this harbour, all seized upon by the government; and two at the Isle of Man.

..... Through the mercy and kindness of the Almighty, I have my health pretty well; the closeness of the city is inconvenient, but I soon leave it. The opening, enlarging power of the gospel has not been wanting, but has flowed with renewed evidences of my being so far right.

On the 18th, there was in this city the funeral of a Friend, a banker, which was attended by the greatest concourse of people I have ever seen upon the like occasion—a strange mixture of folks—lords and Jesuits, merchants and parsons, &c.: but the mighty power of God was revealed over all: to His worthy name be the attribute of praise for ever!

On first-day last, we had a large meeting in the forenoon, and near the close of that meeting, arrived our dear friend Elizabeth Shipley, and her companion, after a tedious passage of nearly five days, from Liverpool. We were five strangers, but none appeared: J. G. took up two and a-half hours in one sermon, the longest, but not the best, I ever heard, to the great uneasiness of Friends. Very great is the danger of that highly-called youth.

The meetings, during the course of this national meeting, have been attended with the evidence of Divine favour.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ———.

Dublin, Second month, 1744.

If this letter should come to the hand of the person from whom I received one last night, know, oh, distressed soul! I am sensibly touched with thy state, and should be thankful to be instrumental in delivering thee from the gall of bitterness thou seems at present closely beset with. I wish reflections upon the nature and necessity of solid religion had more place in the minds of our youth; sure I am it would tend to their great and lasting good, for in it is the happiness of the reasonable soul, and in its due regard to its dictates. Oh! that in this the day of thy visitation thou might be wise in heart, and give up to

the sword that which is for the sword. If there was a willingness to be divested of every beloved, inconsistent with the will of Him that hath called thee, thou would experience more help, and a gradual removing of those things that interfere between thee and the joys of God's people. The sins of all mankind, must come to judgment, either here or hereafter; and they are happy who have their sins go beforehand to judgment, and submit thereto; in their humiliation their judgments are taken away. I never knew right peace but in submitting to the exercise of the righteous judgment upon the offending part in my own soul. Now, as the mind is brought to this submission, hard things are made easy, seeming impossibilities are made possible by the power of God, and the poor soul triumphs in the power of God revealed for its health and strength; and one thing after another is put off that hath separated from good, and the soul ariseth gradually in the image of Him who hath called it. I not only pity thee, but, in the love of our heavenly Father, my soul is baptized into a sense and feeling of thy state: I sympathize with thee, and come down as into Jordan with thee, oh poor soul! and a living faith ariseth in my heart for thee, that if thou be truly submissive, and attend to the Word in thyself, the day will shine forth more and more to thee.

Oh! be not afraid of looking inward; there is a merciful God there. Spread thy cause before him, and he will hear thee; for he hath arisen for the piercing cries of the poor and distressed, and ever will arise; and, my friend, let Divine approbation be the standard and measure of thy conduct. Alas! what is man, whose breath is in his nostrils, here to-day and gone to-morrow, a poor short-sighted creature, that apprehension of censures from such a creature should deter any from a religious pursuit of those things that make for his eternal happiness; therefore, look above these considerations, consult not with flesh and blood, but freely give up to the holy visitation. Remember the footsteps of the holy Jesus and his companions, and the tribulated flock of God in all ages: the difficulties in the way are for the trial of our faith, and tend to our advantage. What can the world do for thee, in that solemn period of death? Can it give thee peace of mind? Can it deliver thee from the judgment of God? No, far from it. Oh! therefore, that thou may be induced to submit to that work thou hast known to be begun! Great is the mercy of God to penitent returning sinners, of whose abundant mercy I am a witness. Prefer his favour, therefore, as thy chiefest joy—run thou the celestial race that is set before thee—despise the shame,

endure the cross—glorious is the recompense, and weighty is the crown—it is a prize worth contending for, and oh! saith my soul, that thou may obtain it; and, inasmuch as this is the day of God's renewed mercy to thee, join in with it, lest thou become a cast-off for ever, and lose that sense thou now hast on thy understanding; I much fear thy safety, if thou submit not in this renewed reach of love; oh that I could take thee by the hand, and lead thee forward a little! my soul is bowed on thy behalf, that thou may be blessed with a turn in thy soul to God; I recommend thee to the guidance of the Holy Spirit in thyself; mayest thou attend to its direction, and with the perfection of love and resignation, wait for the manifestation and production of a holy birth in thy soul. Thus having offered, in an abrupt manner, what seemed on my mind for thee, I remain, in the sincerest manner, thy affectionate, sympathizing, and concerned friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Lisburn, Third month 9th, 1744.

..... The day on which I wrote my last to thee, was held the concluding meeting at Dublin, to good satisfaction; next day I went to Drogheda, twenty-two miles, and had a meeting there on first-day; ten or eleven Friends came with me from Dublin, and divers sober people of other persuasions came in, and Truth was exalted over all. I went thence to Dundalk, and next morning to Rathfriland, and had a small meeting there, and then fourteen miles to Lurgan that night, which was a hard day's work. I rested at Lurgan on the 1st, had a meeting there on the 2nd, and at Moyallen on the 3rd, where the neighbouring gentry came in, and several clergymen, two of whom dined with me at a Friend's house; the Lord's power was that day magnified, glory be to his worthy name.

On the 4th instant went to Ballyhagan, where was a large meeting; returned to Lurgan, and rested there one day; on the next, being the first of the week, went to Ballinderry in the morning, where was a mighty large meeting of Friends and others: I went back to Lurgan, where was a still larger meeting in the evening. It was a day very shaking to the body, but my soul renewed its strength, in faith and experience of continued regard. The next day had a meeting at Hillsborough—few Friends, but many others, and some of the greatest rank in the neighbourhood. Yesterday I had no meeting, but there is one appointed for to-day.

Thus far truth has favoured beyond my

expectation, and as there seems a very great openness hereaway, I dare not suddenly leave the north; and on the other hand, I am cautious of appointing meetings too fast.

Friends here are very loving, and unfeignedly willing to do any thing that lies in their power for me, and apprehending me to be tender, [in health,] are careful to an extreme lest any thing should ail me. My landlord, where I now am, a worthy, innocent elder, has been with me in most meetings I have had, and proposes to accompany me through the greatest part of the nation, which will be acceptable to me; he was over with Michael Lightfoot; his name, Robert Richardson.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Charlemont, Third month 18th, 1744.

..... My present business is to look to my concern here, and the faithful discharge of it to God, the people, and myself; and living praises to Him that is mindful of his servants, I may say he has not hitherto failed me in this journey.

We had a pretty large meeting at Lisburn, and though things were heavy amongst them, yet Truth rose, and we were favoured: the next day I rode twelve miles to Antrim, where we had a poor little meeting; rode twenty-two miles to Ballinacree, where we had a hard, though pretty satisfactory meeting next morning, being the first-day; in the afternoon went to Coleraine, where was a large meeting; many people of rank within several miles came to it, and the Lord owned us by his mighty power: may that day's favour remain always in my mind. Next day went twenty miles to Grange, where we had a poor, heavy meeting; on the 16th to Toberhead, where we had a good meeting; yesterday rode nineteen miles to this place, where this day the Lord singularly owned us by his power and presence, to my great admiration and thankfulness. I know not how I may fare in the rest of my journey—I leave that; but I may say of a truth, the evident favour and power of God's Truth has hitherto wonderfully helped me, and my health has been, and yet is, mercifully preserved.

My love to all inquiring friends in Penketh meeting, in earnest wishes for their prosperity in the glorious truth of our God. May they gather to the eternal refuge of the people of God, and therein be preserved to the end. My mind calls many of them to remembrance with gladness, and humble yet fervent breathing that they may be gathered to the glorious Shepherd, whose pastures are suffi-

ciently capacious to hold thousands more than yet inhabit them;—the fountain is inexpressibly open and free, and oh that there were a steady thirst after it!

My heart is renewedly touched with the love of God; in *that* I am bound up with thee, and near thee, in an indissoluble covenant; may our dwelling be evermore in it, so shall we be helps one to another.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Limerick, Fourth month 5th, 1744.

On seventh-day, the 19th ult., the Province meeting began at Ballyhagen; on the next day was a very large meeting there, and what was still better, a good meeting; the ancient testimony of light and grace opened. John Turner opened the meeting, and it concluded well; the hearts of Friends were comforted one in another.

On the 21st, rode sixteen miles to Castle-shane, and had a meeting there that day, very poor and small. The following day I rode to Cootehill, twelve miles; had another small meeting there: rode the same evening to Ballyhays, six miles, where I had a small meeting on the 23rd. On the 24th I rode to Castlebarr, eighteen miles; had a small meeting there: thence to Moate, thirty-nine miles, and was at the meeting on first-day, which was pretty large, and the same evening I went six long miles to Athlone. On second-day I went ten miles to a meeting in the province of Connaught, and returned the same evening to Athlone, where I had a large meeting in the Assembly Room, to good satisfaction.

..... Very great hath been the Lord's goodness, and eminent his power, that hath often attended me in this visit. I sometimes think something is to be met with that will try me thoroughly, and oh that I may keep to the Rock of the righteous generation, who is able to preserve, and likewise sufficient, where the mind honestly rests upon him.

I am glad thou art easy in mind in my absence; the Lord of heaven and earth keep us both in the way of our duty to him, resigned and submissive. The state of the Church is very low in many parts of this kingdom, and meetings so dull and heavy that nothing but the weight of the powerful Word itself, and that manifested in an extraordinary degree, can reach them, and this has been near from day to day.

Think not that I am puffed up with the abundance of the Divine favour; I am, through mercy, awfully humbled and bended in mind,

to acknowledge gratefully the favour of Heaven, and to consecrate the gain of all to the Lord. May reverence and fear possess my soul for ever!

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

DOCTOR FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

London, Eighth month 11th, 1744.

..... A considerable number of engagements have so taken up my time, as even to break in upon those hours which I could always wish to command for retirement, or to devote to proper thoughtfulness about things of the greatest consequence. But, alas! I have been too much robbed of this for some time past, not indeed by any particular event, but by the general avocations of business, study, and the interruption of company. As I have been favoured with a sight of the dangers that attend such a life, I am in hopes sometimes of being strengthened to avoid them. At other times I see no way to shun the precipice, but fear that one day or other I shall fall, and be lost to a sense of those blessed reproofs of instruction which yet, through mercy, at times attend me.

As I can keep more in this place, dear sister, our correspondence will be more frequent, more truly affectionate and instructive; for I know thy lonesome, solitary hours are not spent unprofitably; thou art breathing after an inward acquaintance with thy father's God; and as thou abides in patience, he will come in, and then the night will seem short, and it will be an additional gladness that thou didst not repine when left desolate. Thus let it be our chiefest pleasure to incite and encourage in each other a steady, patient attention to that sacred power which condescends to enlighten, to teach, and to enliven those who thus daily seek for the bread of life. It is seldom, alas! too seldom, that the hurry and cares of this life permit me to practise what I here recommend, with the ardour I could wish.

J. FOTHERGILL.

The period was now approaching when JOHN FOTHERGILL, having laboured faithfully and diligently in the service of his Lord and Master, was to be removed from his labours, to enjoy the reward, and to receive, as we may reverently believe, the welcome sentence of "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!"

In the year 1744, though very weak in body, he assembled once more with his friends at the yearly meeting in London. He attended the various sittings of that meeting, evidently under an exemplary reverent, weighty frame of mind, and his company was truly acceptable and useful.

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During the summer of this year he removed his residence from Darley, in Netherdale, to Knaresborough.

Feeling a desire to visit Friends of Bristol, and to attend the Circular yearly meeting at Worcester, he went by way of Cheshire and Shrewsbury, into Herefordshire, where he visited Friends generally.

In the yearly meeting at Worcester, he bore a noble Christian testimony to the all-sufficiency of that Power which had preserved, supported, and guided him in the way that was right and well-pleasing in degree, and is able and willing to do the same for all the children of men.

Benjamin Holme was at this meeting, and in his journal thus makes mention of it, and also of the yearly meeting for Wales:

"I went to the yearly meeting in Wales, which was held this year at Glanneedless [Llanidloes]; the said yearly meeting was large and very peaceable, there being a great resort of other people who were not of our Society: our friend Samuel Fothergill was there, and had good service for the Truth. I was at the yearly meeting for the seven Western Counties, held this year at Worcester; our friends John Fothergill and his son Samuel were there; also Joshua Toft and Benjamin Kidd; the meeting was large and peaceable, and Friends were favoured therein with the enjoyment of Divine goodness."

From Worcester John Fothergill went to Bristol and Bath, visiting the various meetings of Friends, and was helped to labour faithfully, and in much plainness among them.

He left Bath in the beginning of the eighth month, and travelled home by easy journeys, holding meetings as opportunities occurred.

After his return from this journey he seldom got out, even to his own meeting, but continued visibly to decline. In a letter to his son John he mentions, that though in this journey his natural state was but feeble, and attended with divers difficulties, yet he was not doubtful but he should be assisted, in mercy and favour, to discharge himself of the debt, which had seemed to grow and remain upon him, the way he was going, to such a degree as to return in holy quiet; and adds, "I ask no questions farther, but to be helped to live to the ever living Being, the little time he may suffer me to continue on this side the grave."

JOHN FOTHERGILL TO HIS SON JOHN.

..... As I have no dependance on human assistance but from thee, nor any correspondence which affords me like comfort and satisfaction, I must beg thy frequent remem-

brance, and to hear from thee as often and freely as leisure will permit; and be assured, my hearty, careful desires for thee, in every true good, not only are enlivened by the strong ties of nature and affection, but are more riveted and strengthened by many a gracious spring of living goodness from the almighty Helper of his people, who have trusted in him, and feared him. Thus, dear son, farewell, farewell, saith thy affectionate father,
JOHN FOTHERGILL.

“With these affecting expressions,” says Doctor Fothergill, “ended a correspondence which afforded the strongest satisfaction that any thing in this life could yield.” The letter was dated the 15th of the tenth month, 1744, from which time he gradually declined till the 13th of the following month, when he peaceably expired, leaving to his family and friends the comfortable assurance of his being gone before, to enjoy that unmixed happiness which is the portion of those who prefer a conscientious discharge of duty to God, their families, and the world, though attended with labour, anxious care, and solicitude, to all the false, though gilded pursuits, which the spirit of deception throws in the way of mortals.

His remains were honourably interred in Friends’ burial ground at Scotton, near Knaresborough, the 15th of the eleventh month, 1744; many friends attending on the solemn occasion. He was aged sixty-nine years, and was a minister nearly fifty years.

His testimonies were awakening, sound, and edifying, delivered in the demonstration of Divine authority, for he handled not the Word of God deceitfully, nor endeavoured to please men; and as he waited to be endued with wisdom and power from on high, so was he enabled to speak to the conditions of the people.

He was a man zealously concerned for good order and the discipline of the Church, and was remarkably qualified for the management of its affairs, being of a quick apprehension, an extensive capacity, and deep judgment, and could express himself aptly, copiously, and strongly; and as he diligently attended the various meetings for discipline, so he was of peculiar service in them, approving himself a wise and able counsellor, faithful and just to God and man.

His conversation was exemplary, being humble and sincere, doing the work of an evangelist, and giving proof of his ministry, in patience, temperance, vigilance, and fortitude; enduring afflictions, and using the things of this life with moderation.

Several of the following letters have reference to the event of John Fothergill’s decease.

ALEXANDER FOTHERGILL TO T—— L——.

Carr-End, Eleventh month, 1744.

I have for some time had a desire to give thee an account of the decease of *thy* friend, and *my* near and worthy father, John Fothergill, who departed this life on the morning of the 13th of this month, being the first-day of the week.

His natural body hath been visibly going to decay these several years, though he has been willing to show more care and attention to it of late than formerly; the reason he gave for this was, that he might be better able to discharge some services that he seemed to have before him on Truth’s account; in the discharge whereof he frequently forgot the declining state of his body: thus of late he hath returned home, inwardly cheerful and easy in his spirit, yet the poor outward frame reduced to the lowest ebb: then care and proper medicines were used to recruit it, which was no sooner done than it was again exposed to fresh hardships; his love and zeal for the cause of truth and the welfare of the Church, working upon a generous mind, fully devoted to serve his God and his friends without reserve, carried him faster on than the body was well able to bear.

In this last journey to the west of England, he wrote from Bath that he had been supported to his admiration, and had been enabled fully to discharge himself, and he thought his health had not suffered much, and that he felt as though he had nothing to do but to return home with the reward of peace in his bosom: but the season being very rainy, and he riding every day, brought on an aguish complaint, with a total loss of appetite, so that he was very often sick, and altogether unable to take food.

I saw him twice; he was cheerful and easy in his spirit, and not without hopes to see his friends again; but said, if it happened otherwise, he was content, having so laboured in the day that he was prepared for the evening; and if he should recover again, it would be no further pleasant to him than that he could be serviceable to truth.

ALEXANDER FOTHERGILL.

MAY DRUMMOND* TO SAMUEL AND SUSANNA FOTHERGILL, ON THE DEATH OF THEIR FATHER.

Bristol, Eleventh month, 1744.

Two days ago the unacceptable tidings of your worthy father’s death reached me. Dead!

* May Drummond was of a considerable family in North Britain; she was convinced of the truth of Friends’ principles at Edinburgh, by the min-

did I say? No! he is not dead; he lived in the eternal existence, and in that has lain down a tender fabric. On his account no friend need to lament; yet nature must have an allowance, and Divine favour has indulged us so far as to give us the example, when our great Master shed tears for dead Lazarus. In your grief on this account I truly share; and of the joy that you feel, from the certain knowledge which truth hath communicated to you, of your deceased parent's felicity, I taste.

So many have fallen who have been raised up to be shining instruments, that it cannot fail of being an inexpressible consolation to you to reflect that your worthy deceased parent retained his integrity. No children had ever better example in a father, nor more seasonable admonitions; and he, before his departure, lived to see the desire of his soul, and the prayer he had put up for the salvation of his children answered to his wish, and all his offspring in so hopeful a way, that I make no doubt of his saying with good old Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

MAY DRUMMOND.

DOCTOR FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

London, Twelfth month 2nd, 1744-5.

I can say nothing to thee upon the present distressing occasion but what thy own prudence

istry of Thomas Story, about the year 1731, at the time that her brother was the Provost of that city. He was one of the principal founders of the Royal Infirmary, and his sister was active in procuring funds from Friends in England in aid of the Institution; the various sums contributed by several quarterly meetings remain recorded on a board in one of the apartments. May Drummond had much to endure from her relations and friends, who, being what was considered of genteel rank, were much grieved at her uniting herself to the despised people called Quakers, and were all against her, except a younger brother. She, nevertheless, continued firm in her attachment to the principles she had embraced, and maintaining her ground, was, in a few years, called into the ministry. In this she was much engaged for many years. She was a fluent speaker and very popular, particularly amongst those of other societies, who were much drawn to the meetings she attended: her character and the circumstances of her conviction often exciting curiosity. One well qualified to judge, says of her ministry in 1739, "She has some masculine, nervous expressions; her periods are mostly regular and just: did she not affect it, one might say she was eloquent." She died at Edinburgh about the year 1772; but, during the latter years of her life, was not held in the same estimation that she had formerly been.

will suggest to thee; we both feel that our loss is great, yet we do not know it to the full; our best friend, protector, and counsellor is no more; it would be unnatural not to grieve. But still we must remember that he is only gone before to that possession where we shall at last arrive, if we tread in his steps; to excite and encourage one another in this race, oh, may it be our constant employ.

Through his care, and the blessing of kind Providence upon his earnest wishes and prayers, I am at present in a way of life, that both affords me what I have occasion for, and seems not unlikely to continue so; and whilst it is, neither be afraid of wanting thyself, nor think thou art obliged to me. In this part, while I am able, I will be a father, thy friend and brother; I should not say I will be these things; it is that good hand that blesses my endeavours, for that dear good man's sake and thine. Brother Samuel has written to me, but very short hints of every thing. Do, dear sister, take the first opportunity of acquainting me as fully as thou canst with all that has passed since he began to decline, and if any memorable expressions dropped from him in his illness, please to let me know.

..... I find brother has collected most of his papers; the rest I shall be glad to have, in order that, from those I have in my hands, and the rest, I may be able to finish that account which dear father had begun, partly at my request. J. FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Twelfth month 2nd, 1744-5.

..... As the common centre of our love is now, alas! removed, I feel the sensible transferring of it to thee. May it mutually increase between us! I am sensible of thy lonely situation—I view it sometimes with secret and strong sympathy. I strongly hope encouraging goodness may attend thee to dissipate the gloominess and pain that at times must and will be about thee. Great is our loss, and great is the loss of the Church; may we, the offspring of so worthy a parent, with redoubled care look to that which made him useful and honourable in his station. My heart is full when I consider things as they are.

Dear sister, I advise thee to endeavour much after quietness in heart and mind. I know thy prudence, and that thy cheerful countenance often covers a pained mind; thou hast yet some left that love thee—some relations that are not a dishonour to the cause of truth our father promoted, and that are

pleased to have such a relation, and would give all the evidence they could of it.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

CHAPTER VII.

DURING several of the years succeeding the decease of his father, there is but little left on record of the labours or correspondence of SAMUEL FOTHERGILL. Yet, neither during this period, nor in any other after he had embarked in the work, could he be numbered amongst the slothful or the indifferent.

He had early attained to a high and settled standing as a minister, and his faithfulness and diligence were manifested, not only in those more extended services which he performed with the certificate of the monthly meeting, and in the regular attendance of, and services in, the meetings for worship and for discipline, of which he was strictly a member; but he also very frequently visited those of the adjacent or more distant counties; as the Circular or local yearly meetings which were then held in several parts of the nation—those called General meetings, and the yearly meeting in London. His company was much solicited, and very often given, at funerals, and on other public occasions. The practice of attending at such times, even at a considerable distance, being much more common in his day than it has become of later years.

He considered it a part of his Christian duty, as a minister of the gospel, to make use of every occasion in his power to advocate and promote the cause of truth and righteousness; to this he was devoted—to this he gave up much of his time and his substance—and to this he was ever ready to sacrifice his ease and his strength; great was his zeal, and it frequently led him into much exertion and fatigue, whereby his bodily powers were greatly exhausted.

The natural energy of his character was exhibited herein, and was also developed in his ministry; in which he was frequently led on in a strain of deep and fervid eloquence, accompanied by the demonstration of power, which made strong impressions on the minds of his hearers; thoroughly convinced himself of the great truths he had to declare, he desired that similar conviction should be wrought in the hearts of his auditors.

In 1745 he attended the Northern yearly meeting, held at Kendal; also the yearly meeting in London. His wife had a certificate to visit Scotland, and some parts of the north of England, but on account of the political troubles which prevailed, owing to

the irruption of the Scots into England, her visit was delayed until the following year.

DOCTOR FOTHERGILL TO JOSHUA TOFT.*

London, Fourth month 2nd, 1746.

Those that are at heart concerned for the welfare of the Society, cannot but be desirous of knowing a little of what has passed amongst us upon the late solemn occasion [the yearly meeting.] We should many of us have been glad to have seen thee with us, but as I hope that thou wast quite easy in staying away, we ought to think it was thy place, and therefore acquiesce. Thou wilt probably have heard that an address to the king was very early proposed to the meeting, and, as most of those Friends who were looked upon as capable of advising were previously consulted, it was soon agreed to. I thought the proper time was elapsed; had I been present I believe I should have said so much; but an address was ordered to be drawn, and after a great deal of time spent upon it, the draft was brought in, and almost unanimously agreed to.† It was presented yesterday, by several Friends, and received in a manner that left them no room to doubt of its being highly acceptable. The Duke of Grafton was ordered by the king to go out and tell the Friends, that he had not received one address that had given him more satisfaction, and that they might assure their

* Joshua Toft was the intimate friend of Samuel Fothergill, and his "fellow-labourer in the gospel of Christ." He had yielded in very early life to the power and influence of Truth, and was united in religious membership with the Society of Friends. When in the strength of his days, and extensively engaged in a lucrative business, which promised to yield him abundance of wealth, being content with the moderate competency already acquired, he, with noble resolution, declined trade, that he might more fully devote himself to his Lord and Master's service in the gospel ministry, into which he had been called about the thirty-second year of his age. In this he diligently and faithfully laboured many years, and travelled much in various parts of the nation.

For more than fourteen years of the latter part of his life, he was deprived of his sight. This, with other bodily afflictions, he bore with much patience and resignation. A short time before his death, he said he had received much consolation from a most gracious promise extended to him, "I have been with thee, I am with thee, and I will be with thee."

He died at his house at Hargate, near Leek, the 15th of the eighth month, 1769, aged upwards of eighty, a minister forty-eight years.

† This was an address to George II., on the suppression of the rebellion of 1745.

friends of it. There was not much business out of the ordinary course that presented itself, nor any occasion given for long debates.

I know not whether I am in any condition to give thee an account of the other meetings: in some, things went well; in others, not entirely to satisfaction. Sometimes too great a loose is given to words. Plain, simple truth needs little decoration; it strikes the mind disposed to receive it to advantage more forcibly than the greatest eloquence. A parade of words, indeed, bewitches the hearers, and makes them admire and praise, and at length puff up the poor instrument if possible. We are all susceptible, in some degree, of these impressions, unless we are upon the strictest guard. J. FOTHERGILL.

In the year 1746, Samuel Fothergill paid a religious visit to Cumberland and Scotland; in the following year he was engaged in a visit to Friends in Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, and London: during this journey he attended the Circular yearly meeting held at Leominster, which he mentions in one of the following letters. His wife also visited Worcestershire and Gloucestershire.

In 1748 he paid a visit to Friends in Cumberland, and also to the city of Bristol.

DOCTOR FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Eighth month 23rd, 1746.

There are times when we are drawn to retirement, and it is made beneficial to us; we leave it with cheerfulness, and the mind is relieved and comforted. These should ever be embraced, and the disposition to improve them should be carefully cultivated. But as nothing is so painful to ourselves, or makes us so uneasy to others, as indulging eating cares, so we should be for ever on our guard against them.

..... I often reflect, that I know not what is best for me; the most flattering prospects may be attended with dangers that I cannot see, and it is, therefore, in kindness that Heaven withholds them from me. I am already too much retarded in my pursuits after what alone can make mankind truly happy; if I have more difficulties, my progress must be still less. Thus I argue, and thus I think, when the best mind is uppermost; but this true bias, how often is it perverted by unworthy objects!

..... Brother Samuel wrote to me from Durham. His letter gave me great satisfaction; it spoke his father's language in his father's spirit; and may he ever be clothed with it!

..... I sate the little meeting at Knaresborough. In the evening I went to the place where the remains of our dear father were laid, and though I could not join you in performing the office of a child,* yet I felt then, what you had felt before.

I could not have been fully satisfied with my journey without some such opportunity.

J. FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO LAWFORD
GODFREY.†

Tenth month 11th, 1747.

My mind was reverently humbled before the Almighty, during the course of that solemnity at Leominster, and under a lively sense of the extensions of a regard, ancient and new, that He who is the author of our being, the author of our happiness, is not only ours who have been so eminently visited, but is the safety of an alienated world, in the reconciling and restoring it to himself. For this end we know he immediately reaches to the minds of mankind, and, having led a remnant into a living experience, through faith in his name, that he is Jehovah, great in council, and mighty in power, he hath enabled them to be co-workers together with himself, for the cultivation of their own vineyards, and through a diversity of instruments, and variety of gifts, to be as the voice of one crying in the wilderness of this apostatized generation, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." The unity of these labourers, in the promotion of this glorious work, is great, and unto strangers incomprehensible; but, being baptized by one Lord, into a most holy faith, some are builders, some hewers of stones, some diggers of them, as out of the earth, and some others more immediately bearers of burthens—each led into their respective services by the great Architect, and directed to proceed therein through the continuance of the same wisdom, as fellow servants in the cause of God. A concern for its promotion, and the mutual preservation one of another, strongly and frequently prevailed, and I am persuaded a sincere regard for the honour of the great Name, and travail for Zion's prosperity, attended thy mind, and led thee, in openings of Divine council, to impart thy experience in the work of the ministry to me, that have great need of every help. I am thankful to the

* In attending at the interment.

† Lawford Godfrey resided at Exeter, and died in that city, on the 10th of the eleventh month, 1747, aged sixty-six, a minister nearly forty years.

great Master that we have fathers, as well as instructors, in mercy continued amongst us; such as by a long course of experience have explored the great mystery of godliness and ungodliness; watchmen that are placed upon Zion's walls, whose trumpets give a certain sound. For my own part, I thank God he has not left me destitute of a humble sense of my own weakness, and the jeopardies that attend me, engaging according to his wisdom, by his rod and his staff, to a labour of soul to be what I ought to be, to fill my station, and stand in my lot to the end of days.

There is none knows, but the Lord and my own soul, the baptisms wherewith I am at times exercised, nor the steps I have to tread. Oh, that I may be helped to take heed to the ministry of the Word, that in all dispensations, to myself and others, I may fulfil it. I have had a renewed sense, often comfortably impressed on my mind, in my late visit and travail, that the Lord would preserve through all, and keep me to the end. Though my way may be through the shadow of death, I feel my safety is in an humble walking, and steady feeling after God, for renewing of bread, day after day. Sometimes his countenance is clouded, and, blessed be his name, it is at other times fairer than the children of men.

I sat down with my spirit bowed in gospel fellowship with the true followers of the Lamb; I knew not what I might offer with respect to words. May our dwelling be in that, which no language can fully express, and our correspondence, though not with the ornamental arrangement of words or expressions, tend to stir up reciprocally the pure mind.

I am, with the salutation of strongest affection, that is everlasting in duration, and unchangeable in its nature, thy brother and fellow sufferer in the patience and tribulation of Christ's kingdom.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOSHUA TOFT.

Warrington, Sixth month 19th, 1748.

This summer I have made an excursion to Scarborough, and amongst the meetings of Friends on the eastern shore of Yorkshire. The consciousness of an honest intention, and of room for the testimony amongst those without, together with evident tokens of the Great Master's regard, afforded, and still doth, a lively degree of satisfaction and comfort; but to view the state of the Church in sundry places, particularly in ———, gives a good deal of pain: some few keep their places, but

the generality are the most insensible, unfeeling people I ever was concerned amongst.

The meetings there were large and peaceable, and to my satisfaction in respect to those not of our Society. I returned, by the yearly meeting at Pickering, which was very large, and Friends told me, the greatest they had had for some years; but as it has overgrown its service, and many come to it for no better purpose than drunkenness and revelling, I believe this was the last that will be held there. Marsden Height* meeting, I hear, was remarkably large, but I fear not altogether satisfactory. I had great hopes thou would have been there.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In the year 1749, Samuel Fothergill again visited some of the midland counties, and the city of London; he afterwards extended his services into some parts of the south and west of England; and was also at the yearly meeting for Wales, held at Haverfordwest; thence he went to Swansea, to attend the burial of his friend Benjamin Holme, who being on his way to the yearly meeting for Wales, was taken ill at the house of Paul Bevan, in Swansea, and there he departed this life, on the 14th of second month, 1749, aged sixty-seven years. So early in life had he entered on the ministry, that he had been engaged in it for fifty-three years, and had travelled in that service when only seventeen years of age, with Joseph Kirkbride and Leonard Fell. He was much devoted to the service of truth, and laboured therein almost incessantly; and as he lived, so he died—a pattern of meekness and innocency. (*See an Account of his Life and Travels. London, 1753.*)

In 1750, Samuel Fothergill attended the National meeting for Ireland, held in Dublin, and in 1752 he paid another visit to the city of Bristol. In most of these years he attended the yearly meeting in London.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

Warrington, Tenth month, 1750.

I am sorry to find thy fears respecting the improvement of Friends, where I have been, so justly founded; too little proper thoughtfulness is amongst them; large fortunes, and religious profession, the fruits of their father's industry and real experience, have had an

* This was one of those called General meetings, then annually held, and of which S. Fothergill was a very frequent attender.

unhappy effect upon many of them, and introduced a mixture of pride and indolence that is no-ways consistent with inward religious growth, to which the far greater part of them are no-way attentive.

Notwithstanding the deplorable state of the Church there, yet the strong reaches of inward help are extended towards them; the God of their fathers remembers his covenant made with them, and waits to bless their offspring; by the same means the righteous in every age have been made happy; the undoubted sense I had given me of the merciful regard and gracious long-suffering of the God of mercy strongly comforted me; yet a proportionate fear often attended, lest disregarded visitations and touches of inward virtue overlooked, might issue in almost total subversion of a people, with whom heavenly favour had manifestly dwelt. My soul was often strongly moved to pay them a visit for some time past, and I did not fully give up to it until the sixth-day evening before I went; my mind was quiet and easy, as I was resigned. I had a quick passage, though not unattended with danger. That the hairs of my head were numbered, was given me to believe, and that beyond a doubt; I said with reverence, Good is the word of the Lord, and was as calm and quiet as at any time of my religious experience. We came safe to Dublin. The meeting for ministers and elders was held on fourth-day, and was very small and poor; the meetings for worship were held in the forenoons of the two following days, and the meetings for discipline in the afternoons of the same, in which time their business was finished.

Their discipline is just; nothing inferior to ours in the north, and there are a few hands that are strong and active in it, and studious to render it effectual to answer the end of its institution. The appearance of Friends from Leinster province was considerable; from the province of Ulster only four Friends; from the province of Munster not one, which occasioned a hesitation in the opening of the meeting of business, whether they could proceed to act, as they wanted representatives from one-third of their body; but as the Munster Friends had written an account of the state of their province to the National Meeting, it was accepted, and Friends were easy to proceed.

The state of the Church gave great concern to many there, and a warm, affectionate epistle was sent to the Particular Meetings, into which I threw a few things that had some weight with me. The concluding meeting for ministers and elders was held on seventh-day, which was solemn and bowing;

the enlivening, encouraging Presence was richly manifested to a small handful, that seemed like the mournful prophet under the juniper-tree, and like the small, very small gleaner of the vintage. An eminent degree of the same heavenly truth attended us the next morning, at our public concluding meeting, which was extremely large, and I do not remember ever more undoubted proof of merciful condescension. Many that were not of our name were there, and greatly reached—remember it, oh my soul, with due reverence and gratitude! The afternoon was favoured with the same truth, and was a very great meeting. The funeral of Francis Russell, our father's and my former landlord, occasioned it to be an excessive crowd, though awful, and very quiet. Meetings every day, and the close, heavy air of the city, had destroyed my natural abilities; my rest and appetite almost gone, I was obliged that evening to take coach and go to a Friend's country house. I returned much better next morning, attended the quarterly meeting for young people the same day, which was large and satisfactory. Next morning I set out with Samuel Watson and Robert Lecky to go into the country, to Kilconner, to see Abigail Watson, who is poorly in health, but lively in the best respects, and full of the heavenly dew of her youth. She mentioned thee often, and with great esteem, and desired her dear love to thee, and that I would let thee know a few lines from thee would revive her much.

On my return to Dublin, I went to see some other sick Friends, with a mind filled with awful reverence for mercies daily renewed, and a continued sense of daily support. Spent a space of time with some Friends at John Barclay's, on third-day, in which the humbling presence united us, and strong cries ascended for mutual preservation in his fear and favour; his canopy was over us, and he led us to his banqueting-house. Afterwards I went on board, and after forty-six hours at sea, came safe to Liverpool on the 30th ultimo.

Thus, my dear brother, I have given thee a recital—probably tedious—of a few weeks' occurrences, which I hope not to forget; I have reaped benefit myself, and I hope others likewise: faithfulness is the way to profit, and to renew life and strength; though we are weak and poor, infinite strength and riches humbles Himself to our wants, and will ever regard us with mercy, whilst we regard him with sincerity.

I salute thee and dear sister most affectionately; may we live to Him who hath inwardly quickened us, that the blessing of preservation may rest upon us through all the mazes of

our probation, to an inheritance in everlasting quiet.

I am yours, in union more near than the ties of nature,
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

THOMAS GREER TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Dungannon, Ninth month 18th, 1750.

Glad would I have been to have had a little conversation with thee when in Dublin, at the late National Meeting; but that not being the case, I now write, in the freedom of that love that in thy former visit to this nation nearly united my spirit to thee, for which I have been many times thankful to the Author of my life, in that he was graciously pleased, through thy ministry, to make such an impression on my spirit as I hope will never be effaced. Oh! may I never forget his paternal care over me, when, equipped with the wings of vanity, I was flying into folly; even then he was pleased to speak, in a language too powerful to be gainsayed—Young man, whither goest thou? May it indeed be engraven as on the palms of my hands;—this unparalleled condescension, may it ever renew in me a humble breathing in my soul that he may be pleased so to strengthen and support me through the various vicissitudes that attend this life, that I may be enabled to live to his honour, for which great purpose I am satisfied mankind first had and have their existence; but alas! how liable is depraved man to mistake the matter of greatest importance, and choose rather to live to himself, and to the gratification of a carnal, degenerate mind, than to the glory of that Being that formed him, and seeks his eternal happiness.

Much hath been the labour of love that has been bestowed upon this poor unthankful island, and many have been the faithful labourers who have been sent amongst us, both from England and other parts, for which favours all who have any degree of life cannot but be thankful; also for its being put into thy heart to visit us at the late half-year's meeting, at this time of inward poverty and affliction of mind to some whose faces are, I trust, turned Zionwards, on account of the undue liberty taken by many of the youth; and the love of the world and earthly-mindedness, it is to be feared, have overtaken many, who, if they had kept their places, might have been by this time as stakes in Zion's walls.

May the design of an all-wise Providence, in sending thee amongst us at this time, be fully answered, by every one who has been favoured with having his condition opened, in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power—for certainly the Gospel trumpet hath

given a certain sound—becoming so wise as to repair to the battle.

THOMAS GREER.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO THOMAS GREER.

Warrington, Eleventh month 20th, 1750.

I received in Dublin a letter from thee, which gave me satisfaction; and I rejoice in this, that the Lord of heaven and earth is visiting by his truth and working by his power to beget into his heavenly family, and bless people with that which conveys all the happiness mankind ever did, must now, or hereafter ever can taste. Too many are insensible of it, and others too lazy to be religious as they ought; but it is our interest to pursue our own peace, and transmit to others examples, how great and excellent a thing it is to be true subjects of Christ's kingdom, and baptized into his nature, and therein to abide. Great has been his mercy in visiting our souls with his blessed truth; and it highly behoves us to watch with all diligence lest we render it frustrate. This is our duty—to look to him daily. This comprehends all. Here is our strength and safety; other stays, or temporary helps, will fail, and leave us destitute and inwardly lean. Oh! therefore, remember often the dew of thy youth, the tenderness of thy heart when first met with. Cherish in thy soul the fresh instances of regard; and be it thy care inwardly to look and live to the Lord; so shall thy hands be made strong and thy head kept above the waters. There is a spirit that is gone forth into the camp, and is splendidly delusive. It delights in good words, and feeds upon them; it cries out, "Help, help;" but principally to the servant, not to the Master. This spirit leads into notions; it snuffs up the wind, and lives in commotions itself raises; all that are led by it are superficial and know nothing, and must lie down in sorrow. That Holy Spirit, which was and is the ground of truth for ever, which, I trust, has reached thy heart, is a substantial, operative principle; its directions are not imaginary, nor its doctrines loose and indeterminate; but it is light and life to its possessors, and causes them to inherit substance; it teaches access in heart to that God whose attributes cannot be defined fully; but experience teaches them it is kind to men, supplying their wants, supporting their steps, opening their understanding to those Divine truths that are higher than human wisdom can trace, and deeper than all its penetration can explore. Dear friend, let us wait for this wisdom; let this Spirit be leaned upon above all; this will help us to stand upright, and walk steadily in the faith delivered to the

saints; retirement will be pleasant; in meetings and out of meetings, the inward feeling after Divine power, to live and act to God's honour and our own preservation, will be dear and precious to us; and He that delights to hear the language of his children will not be slack in the performance of his gracious promises. I found the free salutation of pure love in my heart towards thee; and earnestly entreat thee to abide steadfast in the truth; feel after it; live in it; hope for its salvation, and it will never fail. I salute thee in the love and affection of Christ, our holy and blessed helper, and remain thy faithful friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

MARY PEISLEY* TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Paddock, Eleventh month 28th, 1750.

Thy lines carry with them the reaching, convincing evidence of that soft, sympathetic union, to which the world are strangers: they neither know nor intermeddle with these joys, the feeling sense of which, when I received thy letter, melted my heart into tenderness, and bowed my spirit in reverence before the God and Father of all mercies, to reflect that he, the high and holy One, who inhabits eternity, should condescend to the low estate of his poor unworthy handmaid, to bring her into the glorious fellowship which is with him and his dear Son, a secret union and communion with the saints in light; that I, the least of them all, should be made a sensible partaker of these blessed privileges, and be made present in spirit with his dear servants, though absent in body. Oh! may I, during the residue of my weary pilgrimage here, walk more worthy of the vocation appointed me, so that, with the Lord's chosen servants, I may finish my course with joy.

It gave me concern to hear of thy indisposition, which I do not wonder at, considering thy labours amongst us; but humbly hope thou wilt be spared, and raised up for future service, to which mayest thou be made truly willing in the day of God's power, though it must be confessed it is a dangerous and difficult time to go a warfare in; but it is not at our own expense, for greater is He that is in and with us than he that is in the world.

Do, dear friend, write freely; and if thou hast observed any thing in my conduct that

thou thinkest reprobable, do not spare me, for I know that I want help.

MARY PEISLEY.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO CATHARINE PAYTON.*

Warrington, Third month, 1751.

I received thy brother's letter, intimating thy thoughts of going over to the Half Year's meeting, at Dublin, and I sincerely wish thee a good journey, and pray that the preserving hand may ever sustain thee, and keep thee dependent upon himself: by no other means are we likely to be kept properly. Various humbling times attend the true faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard, that keep company with the true seed in suffering, and only reign by it; the applause of the injudicious has hurt some and greatly embarrassed many, in that kingdom; and therefore keep thy eye single. As the Lord has given thee a *good gift*, and entrusted thee with several talents, thou art loudly called upon to diligent improvement; and that can only be by virtue of the renewing of strength from his hand, and holy feeding at his table; thus thou wilt be preserved in dominion over all that which would lift up, and over that which would cast down, and the name of our jealous God will be honoured, and the gain consecrated to him. And, dear Kitty, bear thy testimony against haughtiness and luxury, by a humble, watchful conduct. Be not led by them out of the leadings of truth, in the appointment of large meetings in *court-houses, &c.*, for in this respect I am sensible there is some danger, unless, really, the very burden of the Word be upon thee, and I would by no means have the faithful labourer in that ability discouraged. I would have thee to be tender in the choice of a companion; if one fall to thy share, let her be one to help spiritually, and not to hinder thee by any disagreeable demeanour. My affection strongly attends, and craves that the presence of Almighty God may be thy guard and companion; live in it, seek after the enlargement of it, by waiting for daily sustenance from it;

* For many years an intimate friendship and frequent correspondence was maintained between Samuel Fothergill and Catharine Payton. She was the daughter of Henry and Ann Payton, of Dudley. When about twenty-two years of age, she came forth in the ministry, and in the exercise of this gift travelled much, in most parts of England and Scotland; also in Ireland, America, and Holland. In 1772 she was married to William Phillips, of Cornwall, and died in that county, in the Eighth month, 1794, aged sixty-eight years; a minister forty-six years.—See *Memoirs of her Life*. London, 1797.

and the God of my life keep us both chaste in our minds to him whose we are, and ought to serve with the spirit of our minds.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

Warrington, Seventh month 14th, 1751.

..... Yesterday I attended the funeral of Peter Leadbeater, of Chester, who, by a fall on third-day, fractured his skull, and died next day—a man in many respects worthy and useful, and let his imperfections be buried with him.

There was the greatest crowd I remember to have seen on such an occasion, and it was with difficulty we got to the burying-place. I received a crush in my breast in the throng, I am afraid won't soon be forgotten.

..... I join thee in thankful acknowledgments to the Author of good, for his signal favour in owning those large assemblies with his powerful truth, to the comfort of the faithful and the exaltation of his name amongst the people. Oh! that the sense of general and particular favours may be often revived in our minds, that our souls may be quickened in care to walk worthy. Nothing ought to be allowed in us that leads to forget that hand that is filled with blessings, ready to dispense them, but expects grateful returns.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO SARAH BROWN.*

Warrington, First month 20th, 1752.

I doubt not but the same conveyance that brings this, will bring some account of thy dear and worthy father, whom I saw at Liverpool, on his way to Ireland, a few weeks ago, in pretty good health, and alive and cheerful in his labour, in which he has been closely concerned, and I hope to good service in divers respects; doubtless to his own great peace, and uniting him in heart to the faithful.

In the freedom we had to each other, he imparted to me one or two of thy affectionate letters to him, which seemed to breathe strongly of the language of tender affection to him, and an awful regard to the Heavenly Father, and has been the means of thy being often in my very near remembrance, and some desire attended to send thee the salutation of true love in Christ Jesus, our holy head, in whom stands the fellowship of the family, the world over. Great has been thy advantage, dear friend, in being descended from worthy parents, who, by example and precept, have

sought thy nurture and growth in the things of God; the visitation of heavenly light and life has also been extended, and I hope in a great and good degree embraced, and has pointed out the means of help, or the terms of happiness, and inclined thy heart to seek it.

Many are the besetments and probations of a mind awakened to seek an inheritance among the blessed, and of various kinds they are; but the mighty arm is revealed and made bare, for all those that refuse to be comforted without it. Many are the low places the righteous tread, and in the line of their experience deep answers deep; some are brought upon us through our inadvertency and negligence; let us then inquire the cause, and remove it; sometimes the heavens are made like brass to us, to teach us how to want, and, like winter seasons, to strengthen our roots, that we grow not top heavy; but in all things our Heavenly Father deals with us tenderly, and for our good.

Let, therefore, thy attention be steady to him for counsel and guidance, and he will not forsake thee in the time of thy secret bewailings, but spread a table for thee in the desert. Oh! that our youth might thus awfully bow under the operation of the Lord's hand, that their minds might be subject to him, whose we are, and whom we ought to serve in the spirit of our minds. I feel in my mind the sympathy of the blessed covenant, and the spreading of the Father's wing towards thee, and crave of the Almighty One to have thee in his keeping, and of thee never to forfeit it by any means. He is all-sufficient to abide with thee continually.

He is often with his people when they perceive it not: he dwells in thick darkness often, and was as certainly the mighty helper of Israel, when they groaned in anguish in the land of Egypt, as when the glory of the Lord filled the temple, at the feast of dedication. I commend thee to him—seek him diligently, serve him honestly, and follow on to know his requirings, with full purpose of heart to be faithful thereto; and no weapon formed against thee will prosper, nor any place be allotted so low in which the omnipotent arm will not sustain. SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Fourth month 20th, 1752.

..... I often make myself a party in idea in your converse, and with pleasure I anticipate the satisfaction arising from a personal interview. Friendship, founded on its proper stable foundation, doubtless affords the most sublime sensible joy we are capable of tasting here, and is an agreeable earnest of

* Daughter of William Brown, from America.

that union that inseparably connects the blessed spirits above. Oh! beloved sister, how glorious is the prospect, but how difficult the means! But no cross, no crown: and in our Father's arm is everlasting strength.

..... I have had much to sympathise with thee in thy present religious circumstances, and it has revived in my mind, in joyous suffering, to endeavour after a peaceable, childlike submission to the heavenly Father's will; to lie down at his feet, in deep, resigned silence, even from complaint, has made more for true ease, and helped to a profitable search into ourselves and Heaven's mind.

I believe much deep travail attends thee, and an apprehension of being almost alone. Discourage not thyself at this, nor pain thyself unnecessarily about others; let thine eye be *in* thy head and *to* thy Helper, and his will thy standard; neither be discouraged, beloved sister, at the low times thou meets with; for I am fully satisfied that even the strong men are often bowed down deeply; and shall the tender plant repine at being shaken by the wind? The faithfulness of unchangeable help is such, as to render us safe in his protection, while we seek to abide in it.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Warrington, 1752.

I have by no means forgotten thee; thou art too deeply fixed in my mind to be easily displaced. Thy affectionate, instructive epistle from Cumberland, hath been often a means of bringing thee near to my soul, and it into a reverent search and jealous care to move rightly when I can move, and endeavour to stand safe at all times by standing *out* of my own abilities and *in* that which comes from God.

..... And now, my dear friend, I must inform thee of the principal reason of my long silence, and the discontinuance of my correspondence. I have had, since my return from Norwich, a very baptizing time of inward distress and want, and been brought very low in mind, even sometimes almost to question whether I had ever been right, or should ever be happy. I ever kept my complaint secret, and my mouth in the dust, under the correction of my heavenly Father's rod; and he sometimes revives a little hope. In this time of solitary distress, I have observed some causes of chastisement, and hope of more stability and faithfulness has attended. To sing I could not; to complain I durst not; to write of religious things was passing beyond the line of present experience, and that is a sacrilege. I know thee so well as

to be assured thou could not relish such a correspondent; however, I have often remembered thee nearly, and my spirit being so closely touched with secret sympathy with thee, has been some evidence that my life is not altogether gone. I salute thee and Mary Peisley, when thou sees her, most affectionately, and am thy friend and companion in the tribulations, and may God grant it, the patience of the gospel.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

JOHN CHURCHMAN* TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Moate, Eighth month 13th, 1752.

When, by the secret touches of truth, we are made to feel and know each other, though to the outward entire strangers, there is a foundation of friendship laid which is not easily erased. It is hereby we know ourselves to be members one of another, and cannot help at times remembering each other, in the participation of the true communion; and the humble address of our souls is, that ourselves and our brethren may be preserved pure, and as worthy communicants, presented before the holy table, cleansed from the spots of the world, and all the crooked wrinkles of self. We then have no thoughts of asking dignities for ourselves, or for one another, as to sit on the right hand or on the left, but to be preserved in innocency, and to have our names written, yea, recorded, in the Lamb's book of life; an inheritance to such is sure in life eternal, if they continue faithful unto death.

When we are humbled before our great Master, in a sense that his love is lengthened out to his Church and people, we are made willing to follow him in the way of our own duty whithersoever he leads us; and good it is to mind our own business properly, without thinking ourselves too much alone in the work of the Lord, and others too negligent; or inquiring too busily into the gifts of one, or be too much concerned what another shall do. These dispositions seemed to be gently both reprehended and instructed by our Lord, in his answers to well meaning Martha, when she said, Bid her that she help me, and to Peter, on his query, What shall this man do?

But when the baptizing virtue and power

* John Churchman, of East Nottingham, in Pennsylvania, a Friend well known by the published account of his life and gospel labours. In the year 1750, accompanied by William Brown, he arrived in England, on a religious visit to this nation, also visiting Ireland and Holland. This occupied him nearly four years; and in 1754 he returned to his native land. He died on the 24th of seventh month, 1775, aged near seventy, a minister about forty-two years.

of Truth overshadows our souls, we cannot help desiring that the people may keep their ranks, and, in sanctification of both body and spirit, stand prepared that the Lord may choose and instruct, gift and qualify, judges, counsellors, rulers, and chiefs, both in the ministry of the Word, and in the discipline of his Church.

I have been confined to my room for more than ten days, by reason of a great cold, taken, I suppose, in the north, in damp houses and cold beds, but through the tender mercy of kind Providence, am in a fair way of recovery. The respite from travelling and immediate exercise has been as a rest to my spirit, which has been preserved, resigned, and mostly quiet. I have often sought to know mine own imperfections, and have been favoured with a sight of several things concerning myself and my brethren engaged in the work of the ministry. Methought I had a renewed glimpse of the holy attire with which the attendants at the holy altar should perpetually stand arrayed; the vestments are holy, the garments clothe the spirit, and the adorning is beautiful, and never waxes old; it is girt about the loins of the new man, and loosely laid aside when immediate service seems over; it is bound in the heart and coupled in the soul. Oh! let this Urim and Thummim be for ever with the holy One, and by him renewed to his children.

Dear Samuel, the near sympathy which arose at first sight, and silent salutation that made the inward birth move, has often been brought to my remembrance; and pursuant to the solemn covenant between us soon after our first acquaintance in thy brother John's little parlour, I have found a great freedom to act towards thee as an unreserved, open-hearted friend, and shall, therefore, add a little further. In a feeling sense of Divine goodness, my soul has been humbled on thy account, that the Lord, in the riches of his sure mercies, did vouchsafe to pluck thee from the fire, and quench the darts that were shot at thy soul, and by lifting thine eyes to himself, healed thy wounds, and chose thee as a vessel for his use, and for an instrument to publish his name and proclaim his light and salvation to the Gentiles. And it sprang in my heart, in much brotherly affection, to say, Prize thy privilege, mind thy calling, for it is high and holy; watch against the world, that it do not clog thee, with the spirit thereof be not too familiar. There are that pretend to be children of the light, who are lying in wait to gain the friendship of those whom the Lord, by the indwelling of his Word, has made as a flame against those who reside in the Mount of Esau; and coals from their mouths have

kindled in the hidden treasure of these worldlings and libertines, and begun to burn in their hearts, and they have sought the friendship of such, and sometimes, when gained, they have valued themselves, and have smothered the fire, and continued in their corruptions.

Oh! the awful authority, the becoming sweetness, the instructive mien, the beseeching gesture, with which Truth arrays her votaries, far surpassing all our modern polite and worldly genteel airs. With the salutation of love, thy real friend.

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

JOHN KENDALL* TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Colchester, Eighth month 17th, 1752.

I am but just returned from my journey in Holland and Germany, and may acquaint thee, that we had divers comfortable opportunities with the few Friends in those parts of the world, and had great satisfaction in our visit to them, finding a people unto whom the visitations of our heavenly Father seemed particularly extended, and such likewise as have answered the call, and are become as testimony-bearers for the name and truth of God. These we hope the Lord will yet further strengthen, and qualify as instruments in his hand, to promote his glorious cause; yea, we expect the primitive lustre of our Zion shall yet in some degree be revived in that land, though certainly there is a mixture, through the unwearied adversary, who has come as in the night, and sown tares among the good seed. Our hearts were enlarged in great love at times, and a concern begotten for the growth of the true seed, and for the right birth, wherein we laboured according to the ability received, and have found the answer of peace, which abundantly repays.

JOHN KENDALL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Warrington, 1753.

Thine of the 14th, I this morning received, and hasten to tell thee, I wanted much to know where thou wert, that I might send thee a short salutation of love unfeigned, which has often, of late more daily, lived in and

* The Friends who were accompanied by John Kendall, during this visit to Holland, were William Brown and Samuel Neale. John Kendall was a Friend well known, both as a useful member of the Society, and as a writer, having published several works. Besides the occasion here mentioned, he also paid four other visits to Holland on religious service. He died at Colchester in 1815, at the advanced age of eighty-nine years, a minister about sixty-seven years.

flowed forth of my heart towards thee. I received thy acceptable, profitable letter, from Moate, which I acknowledged soon after, which probably came not to thy hand; if it did not, the loss is trivial to thee, though important to me, as it has probably deprived me of some further indication of thy regard and good desires for me. I am humbly and reverently thankful, in that I feel the unity of the brotherhood; it is very dear to me. I am, and have been, in a low, humbling dispensation, in which that union has been almost my sole evidence and mark that I was not far out of my way.

I desire to accept, at the heavenly Father's hand, my portion; I know it is, and will be right and in due season; though I may sometimes almost murmur and repine, yet that adds to my anxiety. I have had some weighty hints for years, about a piece of labour, which makes me tremble; and, in short, my way to true settlement seems to lie through thy country. I now stand resigned, and only beg—Put forth, and go before me, O Israel's Shepherd, and I will follow in thy strength, believing in the all-sufficiency of a never-failing arm.

I am sensibly touched with thy observation of making poor wages in Ireland. Alas! my friend, can we expect to flow with wealth when the church is in poverty, and the priests of Zion in heaviness? Our sympathy will lead us to mourn, and our heads will be covered with ashes instead of crowns. The ministers of our Lord cannot expect to be above their Lord; he was crowned with thorns for us, and so must we be for his visited seed. But this thou knows better than I, though I am not destitute of some experience, which, I bless the God of my life, I find to increase and flow from patience in tribulation.

Assure thyself, my dear friend, thy correspondence is to me very grateful and profitable, and when the cords of Divine love draw thy mind towards me, be open in counsel, admonition, or reproof; I want such friends, and value them very greatly. Accept the salutation of dear love, in the fresh renewings of quickening virtue, which reaches freely forth to all the servants of Christ, as a divine odour, for which the true virgins love him: from thy friend and brother in the labour and suffering of and for the gospel,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

JOHN CHURCHMAN TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Woodhouse, Third month 17th, 1753.

It was very reviving to me to receive those few lines from thee, for I think the remembrance and love of the brethren seems more

and more precious to me, though I think that I grow but slowly in my passage from death to life. Those few hints that thou givest, that thy road to a true settlement leads through our country, are no way unpleasant to me, and are safe in the bosom of thy friend; yet I can hardly help saying, Hide it as a precious seed or root in thy garden, as much as may be. I have seen the growth of choice things retarded, by opening the earth to show others what seed or root has been there planted; but if they are let alone, and not trod too much upon by man or beast, in due time they sprout and break forth with beauty and strength.

I do not expect to return before 1754: If I should live to see that happy day, with the smiles of my Master, or have one, like flesh and bone of one's flesh and bone, for an intimate, in a moving jail, to which I must be committed before I can be proclaimed free in my native air, affords a contemplative delight not easy to express.

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO SAMUEL WATSON, ON
THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE.*

Warrington, Seventh month 7th, 1753.

I affectionately salute thee in the fresh renewings of that near union in which our acquaintance commenced, and in which thou hast often been brought of late into my re-

* Samuel Watson, of Kilconner, in the county of Carlow, "succeeded his ancient and honourable father, John Watson, of the same place, not only in his outward possessions there, but in a zealous concern for the testimony of truth, and support of its cause." He was a friend of great use and service many ways, particularly in meetings for discipline, which he attended with exemplary diligence. "Often, under the fresh influence of the divine anointing, he was enabled to drop living counsel to the affecting and tendering many hearts, and to raise that life in meetings for discipline which alone is the crown of all our religious assemblies." "In religious visits to the families of friends, he was often eminently favoured, and opened in suitable counsel, in an extraordinary manner; strong and fervent were his desires, that the youth amongst us might dedicate their hearts fully to the service of God, that there might be a succession of faithful members in the church, whereof Christ is the head, following the ancients in that self-denying path in which they had walked." "He departed this life in peace, at his own house, at Kilconner, the 14th of fifth month, 1762, aged seventy-six years." His wife, Abigail Watson, formerly Abigail Bowles, was an eminent and experienced minister: she travelled much in the service of truth, having visited England five times, and the provinces of North America once. She died eleventh month 11th, 1752, aged sixty-eight, a minister forty years.

membrance, and particularly since the loss of *thy* late worthy companion and *my* dear friend.

To consider an ancient person, who had long enjoyed the happiness of a help-meet, in a temporal, and eminently so in a religious sense, divested of that principal sublunary aid in advanced age—his satisfaction taken away by the loss of a dear companion, and a comfortable auxiliary in a joint spiritual labour—must immediately furnish painful reflections. Nevertheless, as the everlasting spring of all true peace and holy ease abides unchangeably the same, and, through all the mutations attending us, He varies not—in him, in him let our fresh springs be fixed, and he will reveal his glorious sufficiency to supply all our wants; he will reward his faithful afflicted servants with a stay in their various conflicts, and with a staff in old age. He whom Jacob worshipped leaning on the top of his staff, whom Moses served, and whom afflicted Job remembered in his troubles, will, I question not, be near for thy present help to live and labour, and for strength to preserve to the end of thy days. Oh, let not the decline of life be obscured with a diminution of holy zeal, that so the heavenly crown may be sure. I mention my humble petition, not from doubt, but anxious desire for thy glorious issue and present profitable labour for the help of a people withering and declining in some places.

I request thy acceptance of a narrative of some part of dear father's labours: thou wilt remember him with affection and profit.

Accept, my dear friend, the salutation of endeared love, from thy sincere friend and brother in the labour and service of the blessed household,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO PETER BUCK, OF
NETHERDALE.

Skipton, Eighth month 9th, 1753.

The alliance between our families, our former acquaintance, and to renew it afresh, with some other considerations, made me very desirous of seeing thee, and I found in my mind a salutation of good will to spread towards thee for thy help. It hath pleased Divine Providence to afford thee several favours of great importance; as, being sprung from virtuous, religious parents, who were good examples in their generation, amongst men and before their children; they loved Friends, and were beloved of them; and, through the blessing of Providence, they have left thee in affluent, easy circumstances, and possessed of a large share—in comparison with many—of the good things of this world; also, what infinitely exceeds all the riches of this transi-

tory world, the secret visitation of Divine light and love, to redeem and preserve thee from corruption, and to give thee a name amongst the living, a blessed memorial in the Jerusalem of God.

Now, dear kinsman, what lives upon my heart is, to put thee upon a serious and awful inquiry, how far these mercies have operated on thy mind to produce their desired effect. Remember thy parents, and their God and blessing; their plainness, their love to Friends, their attendance of meetings, their concern in them for their profit, their care for their children's good, their good example. Has this been thy care to imitate, to come up in their footsteps, and show thyself a worthy descendant from a worthy stock; has truth opened thine heart and house for the reception of Friends, and drawn thy love towards thy father's friends, whom we ought not to forsake? If so, I hesitate not to say, the God of thy parents will bless thee in all things, and build thee up a sure house, and render thee useful in that place, as a strength to that meeting, an useful member of the Society; and above all, the evidence of heavenly acceptance will cover thy soul as a royal garment, to thy own inexpressible peace and joy.

If, on the contrary hand, thou forsake thy father's footsteps, and turn aside from the law of his God, he will cast thee off; thou wilt become a burden to thy friends, and cause of pain to thy sincere well-wishers, and be a hurt to others instead of a help. I beseech thee in time to consider the weight of their guilt who turn their own feet from the holy paths of truth, and by their example cause the way of truth to be evilly spoken of, and hurt the seeking souls of others.

Thy possessions in the world will become blessings, as they are truly sanctified to thee by that God who is great on earth, as well as in heaven; the fatness of the earth is his, and he condescends to visit in externals. All things below are in his hand, and he has often visibly disappointed the pursuits of those who have forgotten that it is his blessing which makes truly rich. And, though close application and avarice may be sometimes successful to accumulate wealth, yet remember, with trembling, the epithet of "fool" was fixed by him who was and is eternal Truth, upon all those who were laying up treasure for themselves, and were not rich towards God; and in that solemn hour of decision, when all worldly enjoyments shall issue in vanity, and the largest possessions be light as a feather, nothing short of true inward peace will avail, and that is solely found in the way of well-doing. The visitation of Divine Providence has been at times near thee, to help over

hurtful things, and to lead thee in the path the ancients trod to blessedness.

O let it be dear and precious in thy sight; trample not upon it, nor live above it in thyself; fall down upon it, in true submission of soul; or, I testify, on God's behalf, it will fall upon thee and grind thee to powder, in a day which thou cannot escape. Beware, for the sake of thy poor soul, of evil company, who would first seduce, and then deride thee; like their master and employer, who tempts, and, if successful, torments those he has betrayed. Beware of an unequal marriage, if the peace of thy soul, of thy family, thy present and future welfare, be at all desirable. My tender regard for thee leads me to use this freedom with thee, as certainly knowing the way of truth, as delivered down to us by our fathers, is the way to true peace. I therefore entreat thee, by the mercies of God, whilst yet it is day, remember Heaven's favours, carefully inquire how they have been answered by thee; hasten diligently into the proper labour of a true Christian, who, conscious he has no continuing city here, seeks with diligence one which hath foundations.

My soul craves that a blessing may rest upon thee; and in order thereto, seek thou that in which it stands, that so He who blessed the house of Obed-edom, where the ark rested, may perpetuate his blessings to thee and thine. This is the petition and request of my soul for thee, who am thy affectionate kinsman and sincere well-wisher,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

JOHN CHURCHMAN TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Norwich, Ninth month 7th, 1753.

..... I wish to inform thee that I have performed my journey in Holland, and am returned to this city in health and safety, through the never-failing mercy of kind Providence, who never sends his servants on an embassy at their own expense, but supplies with what is needful. But if we do not lack any thing on our pilgrimage, or even have to experience that through his power the very devils are made subject, we have still a deeper and more solemn root of rejoicing, viz., the evidence of a gentle inflowing peace, from a conscious sense of having preserved our innocency; this it is to have our names written in the Lamb's book of life. It has often been the deep travail of my soul that I might more and more experience this; but when I look at my own frailties, I am ready to conclude it is yet but in dim characters, and therefore have need of the prayers of my brethren and sisters, of which number I am sensible thyself and dear wife are.

After the Yearly Meeting at Norwich, my old companion, John Pemberton and I embarked at Yarmouth, and landed at Rotterdam on the 29th of seventh month; thence we went to Amsterdam, and tarried with Friends in that city about nine days, and were at three meetings, and then proceeded into North Holland, to Twisk and Abbey-Kirk, and visited all the families of Friends in those parts, and had three meetings with Friends, as much by themselves as well could be. There are but few of the professors sound in the principles of our religion; they seem to be a kind of half Quakers.

We went next to Hoorne, a very fine city. I thought I felt something in my mind towards that place, but was low and weak, and under discouragement, for want of a suitable interpreter, so thought I might venture to pass on; but as I walked very slowly through the city to the boat, with my mind turned inward, I felt that my Master was not far from me, that his hand was upon me; and I was strongly desirous to know what he would please to have me to do. I felt life to spring in me, and a gentle draft of love, which drew me back. In the interim, I saw a young man in the street, whom something in me seemed to salute, and I desired the interpreter to ask him if we could have a meeting there, to which, with a smile, he readily answered he believed we might; so he took my bags and invited me to his home, and said he would go and consult some of his acquaintances, and seek for a place. He soon returned, and said he had found a willingness in several, and they had got a large room in a private house. So we attended, and had a good open meeting; familiar Gospel truths opened clearly, and the love and authority of Truth came over the meeting much more than I expected; which made me confess the word of the Lord is pure and tried, it is a shield and a buckler to them that trust therein.

Next day we returned to Amsterdam, and finished the visit to all the families of Friends in that city, which we had begun before we went into North Holland, attending their first-day and week-day meetings. We spoke by an interpreter: but the Friend who interpreted is very old and nearly superannuated to every thing save an innocent, well-meaning, yet self-confident strong will, which he still inherits. He preaches a good deal, and has not strength to do much for any other; if he appear first, he seems so much spent; and if one appear before him, he has so many of his own old favourite words and sentences, that he is apt to intersperse them whether proper or improper, which makes it tedious and wearisome; and while he lives, it seems impossible to per-

suade Jean Vander Werf to undertake that service; he is a tender-spirited young man, and understands English very perfectly. I had often occasion to try him at translation, for I was forced sometimes to write, when I could not obtain relief by my tongue, and he did it to good satisfaction. It is a dull, tedious way of obtaining relief, and though sometimes Truth much favoured in testimony, and the power thereof was felt over the meeting, our interpreter would sometimes appear after us when the meeting should have broken up, whereby, many times the beauty was lost, which is very mortifying and discouraging; and many were present who never saw a Friends' meeting before.

We took shipping at Rotterdam on the 29th of last month, and landed safely in England on the 3rd instant, having been long detained in the harbour.

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Warrington, Tenth month, 1753.

I have received a hint which has done me some service, and I may probably often reflect upon it to advantage. I had flattered myself with spending several days with thee in Cheshire, even to such a degree as to wait with some impatience for an account when thou came into it. I saw thee, enjoyed the company of thy spirit for a short time, and was deprived of the satisfaction I had hoped so very strongly for, by a call another way, which, I can assure thee, if I had not heard my Master's voice in it, I had not complied with. The hint I received is this:—It is very good and profitable to keep near the Fountain Head, that, if the streams be diverted out of the expected channel, we may not be at a loss, having that to approach to, which remains everlastingly fixed.

The longer I live, the more I am convinced of the necessity of having one Lord over all, and the motions of his hand and eye deeply and humbly regarded. These things are written in very legible characters in thy book, and need not my repetition; but thou hast allowed me to converse with thee with that freedom whose grounds and results the world knows not.

I was easy with my journey on the account of the funeral, and made some little earnings, and more especially at Manchester, on first-day forenoon, a place I have almost ceased to expect relief of spirit in. But the virtue of the heavenly name spread, and, I believe, led several of us into a place, alas! little frequented by many, but known to some by the name of the valley of decision.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Eleventh month 5th, 1753.

..... I have some reason to apprehend I must get away to America some part of next summer. I am quiet, easy, and resigned, and that which hath been for years at times a heavy, painful burden, that I could not clearly see, appears clear; and I strongly hope gracious Providence, in this quiet calm, will make the trial easier to bear than I have hitherto apprehended. I cannot but anticipate the most painful part, being rent the flesh as from the bone; the dangers of the sea, the various external jeopardies attending, are of less affecting weight. But what shall we say? We are safe in our obedience to heavenly counsel, to Him whose wisdom, mercy, and goodness, we have great and proved occasion reverently to adore.

..... Thy very acceptable lines affected me with the strongest emotions of tenderness and near union: I could not peruse them without a strong sensibility of the situation of that mind whence they proceed, and found a sympathy therewith. Expressions are deficient, and language too short, to set forth the sentiments and mutual converse of spirits gathered in measure into that which is unspeakable. Oh, may every impediment be removed, that we may more and more drink into that fulness which fills and comprehends all things, but is comprehended of nothing.

Our various probations, our concealed conflicts, our hidden distresses, are often alleviated by this secret sympathy and fellowship in suffering, and eminently so when the great Father of all consolation is pleased to overshadow with his healing wing. This was not far from me in my late little journey, though in much pain for the testimony's sake, yet supported to labour, so as to have peace of mind, and that is indeed enough.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN BRAGG.*

Warrington, First month 21st, 1754.

I received, about twelve days ago, an anonymous letter, requesting my return thereto, agreeable to the superscription I intended to fix upon this.

The author is personally a stranger to me; but I am not altogether a stranger to the situation described, and have deeply waited for instruction and ability to direct, agreeable to the mind of Truth, and the sympathy I feel

* John Bragg lived at Whitehaven, and died there very generally beloved, in Fifth month, 1795, aged 72.

on my mind with the distressed. Expect not from me an elaborate disquisition into speculative points; for this I know from experience, that part must die which longs to comprehend more truths, while the former discoveries are yet disobeyed. The first principles of religion, as I have found, are the knowledge of our own weakness, and Almighty sufficiency to supply all defects. Whoever builds on another foundation will be finally disappointed. Thy letter manifests a sense of want; and, as thou attends to that sense, that which gives it, will, in due time, supply it; for the Lord our God hears his own. The state of leprous Naaman has been strongly before me on thy account. He was disquieted under his malady, and sought relief; but he had like to have missed it, by contemning the means; his pride was piqued that the prophet came not out to work an immediate cure with some visible demonstration of power; so that stooping to the simple means of bathing in Jordan was very mortifying to him; he remembered Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, and was willing to believe they were of equal virtue. But know this assuredly, there is no river capable of cleansing the soul but that which proceeds from under the throne of God—no stream flowing from speculation, or any natural powers can wash out the stain and bring peace to the soul. Deeply and submissively abide with the sacred Minister of the new covenant; if thou art weak, he is strong; and sure I am, the God of all strength and truth would not leave thee destitute. Be content to be a child, or thou wilt be a monster; let his day come upon that which is lofty, and the cross be taken up to hurtful things, and in his light thou wilt see more light; and, until thou hast been fed from on high with milk fit for a babe, stronger meat or higher discoveries would not be good nourishment, but create disorders for want of digestion.

My soul fervently desires thy help; but remember, with holy trembling, the way to heaven lies through the gates of death. The Lord of all mercy and strength renew effectually his visitation to thy soul, and build thee upon the sure foundation that can never be shaken. I am thy true friend and well-wisher,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

WILLIAM BROWN* TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Third month 16th, 1754.

..... Having visited meetings in and about London, my way opened to visit Sus-

* William Brown came over from America with John Churchman on a religious visit, and returned

sex, Surrey and Kent, which I did with great diligence, thinking that after then I might sail for Virginia, and so home by land: but then, when I would fain go to sea, it looked fearful and dark, and I had no heavenly bread for sea-store; but if I would walk in the light or the way that opened in my view, I must go through Wiltshire, as I had not visited that county, and so into Wales. And I discovered a hidden warfare between nature and grace, although I had often said to myself, and to some Friends, that I hoped I was truly resigned to His will, who is so highly worthy to be honoured and obeyed. I felt something in me which seemed to divide soul and spirit, which made me carry about an aching heart, and especially when one piece of service after another was performed, and I let my mind look home till a fear seized me that I should be like Balaam, if I was so constantly asking for liberty to go, and spake of doing only the Lord's will, who was pleased so to accompany my spirit that I had often to say, Well, I am glad that I came to visit this place, as I have been favoured with such healing balsam that has bravely healed my sore inside; and since I came out of Wales, I have had as close and heavy work as in any part of my religious labours.

WILLIAM BROWN.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ANN APPLEBY.*

Warrington, Fourth month, 1754.

In my journey into Yorkshire, whence I returned a few days ago, I heard the sorrowful account of the death of thy husband, and had it confirmed by thy favour of the 21st ult. The sympathy I strongly felt with thee in thy present situation, had determined me, before the receipt of thine, to send thee a few lines; and I can assure thee, I am a sharer in thy distress, and can mingle my sorrows with thine. The relation he bore thee, my dear friend, and some acquaintance I had with him, were inducements to esteem and affectionately to regard him; but there seemed, and really was, a closer union and connexion at and since our last interview than heretofore. I thought him near the kingdom, but was not apprehensive of his being so near his discharge from the cares and disquietudes of this life.

soon after this letter was written: the visit to Wiltshire therein mentioned, was very seasonable, he being made helpful to Friends of that county, who were at that time in some difficulty.

* Ann Appleby, previously Ann Ford, of Leek, was at this time the widow of Joshua Appleby, who died in the county of Durham, Third month 16th, 1754, aged 26.

We must acknowledge the laws of friendship are sacred and strong: we cannot, we ought not to divest ourselves of their obligations, nor with insensibility of mind admit their dissolution. The unspotted Pattern of infinite righteousness, when his friend Lazarus died, felt as a man, and wept: but various considerations will be suggested, to that mind which looks the right way, to alleviate the pain which attends these dispensations—the mercy and wisdom of an Almighty Being, glorious and full of majesty as Jehovah, yet gracious and compassionate as the Father and Fountain of relief, which has revived many a drooping soul when afflictions have attended. He knows what is best for us all, and most conducive to his own honour. We may acknowledge, when our understandings are opened, though his works may seem marvellous, and his ways past finding out, yet in wisdom has he made them all. The tender connexions of husband and father are now for ever broken—but by whom? One whose wisdom and mercy are over all his works, and who can abundantly supply all deficiencies, and has been known to be a father to the fatherless, and a judge for the widow, from his holy habitation.

He is removed from us in youth, and the prospect of long continuance amongst his friends. Alas, how know we what remains for us in the residue of our days, that we are so anxious to have prolonged? Many exercises and troubles attend the smoothest passage in this life; what better time than when under that preparing hand which fits for eternal peace? It is admirable wisdom and mercy thus to deal with us, to relieve from all dangers, and translate into that quiet rest, where all sorrows, fears, and temptations are unknown terms. Afflictions, dear Nancy, spring not out of the ground; they are often conducive to our help in the best things. Let this awful, solemn trial enough close on thy mind, and engage thee to look to the everlasting, holy, unchangeable husband and helper of all who reverently seek to be meet for his acceptance; who, by the secret working of his unsearchable power, clothes excellent mercy in the form of disappointment, and causes all things to work together for good to his servants.

Let the impressions made on thy mind, by the moving object so lately before thee, and the true, certain testimony delivered, of the great advantage of true Christianity, be imprinted in deep humble characters; that so, merciful protection may be ever with thee and thine, and lead, at last, to a reunion in the kingdom of peace, where thou mayest inherit an unfading crown.

My wife joins me in tender sympathy with thee, and our prayers are for thy preservation and Divine help. Thy real friend,
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

ANN FOTHERGILL TO HER BROTHER
SAMUEL.

London, Seventh month 23rd, 1754.

..... William Brown, accompanied by Joshua Dixon, has sailed for America. I, with several other Friends, accompanied them to Gravesend, and had much solid satisfaction in his good company. I think I may say a Divine sweetness and joy filled his mind with gratitude, peace, and thankfulness, that he had been preserved in the way of his duty, to a full discharge of it in these parts; he repeatedly said, with awful thankfulness, that he was clear, and had never found the like solid joy and consolation of soul, without any intermission, as he now enjoyed. He dropped several weighty admonitions, in much love and tenderness, which nearly affected and united those present to him; the parting, with a rising prospect, brought by it very near to my view, was more than I could sustain unobserved by those present.

The following is part of a letter from Israel Pemberton to William Brown, which the latter desires me to send thee:—"I have been, for a long time past, desirous of writing to Samuel Fothergill; the reverence I have for his worthy father's memory first inclined me to think of it. I have still deferred it, and now perceive he is preparing to pay us a visit, of which we have long been very desirous; the wish I have of engaging his company to my house, determined me to salute him with a few lines, and even to offer to attend him through the adjacent provinces; but though to will is present with me, how to perform I find not, and some doubt arises, whether such a proposal would or may be agreeable; therefore I adopt this method of hinting my thoughts and wishes to thee, and if by that means I should succeed in obtaining his good company to lodge with us when here, it will afford me a great deal of pleasure, and I hope be to his satisfaction."

A letter is received from John Churchman, who desires us to give thee the speediest notice that he thinks of going with Captain Mesnard, who is to sail on the first of next month.

ANN FOTHERGILL.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE year 1754 is memorable in the life of SAMUEL FOTHERGILL, as being that in which he left his native land to engage in the long

and laborious service of a religious visit to the provinces of North America.

The unfoldings upon his mind of this important duty, and the steps which he took that he might rightly engage in the performance of it, are well described in the following extract from his journal. His care to observe good order, and his earnest desire to obtain and proceed with the unity and concurrence of his friends, are well worthy of note.

"It having been weightily upon my mind, from the motion of the Word of Life, to pay a religious visit to the church of Christ in the plantations of North America; after near ten years from the first opening thereof, and many painful tossings, with fear on one hand of running unsent, and on the other, a reverent care not to slight the requirings of that Holy Being who has a right to command in earth as well as in heaven, I found it clearly opened when was the proper time, and a disposition of spirit was given me to acquiesce with Truth's requirings, and endeavour to act honestly thereto.

"In pursuance whereof, having mentioned my concern to several weighty brethren and sisters, and having their concurrent sense of my being rightly called to that service, I acquainted our Friends at the preparative meeting at Penketh, and monthly meeting for Hardshaw, held at Warrington in the fourth month 1754, who gave me a certificate of their concurrence, and sense of Truth's requiring in this weighty undertaking. I also laid my concern before our quarterly meeting at Lancaster, the same month, which endorsed my certificate, and signed it by many Friends. I also found my mind engaged to acquaint Friends at the yearly meeting of ministering Friends in London, who also testified their approbation by a certificate, signed by many brethren and sisters. These particular steps I found it my duty to take, in order to obtain the concurrence or counsel of Friends, both for example's sake, and the mutual unity of the brotherhood, which in low times, hath been strength and encouragement to my drooping spirit.

"I left Warrington the 2nd of eighth month, 1754: my dear wife, with some others, accompanied me to Leek, where we parted on the 3rd, and I came to London, being met at Albans by my sister, on the 5th, and staid in London until the 9th, when dear John Churchman and myself, accompanied by many Friends, went down to Gravesend.

"Eighth month 10th, 1754.—Went on board the Caroline, Stephen Mesnard, commander; had, with many Friends who went on board, a precious opportunity, in the humbling sense of Divine regard. We returned to Graves-

end to dine; and afterwards parted from our dear friends, and went on board the ship. Fell down the river, and were detained in the Downs and the Channel until the 17th, when we lost the sight of land, and pursued our voyage.

"Had a comfortable passage, in which time we always kept up—though only two,—our religious meetings, and the Lord of all mercies was often and mercifully near to our comfort.

"Ninth month 23rd.—We first discovered the Capes of Delaware river, and took in a pilot; being favoured with a good wind, we came one hundred and twenty miles up the river, and cast anchor above Wilmington.

"24th.—Went ashore, and hired horses to Wilmington, where we were very kindly received by William and Elizabeth Shipley. Immediately after our arrival, William Brown and Joshua Dixon came in, who were just landed, though they sailed three weeks before us. Dear John Churchman went home that evening, and William Brown, Joshua Dixon, and myself, went up that evening to Philadelphia and Schuylkill. I lodged at Israel Pemberton's, where I met a kind reception."

The journal is kept thus minutely only for a few days after he landed in America; but he continued daily to record in it the places he visited, and the meetings which he attended, with occasional brief notices of some of them, as a "favoured meeting"—"meeting large and well"—"a low time," &c.

His feelings, and the various exercises of his mind, his progress and travels, are much developed in the correspondence which follows.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER AND SISTER.

Opposite Margate, First-day morning,
Eighth month 11th, 1754.

As our pilot is likely to leave us very soon, I embrace the opportunity of sending this on shore by him, to let you know I am well and easy in spirit and body. The strong ties of affection subsisting between us, rendered it very hard for me to tear myself away from you; but I accept it as a mark of the heavenly Father's regard, and an evidence, that I am not out of my place, that my mind peaceably centres in Him whose hand I feel in the service before me; and have much left behind me every tie that might unavailingly distress my mind.

I beg each of us may ever seek that centre of real quiet, which can never be destroyed by any commotions by sea or land.

My near and affectionate salutation is to

you both, and my prayers are for your preservation, as for my own.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Philadelphia, Ninth month 26th, 1754.

I embrace this early opportunity of acquainting thee with my safe arrival here, after a very agreeable passage of six weeks and three days from London. I have had my health at sea remarkably well, and not an hour sick the whole passage; my appetite and rest in general as well as on land; highly favoured with the agreeable, profitable company of dear John Churchman, and the whole cabin to ourselves; and what is still more valuable, the countenance of our heavenly Father often beheld to our comfort: with a grateful, humble spirit, I ascribe thanksgiving and praise to the Fountain of mercies, ancient and new.

On third-day, the 24th instant, we landed about thirty miles below this city, being prevented from coming up by contrary wind, and went ashore near Elizabeth Shipley's, where we met with a kind reception, and in half an hour were agreeably surprised to see William Brown and Joshua Dixon come into the house; they sailed three weeks before us, and we arrived before them,—a joyful, humbling meeting it was. After we had refreshed ourselves, John Churchman left us, proposing to reach home that night, and we came up to this city.

I am, with a heart replenished with thankfulness to the Author of all our mercies, and in the most affectionate nearness to thee, with the salutation of love to all relations and friends, thine in the bonds of continued affection,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Philadelphia, Ninth month 30th, 1754.

..... I earnestly crave of our heavenly Protector that his holy arm may surround and support us both; may keep thee in quiet resignation to his will in the present trial, and in every respect help to live to his own praise, and thy solid comfort: and I question not but it will be so, as he is properly and reverently sought to. I know and sensibly feel thy sympathy is strongly with me in my present allotment, and I have, with an awfully humbled soul, to acknowledge His living power and mighty arm have been sensibly and plentifully with me since my arrival here, having been at six meetings in this place, several of which have truly been memorably to my own encouragement to look to him who is all-suf-

ficient. The meetings are exceedingly large, and all sorts and ranks of people flock to them, and the mighty Name is deservedly exalted. In the midst of this favour I rejoice with trembling, and in full expectation of my having an approaching humbling time, wherein I may be proved with want and poverty; I am thoroughly resigned, I hope, to suffer as well as to abound.

..... Friends here treat me with very great affection, on dear father's account, and some resemblance in person and ministry has induced divers to think they would have known me to be his son, if they had not known of my arrival. Oh, that I may be so conducted as to walk in his footsteps, and dishonour neither his name, nor the cause of Truth. And although every affectionate sentiment towards thee, and near union to friends and relations thereaway, strongly subsist with me, yet I have a perfect quiet and weanedness from all at home, which I esteem a singular mercy; my soul is bound to the testimony and seed of God in these parts.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Philadelphia, Tenth month 3rd, 1754.

I have now to inform thee my health is preserved beyond expectation, and the climate, though it has been much hotter than any of our summers, has not been intolerable; the greatest inconvenience I find is the number of mosquitos, a little venomous fly, that have, within these few nights, severely handled me, and so swelled my hands as to render it not easy to write; a feverish heat has attended, but I am carefully and affectionately nursed by my very kind landlady.

I hitherto have cause of thankfulness and awful worship before the Almighty, for his help in enabling me quietly to bear a separation from what is to me inexpressibly dear, and even without a wish about any, but for their happiness, which often occurs. I feel my soul bound to the testimony and cause of Truth as my proper business; no insensibility attends my mind, or decay of pure affection; it is cheerfully fresh, and livingly revived; but I have been led into a service, by a hand at whose dispensation I dare not repine, and who is the all-sufficient and only stay for all our states, and who has been pleased to favour, in condescension not to be enough admired, and claims the most humble returns.

I have been at seven meetings in this city, some of which have been times of memorable favour to my soul, and I believe a fresh visitation of gracious help to some here, that I have cause of secret ease of mind in giving

up to the service. Yet am I sensible, low baptizing times must be met with, and I may probably travel many days in the strength of that bread already received; but in this also I desire to be contented; it was the lot of the all-perfect One, and of his faithful. I beg preservation from every thing which might exclude me from his holy table; and let His will be done who is ever worthy.

Dear sister, may thy mind be stayed upon that which is immovable, which, though one, is omnipresent, our mutual rejoicing in spirit, though absent in body, and I am afresh assured is near us both for our good: this time of absence will gradually wear away; and I hope to be restored in the due time to the enjoyment of that society and company which is at this time fresh in my remembrance, and dear to my life. SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

MARY PEMBERTON TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Tenth month 16th, 1754.

It is in a degree of that love that makes the friends of Truth near to each other, in a spiritual relation, though personally unacquainted, that I at this time salute thee; and having oft-times experienced a real pleasure in sympathizing with my friends, whether in joy or sorrow, it is a disposition of mind I desire to retain, as it bears a near resemblance to that blessed example which it is our duty and greatest interest to follow, and justly due to each other as His disciples. In a sense of this regard and sympathy, I have thought of thee in this time of separation from so valuable a companion, for the work's sake whereunto he is called, and so eminently qualified; and doubt not, dear friend, but the present dispensation will be made easy to a person of thy religious experience, by a large share of that peace which is the effect of righteousness, and in partaking of that blessing, which I hope and trust will attend the labours of thy dear husband in this part of the world. And may we, who have been frequently visited with tokens of the Divine regard in this respect, walk worthy of so great mercy and favour, by bringing forth fruits agreeable to the abundant labour bestowed upon us. Well may it be said of us, as of old, We, as a people, above all the families of the earth, have been distinguished, by the inestimable blessing of a living and powerful ministry; the Lord grant that the present generation may experience the happy effects of these gracious calls, thoroughly to awaken them to a humble and circumspect walking with him; and as thy beloved husband is peculiarly instrumental in this great and honourable work, I believe I may venture to say,

he meets with a pleasing reception by all, and I am sure by us, who are favoured with his acquaintance and agreeable company at our house.

..... After our quarterly meeting, the beginning of next month, he, perhaps, will make but a short stay amongst us, the season of the year being the most suitable for a longer journey to the southward, to which I perceive he is at present led, and am not without thoughts that my dear husband may bear him company, if he can contract his affairs into a compass suitable to leave; and though it is a considerable trial to be deprived of the company of an agreeable companion and indulgent husband, it is a circumstance which hath heretofore frequently fallen to my lot, in which, at times, I have happily experienced that the exercise of patience and resignation hath been attended with a suitable reward.

MARY PEMBERTON.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Philadelphia, Tenth month 31st, 1754.

I can at once inform thee I am well, every way well; glory and praise for ever be ascribed to the inexhaustible spring of all mercies, who has sustained hitherto beyond my utmost hopes, and enabled me to travel closely and labour faithfully, in his work and service. I have finished, as far as I see at present, my visit to the eastern shore of Maryland, and visited a small meeting in Virginia, which consisted but of one family; but, as I understood they kept up a meeting constantly, I could not leave it, though it cost me one hundred and eighty miles ride. I have been about twenty-five days out of this place, and travelled about six hundred and fifty miles, and am better in health than when I left it; the weather generally pleasant, the roads very good, our accommodations such as many better Friends have been content with, and I am thoroughly so. I came back to this city, having some concern to attend the quarterly meeting; after that I hope to have every thing ready for my long journey. I expect it will be five or six months before I can either hear from or write again to thee. Israel Pemberton proposes to accompany me the greatest part of my southern journey.

I esteem it a mercy that claims my deepest gratitude, that I am so much favoured in every respect; and my soul is bowed in reverence to the Author of true help, for the aid granted, and I hope ever to live mindful of it. I met dear M. Peisley here, and we were together this day at the week-day meeting, which was very large, and we were both

helped to labour in the wisdom and authority of Christ our head, to his own honour and our great peace.

I want not affectionate remembrance of my near and dear relations, but have not opportunity at present of writing, nor doth necessity require it; if they live in heart to the heavenly Father, our sympathy and union one with another will stand immovable, in that which absence cannot impair nor many waters quench; which will be our joy and rejoicing one in and with another; though outward expressions may fail, yet no mistrust of neglect or forgetfulness will take place. But if this hidden root of the saints' fellowship be overlooked, a decay of true union will gradually ensue, and alienation of heart from the family and its Holy head will take place. My soul fervently begs all may be quickened to diligence, in this their day, to do their own business faithfully in the heavenly plantation; to the rooting out hurtful things, which I am sure will grow and spread in the unguarded heart, which has not a hedge about it, nor seeks the descending of holy rain, for quickening, enlivening help; but is absent from its proper, safe habitation in the Truth, abroad in the world, and its pursuits and evil spirit. Such will suffer loss, and be in danger of being so lamentably covered with briars, thorns, and weeds, as to be altogether unlike that garden enclosed, wherein the Spouse often condescends to walk, and makes it as Eden. The salutation of my heart is towards my brethren and sisters that way, and their families, with strong desires for all their help and establishment in the truth of God; for that is our foundation, and sole, safe corner stone to build on. People may build upon hay and stubble, and have cause to be ashamed with everlasting shame and disappointment. For let us awfully consider, what many are desirous to forget, a day of trial hastens apace upon all, in their particular capacity; and happy they, and they only, who have dug to Christ the rock, and in faithful obedience been built up by him, in and upon himself. When dismay shall overtake the stout-hearted, and wo and distress those who have been falsely at ease in Zion, and a terrible day come upon the forgetful and negligent, those honestly concerned and diligent labourers in their respective lots in the heritage, will have to rejoice in the abundant experience of Divine protection, and receive the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls. The overflowing of affectionate remembrance has, unawares, led my pen forward towards my near and dear relations with their families, and I leave thee to thy

liberty either to keep or spread amongst them what I have written.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER AND SISTER.

Philadelphia, Eleventh month 6th, 1754.

In the freshness of strong natural affection, and in the renewedness of that love which is abundantly more uniting, I tenderly salute you; and though far outwardly separated from you, for the cause and testimony of Truth, and the way of my duty for peace' sake, yet are you often present in spirit with me, and I am persuaded, I with you, in that which is not destroyed or impaired by absence. I have, through the wonderful condescension of our father's God, to inform you, who are anxiously solicitous about me, that I am well—every way well; my health better than I have for some time enjoyed in my native country; and what is to me a deeper cause of reverent dwelling in ashes, the holy arm of strength is near, to help to live and to labour in the Lord's heritage, so as to know his blessed approbation, which I principally and above all desire, and in that true and solid peace which is the true riches of the soul.

I worship in heart and spirit towards that heavenly Arm who has led me, an unworthy creature, into the secret fellowship of his servants, and given an earnest of the promised inheritance; who hath graciously passed by manifold transgressions, called me into some share of his holy service, and hitherto sustained through many besetments, regarded the secret seed of sincerity in my heart, and revived my hiddenly pained soul, even when I had merited an everlasting rejection. O, that the sense of his mercy might ever cover and clothe our spirits to such a degree of humble diligence, as to excite to a faithful following and service of him who is ever worthy of fear and obedience. In this, and this only, we shall rejoice in our lots, every one under his own fig tree, that has been planted, pruned, and made fruitful by the cultivation of the right hand of the great Husbandman.

On the 4th of last month, I went towards the eastern shore of Maryland, to some yearly meetings, which I found my mind drawn towards, and to visit the meetings of Friends in that part of the province, and the three lower counties belonging to Pennsylvania; in which visit I was mercifully often favoured with strength to labour to my comfort, and true ease of spirit, being often remarkably

opened into the states of the meetings and individuals where I came; but alas, the state of the church is very low thereaway, their numbers small, but their care and zeal for truth in general less than their numbers, so that I could not avoid a daily pain of heart on their account, whilst with them. The cause seems to me much in their heads, and such as ought to be their leaders in precept and examples, by a contrary conduct are become indeed the tail of the people, as will ever be the case where people seek to live and grow strong, and not by heavenly food.

To-morrow I propose to leave this place, and go through a course of meetings to the remotest part of Virginia, amongst some newly settled meetings. I expect to travel five hundred miles, without much turn out of a direct line. I salute you nearly and tenderly, and am your affectionate brother,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

The intimate friendship and frequent correspondence maintained by Samuel Fothergill with Israel Pemberton, his brothers, and others of the family, demand that some brief account of them should be here inserted.

Their ancestor, Phineas Pemberton, was born near Wigan, in Lancashire, in 1650. He was an early and active member of Hardshaw monthly meeting, residing then at Bolton, where he endured much persecution for his faithfulness in supporting the testimonies of the Society of Friends; he had also suffered in the same cause whilst an apprentice at Manchester.

In common with many others, who, about that time, sought a country where they might serve God unmolested, and enjoy the rights of religious freedom undisturbed by persecution, he embarked for America in the year 1682, with his wife and his aged father, having many others of their company, to the number of fifty-two persons in all. This was about the time of the settlement of Pennsylvania by William Penn; they landed in that province, and found that he had arrived six days before them. When they came to the place where the city of Philadelphia now stands, they could not procure any accommodation for their horses, "so they spancelled them, and turned them out into the woods."

Phineas bought a tract of land near the river Delaware, where he long resided, a useful member of society, and filled with reputation several offices in the province.* He died in 1702.

His son Israel was born in 1684. He was

a man of a calm, even, and cheerful disposition, and his mind improved and enriched with the principles of true religion; this rendered his whole life an instructive example of the Christian virtues. He was one of the most considerable merchants of Philadelphia, and was, for nineteen years successively, a representative for that city in the General Assembly. He died in 1754, much esteemed and beloved, for his great hospitality, talents and integrity.

His three sons, Israel, James, and John Pemberton, were all of them eminent and valuable men in their day, useful in their respective stations, and for a long period took an active and prominent part in the concerns of the Society, as well as in some of the affairs more at large of their native city and province.

In the letters of Samuel Fothergill to them there may be observed, not only the plain and honest manner in which he expressed his affectionate feelings for their welfare, but also the remarkable and clear sense which he had of their respective states, and of the difficulties to which each of them was exposed by character, by mental constitution, or other circumstances; and the peculiar fitness of his affectionate counsel and exhortations to the three brothers is very striking.

ISRAEL, the eldest, was a man of great powers of mind, of a clear and sound judgment, yet of a quick and ardent temperament, against which he had often to contend, but he was enabled to yield in good measure to the subduing and regulating power of Truth. He was extensively engaged in commerce, and in benevolent pursuits. He died in 1779, aged sixty-four.

JAMES, the second son, received a liberal education; and his parents took care early to instil into the minds of all their children a regard and reverence for those great principles of Truth, by which his future life was regulated. His mother, Rachel Pemberton, watched the early unfoldings of his mind, and hoped much from the mildness of temper and steadiness of conduct which he early manifested. Nor was she disappointed; whilst he often bore decisive testimony, and particularly when near the close of his long and useful life, to the deep obligation he had been under for her tender and judicious care.

His intellectual powers were great, and highly cultivated. Possessed of ample pecuniary means, endowed with a sound judgment, and influenced by the most enlarged benevolence, he was ever found ready to devote his powers, his time, and his substance, to the promotion of the good of his fellow creatures. Of the public chartered schools of Phila-

* In 1697 he was a member of the Council, and speaker of the Assembly.

delphia he was early elected an overseer, and of the hospital and other benevolent institutions, he was a liberal benefactor, and took an active share in their management. With his brother Israel, he was the steady friend and advocate of the oppressed African race, and of the Indian tribes. They were both at one period members of the state legislature, and possessed considerable influence, which they often exerted on behalf of the latter named people.

He filled with ability and reputation many offices in the religious Society of Friends. Of the meeting for Sufferings he was a member from its first establishment in 1756, until, in the yearly meeting of 1808, he publicly resigned his place, on account of his advanced age and increasing infirmities.

In the year 1777, he, with his two brothers, and seventeen other Friends, were unjustly seized by the government, and without being informed what was alleged against them, were taken from their families and homes, and sent under a military guard to a distant province, where they were detained as prisoners several months.

His temperate life, and the evenness and placidity of his temper, contributed to his length of days, smoothed and softened the decline of life, and rendered the approach to its final close easy, and almost imperceptible. He often contemplated with steady attention, and without fear, that solemn period; and in the second month, 1809, he quietly departed, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

JOHN PEMBERTON, the youngest of the three brothers, was a humble, diffident man, gifted with a meek and quiet spirit: his fearfulness often led him into deep provings and mental conflicts, ere he felt sufficient confidence to yield a full and unreserved obedience to required duty. To him was given the kind word of encouragement, whilst his brothers appeared more to require, during their earlier days, the calming and cautionary counsel of an experienced fellow traveller and faithful friend, like Samuel Fothergill.

John Pemberton was well known as a minister; he travelled extensively in this capacity in his native land, and three times visited Europe. He first came over with John Churchman and William Brown, the former of whom he accompanied through many parts of England, and also into Holland.

His next visit was in 1783, in company with William Matthews. On their voyage they were taken prisoners, and carried into France. He had extensive service amongst those not of the same religious profession with himself, particularly in the north of Scotland. He spent upwards of six years in

diligent labour during this visit, and returned to America, in 1789.

Finding himself once more engaged in religious concern to visit Europe, he embarked in 1794, landed in Holland, and proceeded to Pymont in Germany, where, after about four months spent in religious labour, he departed this life, on the 31st of first month, 1795, aged sixty-seven.

Their mother, Rachel Pemberton, was the daughter of Charles Read, one of the early settlers of Pennsylvania. She was indeed as a "mother in Israel," and was distinguished by her care over her own family, her sympathy with those under affliction of body or mind, and her great hospitality and kindness, particularly to those who were called to travel in the work of the ministry: to such her house was ever open, both during the life of her husband and afterwards. She died in 1765, at the age of seventy-four.

Mary Pemberton, the wife of Israel, was also a valuable and experienced elder. The removal of her husband into exile, in 1777, was a great affliction to her; and, as she expressed, she believed it would tend to shorten her stay in this world.

She fell into a gradual decay during his absence, and some time after he was restored to his family, she thus addressed him:—"It is now evident to me, my dear, that we must soon part; we have passed through many deep trials; there is nothing between us but true love, and great affection; I hope thou wilt be kept in true resignation. I had some hope of continuing some time longer, both on thy account and that of our dear grand-daughter; but I am not solicitous about it, not very solicitous."

She peacefully departed this life in the tenth month, 1778, aged seventy-four years.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEMBERTON.

Opechan, Twelfth month 4th, 1754.

In expectation of thy dear husband's being set out to meet me, I address this to thee, to let thee know where I now am. I have, with a reverently bowed spirit, to inform thee I am well every way. My health is maintained beyond my hopes; and what is more, and a deeper cause of gratitude and inward worship to the Most High, his holy arm is near to sustain in labour, to his own honour, and the help of some. To his worthy name be all the gain consecrated, for it is his due.

My passage seems through briars and thorns, and my walking as amongst the tombs of the dead, a general languor having spread amongst the people; nevertheless, the Lord, terrible in righteousness, is nigh at

hand to conduct forwards, renewing strong evidence that I am in my proper line.

This consideration, dear friend, is a fruitful source of comfort in many times of deep wading. Oh, that we, and each of the family, may fix it in full view, as the mark of the prize. Satisfied I am, many would have wings given them, that now lie as amongst the pots, and the Father's name become famous amongst the ten thousands of his true Israelites. My soul salutes thee in the fresh sense of living help revealed near; and begs, as for myself, immovable perseverance, and increase in faithfulness; that the residue of hindering things may be fully fanned away, and we may come up in our lots here, and remain in glorious ones for ever.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Curles, upon James' River, in Virginia,
Twelfth month 13th, 1754.

In daily and affectionate remembrance, though far outwardly separated, for the cause and testimony of the Lord our God, yet never more livingly and comfortably near in spirit since our first acquaintance; with all the tender affection and sympathy so tender a relation claims, yet without repining at my lot, or looking painfully homewards, being sensible the unchangeable Shepherd is all-sufficient to keep and bless, wherever or however scattered, if suitable care remains not to scatter from him.

I find something in the climate peculiarly favourable to my constitution. Have had good travelling weather, and not any severe cold; some rain swelled the rivers as I came along, and we were obliged to pass them in small canoes ourselves, and swim our horses; a circumstance I much dreaded before I left England, but am now reconciled to it, and many other things that seem like hardships; but I am made perfectly easy, and the day is sufficient for the evil thereof. I have hitherto slept under a roof, though sometimes a miserable one, and nevertheless have been preserved from taking any cold that has been troublesome. I expect to rest at this place two or three days, and then to proceed in my visit to the residue of this province, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, in which route I cannot avoid some nights in the woods; but the climate there is very warm, and even at that time of the year the days pretty long. In this place, where I am, this day is two hours and four minutes longer than it is in England, and I have five hundred and fifty miles almost due south to proceed, before I can see it my way to turn back again.

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The state of the church in this province is low and painful; those advanced in years, in general, very insensible of true feeling, or suitable zeal for truth's advancement in themselves, their families, or the church. My passage amongst them has been close, laborious, and, in some places, I believe strengthened to awake and alarm the careless, to their help, and the renewing cause of secret worship to the Lord Almighty, that he has hitherto answered the humble petition of my heart, not to leave me destitute of His holy presence in this remote and desert land. And his word has indeed been as a flame of fire, and the house of Esau as stubble; but it is the most exercising, laborious work I ever was engaged in, being concerned to visit every small meeting, and many of their families, and when that is done to collect four or five meetings together, as a general meeting, to take my leave of them.

This manner of labour requires time, and prevents my getting hastily forwards: but I came for peace, and must not overrun it; and the sure Helper and reward of his people is eminently near to help, to the praise of his mighty name, and the revival of his plantation amongst the rising generation, some of whom His blessed hand is upon for good. I am favoured with the company of a worthy innocent Friend, an elder, from Philadelphia; his name, Edward Cathrall. I expect Israel Pemberton here this day, to accompany me southwards, and then Edward Cathrall returns. He has travelled with me about twelve hundred miles, and been very serviceable; and has sometimes, though against my will, stepped in between me and expense.

I am humbly thankful to the all-sufficient Hand, for the continued evidence of his blessed regard; and strong hope prevails he will not be unmindful of thee, and my little concerns at home, but by his blessed Providence make hard things easy, and enable, with patience, and careful diligence, to act our several parts, to our comfort in him and one in another.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER AND SISTER.

Curles, upon James' River, Virginia,
Twelfth month 13th, 1754.

I have, through the continued favour of the never-failing Fountain of all good, to inform you, my health is preserved to my admiration. I remember not eleven weeks spent for some years with less interruption of health than those I have spent in these parts; though various circumstances of hardship have attended, particularly cold lodging, little

better than in the woods, yet have not been affected by any cold, or found any inconvenience afterwards attending. I find my bodily strength renewed, and ability given to undergo seeming hardships with very great ease. I mention this circumstance of health with a grateful heart towards him who is Lord of all, the support of body and soul, and before whom they ought both to be altars whence the sacrifice of awful worship should often ascend.

I have, since I wrote last, visited some meetings which lay remote in the distant back parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, having crossed the great river Susquehanna, about eighty miles west of Philadelphia, and visited the meetings of Friends along the Blue Mountains, and thence returned one hundred and thirty miles through a country void of Friends, into the more inhabited part of this colony. Have hitherto visited all the settled meetings of Friends in my course, however small and low, and indeed sorrowful is the state of the Church in these parts. The same painful stupidity of heart, which has covered the eastern shore of Maryland, and too many in Pennsylvania, seems here also to spread and benumb the people, more especially amongst those advancing into, or near old age; there are some living young people amongst them, but the crooked foot-steps of the old professors, in part, and the lethargy of those more morally clean, seem to threaten the utter extirpation of the profession from various parts of this province. I have been led into very close and laborious work amongst them, in their meetings and in their families, and to visit particulars, to my own secret ease and comfort in the discharge of my duty, though through the hardest labour that I ever yet met with in public and private. But the strong support of ever blessed Help has been very wonderfully near, and has answered the petition that has often arisen from my soul, deeply and anxiously bowed, that he would not leave me destitute of his strength and help in a remote land, but accompany and lead me in every part of my passage, that though separated from many, near and dear to my life, amongst the nearest whereof I rank you, I might not be separated from the holy Presence, or unacquainted with the renewal thereof every day. And it is with a heart at this time covered with reverence, I have to acknowledge, he hath not failed to help me to labour faithfully to some service in divers places, to the awakening and the help of some on their way, and the comfort of the scattered remnant of the true Israelites. Some of the younger class seem under the visitation of the blessed planting Hand, to

whom my heart has been drawn with lively encouragement to hold on their way, and though rejected by their natural parents, with respect to any religious oversight and help, the eye of the Father of the whole family both in heaven and earth, seems over them. May their eye be unto him, for, alas! all instrumental assistance seems cut off from their earth. I am obliged for peace' sake, after I have visited three or four meetings, to collect them together, to take my leave of them, and though it makes my passage slow, yet it brings peace, and that I came for, and would gladly bring with me, if ever I revisit my native land.

It is not unlikely but the rumour of some damage done in the back parts of South Carolina, by the Indians, has before this, reached England, and may give some uneasy apprehensions. I had an opportunity of conversing with a person lately returned from that neighbourhood, who informed me that the bodies of sixteen English were found murdered, and nine were missing, who, being principally women, were supposed to be carried into captivity. By what Indians the act was committed, is only conjecture; some northern Indians were seen to march through the back settlements of Virginia and Maryland. It is generally thought the English were settling themselves very fast on a piece of fine hunting land belonging to the Indians, without giving them satisfaction for it, and had been warned off by them, but disregarding it, received this severe token of Indian displeasure. It is remote from the settlement of Friends, and far from my route.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO TABITHA ECROYD.*

Curles, upon James' River, in Virginia,
Twelfth month 14th, 1754.

Thou hast for some weeks been the frequent companion of my thoughts, with true nearness and strong regard for thee, and desires for thy safety, and progress on thy way toward Zion, and I found this evening an openness of heart to write to thee a salu-

* Tabitha Ecroyd was the daughter of Richard and Susanna Ecroyd, of Marsden, in Lancashire, and was born in the year 1724. She bent early to the visitations of Divine grace; many deep baptisms and conflicts of spirit were her portion; these she endured with patience, and in the twenty-sixth year of her age came forth in the ministry of the gospel, and became a diligent and faithful labourer therein. About two years after her marriage with Richard Marriott, of Mansfield, they removed to Marsden, and there she continued to reside until her death in 1786.

tation of true brotherly kindness, to encourage and caution for thy help; for though my house may not have been so with God as that of some others, I am not void of experience in the way to New Jerusalem. I consecrate the gain to God, and dedicate my strength and labour to his service, and the help of my fellow-travellers. Convinced I am, dear friend, the Lord Almighty has given thee a name in his holy household, and consecrated thee in measure to his service.

What lives upon my heart towards thee is, Keep with diligence the earnest of adoption upon thy own spirit; seek, seek incessantly, to know the inscription and mark of the family clear and evident upon thee. It is at times written and imprinted in characters so evident, that ourselves, and even by-standers, may easily perceive it; this affluence, in an unguarded heart, produces ease and relaxation of spirit; then is the time Lucifer arises, and whispers to the soul that dangerous doctrine, Once in grace, ever in grace; and, Soul, take thy rest; the Lord thy God hath dealt bountifully with thee. By this means daily care for living bread ceases, and the remembrance of former bread becomes the sole sustenance of the soul, and even that in process of time becomes less cared for, another support having been chosen. Under the law, many animals were deemed clean who chewed the cud; but when the victuals have been received in gross, and by the power of revulsion, brought a second time upon the palate, and chewed, they turn to nourishment, but are never again to be eaten as food, but fresh must be sought for, or death soon ensues. Oh! therefore, cleave to the Feeder of his people; receive what he hands forth; there is a blessing in it, though it be the bread and water of affliction; low, painful times are often strongly and blessedly helpful, and produce a careful search and holy inquiry. If the precious piece of money be lost, to sweep the house clean, by the searching power, has often, nay always, been attended with success, as the only method of finding it again. In these purified hearts, the word of the Lord God will grow, and the plant of renown will shoot vigorously, and spread over the wall, and the branches thereof spread to the ministry of the Word to others. That lamentable dwarfishness which attends some, is, I am persuaded, much owing to the want of proper cultivation, and deep labour for spiritual sonship; for the Lord, our holy head, would have his children resemble himself in beauty, and their faces like those of the sons of princes of the immortal family. His voice is heard distinctly—the cry—the what—the when—are all intelligible to these souls; their ears are quick of understanding,

and their hearts prompt to knowledge. If heavenly favour be their covering, their safe dwelling is in ashes; if tossing and low times attend, the Lord is the stability of their salvation; if snares and temptations attend, they hear the ancient call, “Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.” Oh my friend, beloved, in and for the Truth, that thy lot may be in this safe enclosure of the walls of salvation, and I am satisfied in heart that the Lord would make thee an instrument of good in his hand. Do thou cleave in soul to him, and if he should put thee seemingly up, and lay by from service in public, quietly bear the dispensation of his providence; awake not thy beloved until he please. The Lord of all mercy preserve thee chaste to himself; guard thee from incumbrances of every kind, that he alone may be the object in thy view—thy morning light, and evening song. Amen, Amen saith my soul, for thee, myself, and all his visited, the world over.

I have travelled very closely, being preserved in my health admirably. I have not been on shore twelve weeks but have travelled above twelve hundred miles, and have had near seventy public meetings. A lively remnant remains in this land, principally of the rising generation, and advancing towards middle life; many of the elders are dead, and some, though alive in the body, are dead to God in the sense of Truth. I have often been deeply baptized into distress and suffering on their account, but with a soul covered with deep reverence before all-sufficient Help. I have to say his powerful hand has been wonderfully made bare, and his word has been as a fire in the Mount of Esau, dreadfully alarming to the forgetful and obdurate; holy balsam to the wounded has been near; remember it, O my soul, with trembling!

Accept, dear friend, this salutation in good part; it is the language of a soul solicitous in a strong, secret manner, for thy welfare.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SUSANNA FOTHERGILL TO HER HUSBAND.

Warrington, First month 12th, 1755.

..... It gave both me and thy friends great satisfaction to hear of thy safe arrival and good health, and of the regard of heavenly protection and help, and thy evidence of peace was more than all; indeed, I did not doubt but Divine Providence, who was pleased to call thee from thy native land in his service, would be near to thee, and be thy support and strength in every needful time. My spirit is often with thee, and my soul often bows in reverent thankfulness to the Fountain of all our mercies, on

thy account, and likewise on my own; having with humble thankfulness to say, he has helped me hitherto, and hath renewed my strength. He has, at times, lifted up his countenance upon me, and replenished my soul with his goodness, so that I have no cause to murmur or repine, nor ever have since our separation; being made sensible that it was the will of Providence; and he has been pleased to endow me with strength freely to resign thee, believing that he that called thee from me, could in his own time restore thee to me again, and so has he been pleased to stay my mind on him. I have had great peace of mind, and a secret belief that he would be thy guide and support, and conduct thee safely on thy journey.

..... Be not in haste, wherever thou comes; do not let any place slip that thou mayest have the least glimpse of service in, be it ever so small, or whether in meetings or families; deliberate and wait, to know whether there be not something required, and if thou find anything left short, where thou hast been, it is better to return to the place and finish the work. I hope and believe Providence will be with thee, and be thy guide.

SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Charleston, South Carolina, Second month 13th, 1755.

Since I came from Wain-oak, I have visited all the residue of Virginia and North Carolina, and late last night arrived here, and have had a meeting here this day, amongst a poor miserable handful of professors, and believe I must visit all their families before I can easily leave the place. I expect to be in Georgia, one hundred and fifty miles south of this place, some time next week, and then return northwards, eight hundred miles, upon a line, without much stop, except seven meetings which I left as I came southwards.

The winter hereaway has been remarkably pleasant; the principal inconvenience has been the heats we have met with; sometimes in the last month ourselves and horses were obliged to lay by for some hours in the middle of the day, to avoid the excessive heats. On the 29th of last month, we were overtaken in the evening by a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, and were lost in the woods. With much difficulty we got a fire made, and stood round it in the most violent rain until almost midnight, when some dogs at a plantation directed us to it, by their barking at our fire, and the howling of the wolves about us.

On the 2nd instant, after a ride of fifty

miles, we were obliged to lie in the woods all night, and though the scene was unusual and the night pretty cold, I do not find I have got any cold, or am any way disordered by it, being fully sensible—Sufficient is the day for the evil thereof.

I am humbly thankful to the Lord Almighty for all his mercies, amongst which, I esteem it a singular one to be enabled patiently to bear a separation from thee, which at first seemed like a most painful division; and although no time of our being united together has passed in which thou wast dearer to me, or my affections stronger than at this time, yet I am comfortably easy, in hopes we may afresh be favoured with a personal reunion. May the Shepherd of Israel be our keeper, and his everlasting dew rest long upon our branches.

My companion, Israel Pemberton, is agreeable and helpful in various respects, and hope he will receive some profit from this journey.

I have this day had a large, good meeting, to my satisfaction; but the meeting-house being small, was inconvenient. Most of the principal inhabitants attended, and I expect the use of the Baptist meeting-house on first-day evening, to take leave of the inhabitants of this place, who have given general instances of their regard.

George Whitefield passed through this town a few days ago, for Georgia, having travelled very hard from Philadelphia, to get to his flock before we came amongst them.

I have now travelled two thousand five hundred and fifty miles, upon the continent of America; of which, one horse has carried me one thousand seven hundred and fifty; he is an excellent creature, and providentially put into my hands by a friend near Philadelphia. He cost me about five pounds sterling; he travels with great ease and safety, and sometimes, like his master, with hard fare, and sometimes none at all, but we both jog on contentedly. I intend him to rest here until my return from Georgia.

The state of the church is generally low, and exceedingly so in this place; there is very little of the form, and much less of the power of Truth amongst them. My heart has been bowed into strong concern, and close labour for and with them, and hope for some little reviving of secret care in particular; but alas, many seem awakened for a time, and sink afresh into lukewarmness.

Second-day morning, Second month, 17th.

Yesterday is comfortably passed over; the Baptist meeting-house was lent to us, and we had a large, crowded meeting, to memorable

satisfaction, the ancient Helper vouchsafing to appear as mouth and wisdom: to him be all glory ascribed. SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Charleston, Second month 26th, 1755.

I wrote to thee from this place about twelve days ago, since which I have been in Georgia, and returned hither last night; having continued cause of humble acknowledgments to the Father of all mercies, for his support every way. I have now been to the extent of my visit southward, being one hundred and twenty miles further than any Friend hath travelled on religious account, and am setting my face northwards. I propose another public meeting in this place to-morrow, and then to leave.

We have been much favoured with fine weather, and have excellent roads; the heat has been rather troublesome, but not so much as to be very inconvenient. Our road is through woods which are nearly always green, being almost covered with myrtle, laurel, and bay trees, which makes me often forget the time of the year; none of the symptoms of our winters are here to be seen.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

MARY PEISLEY TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Wrightstown, (in America,) Second month 27th, 1755.

The freedom and candour of thy very acceptable favour, has had the happy tendency to set me upon the strictest examination of myself which my deceitful heart was capable of; a task to which it was much disposed before the receipt of thine it, being a season of emptying and cleansing: a state and dispensation, which I pray with my whole heart that neither thou nor I may ever get above, and especially when we are much engaged in our Master's work; for it seems to me next to impossible that we should escape some little spots and stains: though we may be ever so careful of our clothing, and wrap it ever so closely about us; it will get a little soiled, by being used every day. I am sure mine does so, and if I should hinder my Master from stripping it off, and washing both it and me, I should ere now have made but a very mean appearance in the sight of Him who sees through every false covering, the veil of flesh and all its seeming excellencies; beholding no beauty nor comeliness in any thing that is not derived from himself, who is the only unmixed fountain of light and purity. And what does it signify, my dear friend, if we appear naked and empty in the view of

a set of mortals, who are unacquainted with the Lord's ways and doings? I think I have beheld in his light, and been informed by the instruction of his pure Spirit, that I have never been more amiable in his sight, nor attracted a greater degree of his love, than when my spirit has been quite unclothed, not only of my own righteousness, but also of the rich jewels of his grace, and wandered about as in sheep skins and goat skins, destitute, afflicted, tormented, in a spiritual as well as a natural sense; nor have I ever had such near fellowship with the martyrs, apostles, and fellow-sufferers of Christ, as in this state.

MARY PEISLEY.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO CATHARINE PAYTON.

East Nottingham, Fourth month 10th, 1755.

I have often, and with true sympathy and nearness, had thee in my remembrance since we parted, and though I have been so situated as to be disqualified from much correspondence, my hands being pretty full of labour, yet the various steps I had to tread, in which I often found thine and thy dear companion's footsteps secretly united in an inward inexpressible manner, and I found both strength and comfort in suffering with those who were baptized for the dead. And indeed we may say, *Good* is the word of the Lord, in all its manifestations, and a tried buckler to the soul which is bowed, to keep its rank in the battle, within or without, or both; it is often our place to know it as a word requiring to be kept in reverend patience, as with our mouths in the dust, and in deep emptiness and poverty. Such has been my lot, and the best preparation for strength and nourishment, in measure according to the will of God. I have not forgotten thee, my friend and sister, in the faith and patience of the gospel of Christ; the spreading of fraternal affection in Christ, our holy head, hath often reached towards thee, through invisible channels, with strong desires and secret hope, that the arm of holy kindness will sustain, and the rod and staff of the God of Jacob will be revealed to us both, to guide in the midst of the paths of judgment. I have found the rod often necessary for my instruction in righteousness; and it is with reverence I have to acknowledge there is a love in my heart to the *chastening hand*, which, perhaps, my own folly may make more necessary for me than some other more dutiful and watchful children of his house. Enable me, O Father, to sing of thy mercies and judgment all the days of my appointed time.

I have travelled with diligence since I saw

thee; I left South Carolina easy and cheerful, having done what seemed my duty. I thought, before I reached Charleston, that I should visit the adjacent islands, but found a prohibition, though they invited me; they seem desirous the testimony should be exalted by others, but will not lend a hand, but according to the extent of their influence seem to me to pull down. S—— having thrown, voluntarily, his children out of the Society, I had true peace in plain dealing with them, and the other libertine professors in that place.

By a letter from Lydia Lancaster, I have a good account of Isaac Wilson, being a true born son into the ministry, and likely to become serviceable in it.

I desire, as for myself, thy preservation and stability in the truth of God, and I cannot doubt, all-sufficiency will be near, as a fountain at times unsealed, if we fail not in suitable inward watchfulness, and are kept from repining at times of searching and sifting, or from being wanton when the fulness of the house may be our portion. Wisdom will lead in the middle of the paths of judgment; and if we love her discipline, she will cause us to inherit substance.

The affectionate friendship which thine breathes is, with me, reciprocal, and so it has been ever since our first acquaintance suggested the most cordial desires for thy solid prosperity, of which I have the strongest hopes.

I salute thee in the union of a friendship which is founded deeper than nature, and remains fixed beyond dissolution. Thy sincere friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Philadelphia, Fourth month 15th, 1755.

Through the continued protection of the God of all strength and sure mercy, I have to inform thee of my safe return in good health, to this place, where I am arrived, after a journey of three thousand miles, in about twenty-four weeks, in which I passed through the remote mountainous parts of this province and Virginia, and came down and travelled through that province, North and South Carolina, and to Georgia.

When we left Charleston we had near four hundred and fifty miles to ride to the next settlement of Friends, through a country little inhabited, and in which accommodations were scarce enough, though we made shift to get into some cabin or other at nights, but had not my clothes off for several nights successively, or any thing at times to lie down upon but a bear skin or boards; but sufficient was the day for the evil thereof. I was

favoured with a state of perfect good health, and a quiet, patient acquiescence with my lot, having renewed reason to believe I was where I ought to be. It is with a humble, thankful heart I review the difficulties and jeopardies which have attended, and through which gracious protection hath sustained me; record it, O my soul, in thine annals, to be often perused to thy humiliation. I returned through Virginia to the western shore of Maryland, and visited the meetings thereaway; which was made a time of renewed visitation to many, and solid comfort in honest labour to myself. On the 5th instant, I crossed the great river Susquehanna, and came to the habitation of dear John Churchman, where I met with a kind and affectionate reception.

I found not much time for respite, and visited several meetings in that neighbourhood, in which I had his and his valuable wife's good company, to our mutual satisfaction.

The instances of mortality thou mentions are affecting and instructive hints to us, who, for a short time survive, that we forget not that we also are strangers here, and are hastily advancing to an unchangeable state.

The situation of affairs here occasions much discourse and tossing, amongst those people who know not the foundation which stands sure. A considerable number of the Indians have come down hither, to remain until the hurries are over; the vessels of the earth seem smiting one against another; but I am not dismayed by any appearance of danger, nor drawn from my quiet habitation, in the power of endless strength, to meddle at all, otherwise than as I am often led to point out the only refuge and hiding place which will protect, and labour to gather the people's minds out of that which is wavering and unstable, to the stability of the salvation of God.

I propose in a few days leaving this place and going down to New England, and the parts adjacent, which I expect will take about five months' moderate labour. As the weather comes on warm I must relax my bow a little, and travel with more indulgence to my body, and thou may assure thyself I will endeavour to preserve a being to which thou hast so great and just a claim: the temperate season, the goodness of the roads, the meanness and and scarcity of accommodations, have obliged me to travel hard this season; but as there is a total alteration in those respects, the weather coming on hot, the roads worse, accommodations good, and meetings more frequent in my way, I shall travel with more leisure than hitherto.

My good old faithful servant, who carried me about two thousand four hundred miles,

at last failed me; I have left him behind me in Virginia, and yet hope some more good service from him; he travelled well and very easy, and never failed until he was reduced to short allowance of food, and sometimes, poor creature, none at all, unless I gave him my Indian bread, which my own stomach wanted very much. I was obliged to leave him; I had the pleasure of doing it in good, careful hands, and bought another, which I hope will perform well. My expenses have run very high, though I have been as frugal as the nature of my journey would admit of; but being obliged to hire guides, at a very great expense, through the wilderness country, with various other daily expenses, have made it absolutely necessary to spend a deal of money.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER
JOHN.

Philadelphia, Fourth month 17th, 1755.

Though we are outwardly far separated, yet as it is for a cause dear to us both, and may it ever continue so, the secret, invisible tie of all the family has not failed of its wonted influence to unite in that which is stronger than nature; in the renewing of this hidden virtue, I nearly and affectionately salute thee; earnestly desiring we may redouble our diligence in humble walking before Him who hath mercifully cared for us, hath followed us from our tender years, in mercy and judgment, and been more to us than we could ask or expect. When I consider how many of our contemporaries, descended from worthy ancestors, have been cast aside, and we yet remain, monuments of mercy, and under the blessed notice of the Lord Almighty, and enabled in our measures and gifts to build up his Zion, my spirit is deeply bowed, in humble, reverent admiration, and a request raised for strength to step rightly forward. And as it is his own arm which has wrought for us hitherto, and not our own, O that we might be more and more devoted to his service, and careful to watch every turning of his hand, in coming faithfully up in our very reasonable service. Difficult it is, dear brother, to keep our robes so clean as to stand with approbation in his sight, who charges his angels with folly; but he is all-sufficient in strength; and, as we steadfastly eye him, not allowing the transient glare of this world's goods to ensnare, he will clothe us with the white linen of saints; a better covering here, and at an approaching hour, than all the friendships, honours, and splendours below can ever furnish. Thy affectionate care for my health, and prudent cautions against too much hurry,

are marks of a regard which shall not be extended to a person deaf to advice; I find their force and truth, and assure thyself they have that weight with me thou desires. I have found great advantage to myself, and some service to others, in the families of Friends, from spending the evenings in such a manner as is consistent with the end of my journey into these parts.

While the weather was cool or temperate, I travelled with great diligence, yet left no place until I had carefully examined whether my business was finished; and yet believe I must return to a quarterly meeting in Virginia, before I leave this country; but the time is not yet.

I have now paid a very general visit to Friends in Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and some of the remoter parts of this province; in which I have been mercifully favoured with good health, not being at all hindered by any indisposition of body; nor in the whole journey of four thousand miles, lost half a day by bad weather, nor suffered by travelling in it. Our accommodations have been such as we could dispense with, much better, I often thought, than our worthy predecessors in the same labour could possibly have. And although many painful, pinching times have fallen to my lot, yet the gracious spring of sure help hath been often unsealed, and access vouchsafed to the renewing of humble trust in his all-sufficiency, on which, whoever have carefully leaned, have never been left totally destitute.

I am disqualified to give thee any information of the state of affairs in relation to the wars; it is not my business, and have found it my concern to deny my curiosity in inquiring after news, or hearing anything about it. I have found great peace in my endeavours by example and precept, to draw Friends' minds to their own warfare—that as our hands cannot be active [in outward war], so our minds cannot be embroiled [in it], consistently with our testimony. Here are several of the chiefs of the Delawares come down to brighten the chain.

Friends here are very kind, in their frequent invitations to stay and rest a while; but a succession of visitants from morning to evening deprives me of time to converse with those I have a nearer regard for, and subjects me to more fatigue than even daily travelling, for then I am comfortably solitary, and often renew my strength.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ELLEN EVANS.

Fourth month 18th, 1755.

Had opportunity allowed, I should, long ere this, have acknowledged the receipt of thy

affectionate lines, though it is not easy to express that uniting virtue which cements the family together, and brings them suddenly into an acquaintance and nearness of spirit that requires not the ceremonies of the world's friendship to introduce nor its arts to maintain. I have often been comforted in times of discouragement, with this mark of having passed from death unto life, that I love the brethren. I feel its prevalence at this time, and in it salute thee, thy dear husband and children, with fervent desires that he who hath been your morning light and help hitherto, may be your staff to lean upon, beloved ancients in Israel, in this your decline of natural strength, so as to fill up the station allotted you in the Church of Christ; few are the ancients left, to whom the middle aged and rising youth can look with advantage! The Lord of heaven and earth hath gathered many to himself; the world, in its various appearances, hath slain many others; and some, who are not yet dead, have their garments so covered with dust, and spotted with defiling things, that they are not fit to be looked upon, nor their footsteps to be inquired after. But happy is the state of those advanced to old age, whose conduct proclaims they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but have been made living witnesses of the power and coming of Christ! These have been powerful inducements to me to bow my heart in holy awe, from childhood to this day, (I mean with respect to outward means,) and I am thankful to the great preserver of men, that there are such here and there to be found; and, though painful baptisms for Zion's sake may attend, in viewing the backslidings of many, yet ability is given, at times, to appeal with reverend confidence to the searcher of hearts; "Thou knowest how I have walked before thee!" I trust this will be your crown of rejoicing, in an hour approaching, which I could wish very remote from you, except that the laws of nature proclaim it to be near.

The same love and hearty well-wishing attend your offspring! May they so acquaint themselves with the God of their parents, as to stand in their lots, and be found worthy to have their names appear in the register of the Lamb's army! Beloved young friends, suffer the advice of one that loves you, though outwardly a stranger, to have place in your minds. The experience of many years has taught me that godliness is profitable for all things, and that real happiness is known in proportion to the progress of it in our hearts. If you look around among your cotemporaries, you will find it a sealed truth, and unspeakably comfortable to this wise number, who have sought with unwearied diligence the kingdom of God, first in time, as it is first in

value. How beautiful upon the mountains have been the feet of these! and how strong the voice with which their conduct has proclaimed good tidings! Salvation hath been their portion, and peace their safe refuge. They have been qualified to maintain their testimony, and earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. Where began these? In the immediate operation of the power of Truth in their hearts, in a humble waiting and resignation to the Divine will, not making haste from under the refining hand. All who have known an advancement in true godliness have begun upon this foundation: upon this low ground, but sure foundation, your worthy parents began, and built with success, and now know how precious it is in advanced life. The dew of the everlasting hills, and a sufficient share of the fatness of the earth, are the portion of every soul, which, above all other considerations, seeks the Lord in truth and sincerity. O, saith my soul, may there be such a heart in you as to fear the Lord Almighty, and keep his commandments always, that it may be well with you and your children. Thus my spirit salutes you, dear youth, in the spreading of concern for your good; that you may, by means of heavenly help, be made truly happy in yourselves, a comfort to your aged parents, and useful to your brethren in the Church of Christ.

I have travelled with much diligence, according to the ability given, and have had my experience enlarged in rejoicing and suffering; the last has been often my lot, but I dare not repine; to be what I ought is my only aim, and best Wisdom knows the method to make me so; in his will I humbly acquiesce.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Ellen Evans was the wife of John Evans: he as a minister, and she in the office of elder, were both valuable members of the monthly meeting of Gwynedd, in Pennsylvania. He was born in Denbighshire, and in the year 1698 removed with his parents to Pennsylvania. In the twenty-third year of his age he appeared in the ministry of the Gospel; he was deeply learned in heavenly truths, and plain in declaring them. He was a zealous promoter of visiting Friends in their families, and often engaged therein, and his labours were awakening and useful. He travelled through most of the American provinces, and having served God in his generation, he departed in the ninth month, 1756.

Ellen Evans was born near Dolgelly, in 1685, and removed to America when very young. She had a good understanding, which being enriched and sanctified by Divine grace, soon distinguished her as one seeking heavenly

treasure, and she became an honourable member of Society.

She was exemplary in her family, and remarkable for piety and industry; rising early in the morning, and encouraging others to do so; often observing, that those who rose late lost the youthful beauty of the day, and wasted its most precious part; that the sun was the candle of the world, which called upon us to arise and diligently apply to our several duties. Except on meeting days, it was her practice to retire about noon, with the Bible or some religious book, and spend a portion of her time alone, often to her great refreshment. She frequently assembled her family in the evenings to read the Holy Scriptures, with which, as well as with the writings of Friends, she was thoroughly acquainted.

She died on the 29th of fourth month, 1765, aged eighty years.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

New York, Fifth month 9th, 1755.

I have continued cause to acknowledge the kindness of Providence, in preserving my health and ability to labour in his service; although it is very hard and close work which falls to my portion, yet I endeavour after quiet contentment in my lot, and all my desires centre in this point, that His heavenly presence, who is my light and my strength, may accompany, and then all will be right and well; and I may acknowledge, with reverence, His hand has wonderfully supplied and opened in all wisdom and counsel, to the help of the faithful, and the rousing up of the careless and forgetful, and staying my mind upon Him who is the companion and help of his own afflicted seed. Oh may we both so dwell with and walk before him, as ever to know him at our right hand, that we may not be moved in any of the disquietudes and tossings that this world produces.

I closed my last under much concern on sister Ann's account; several circumstances had created in my mind a persuasion that she has finished her course, and if it be so, I make no doubt but she has a residence beyond the reach of pain and sorrow for ever. The ties of nature are strong; the removal of so near relations afflicting; the apprehension of it, and my own exercise for the church, have been very heavy upon me for some weeks past.

We had a large, good meeting in this city last evening, much to my ease, and I am preparing to go to Long Island.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Flushing, (Long Island,) Fifth month 26th, 1755.

Although a constant series of employment hath prevented my testifying my affectionate remembrance of thee and thy dear spouse and children, yet I can with great truth assure thee, you have been very frequently the companions of my thoughts; and though unfitted at present, by deep poverty and leanness, for any beneficial correspondence, I cannot dismiss my dear and worthy companion, thy brother John, without some token of affectionate regard, which, I flatter myself, is from the dictates of pure friendship, which I often feel is reciprocal.

I have been led, since we parted, into frequent and deep suffering, in the view and feeling sense of the suffering state of the church all along, which sits in the dust, and has on her mourning weeds, although there are a few who have kept their garments clean; but the lamentable defection of those who would be thought the head, but are the tail—I mean the more advanced in years, profession and station amongst the people—gives a painful prospect. And as it is hard to lift up a hand against gray hairs, my progress has been more difficult and afflicting than I can express. However, I have to acknowledge with reverence, heavenly assistance has been at times helpfully near, to my full discharge and ease in my painful labour, though I believe I must traverse a second time some steps I have already trod.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Newport, Rhode Island, Sixth month 5th, 1755.

..... I have been sustained to travel and labour with diligence, and to my secret comfort and ease in most places; but the work is very laborious, having not only the burthen of the state of the churches at times upon me, with respect to the work of the ministry, but the revival of discipline, too much neglected by many of those who seem most active for truth's service, and opposed by a ranting spirit, which hates discipline, and represents it as a lording over one another's faith. In both respects, I have been concerned to labour closely, and to some service. I have performed a general visit to Long Island, and some parts of the continent belonging to that province, and was at their yearly meeting, held at Flushing, which was very large and satisfactory, through faithful, awakening labour, to the careless and worldly minded. I then visited some part of Long Island, and travelled to this place, one hundred and eighty miles, where I came last

night. The extreme heat of the weather, with my large crowded meetings, are weakening to my natural strength, but all-sufficiency is graciously near, for help in all respects, and in that my confidence stands. I have had a large open meeting here this day, and propose, after attending some adjacent, to return to the yearly meeting here, I suppose the largest in one meeting-house in the world.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

WILLIAM LOGAN* TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

Stenton, near Philadelphia,
Sixth month 10th, 1755.

..... My worthy friend, thy good husband, with whom I have travelled thirteen weeks, had several meetings among the Presbyterians at Boston, Marblehead, Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and at Jamaica, on Long Island, which were very large, and to his and the people's satisfaction, being as eminently favoured, if not more so, amongst this people than any other; and I am fully persuaded his labours of love will never be forgotten by some of them, especially at Boston and Portsmouth; and should he ever find a concern to return to those parts, I believe it will be on account of those people, and not those of our Society; but, as I have said, he thinks himself clear of them, and is perfectly easy.

He set out, immediately after our yearly meeting was over, for Nottingham, in company with John Churchman, to attend a large meeting held there once a-year, and then intends for Cecil and some other meetings in and near Maryland, proposing to return to our quarterly meeting about six weeks hence.

I am heartily thankful I was favoured to be

* William Logan was a man of some note in Pennsylvania; he was for several years a member of the Assembly of the province. His father, James Logan, went from England with William Penn, and for many years took a large share in public affairs, and filled several important offices, being Secretary of the province, Commissioner of Property, Chief Justice, and for two years governed the province as President of the Council. A number of years before his death, which took place in 1751, at the age of seventy-seven, he retired from public life, and spent his time principally at Stenton, his country seat, where he occupied himself in literary pursuits, and in correspondence with many of the principal literati of Europe. He was well versed both in ancient and modern learning, a master of the Greek, Latin, French, and Italian languages, and acquainted with several of the Oriental tongues. He was well skilled in Mathematics and in Natural Philosophy. He wrote several treatises in Latin, one of which was translated by Dr. Fothergill. To the people of Pennsylvania he made a munificent bequest of a most valuable library which he had been fifty years in collecting; it has since been called, The Loganian Library.

his companion, and hope I retain a due sense and remembrance of the many seasonable and weighty advices given from time to time, together with the refreshing seasons at some of the meetings, and should be pleased I could say they were more generally satisfactory; but truth is, I think, but at a low ebb in those parts, especially amongst the elders and those of the most advanced years—great deadness and barrenness appearing amongst them in most places, which has caused some hard, affecting service to thy good husband. The youth have a more promising aspect, and seem to be sensible of the declension of the church, and zealous for restoring her primitive beauty, which is cause of joy to the humble in heart, and those that are anxious on that account.

WILLIAM LOGAN.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO DOCTOR FOTHERGILL.

Newport, Rhode Island, Sixth month 13th, 1755.

..... I have continued cause of thankfulness to the Almighty hand, who hath wonderfully supported me every way, and hath been pleased to favour the opening of their large yearly meeting, this day, in a most glorious helpful manner, and brought the deepest reverence upon my soul, and tears of joy and comfort from those few elders amongst them, who rightly remember our father and his God. Oh that I may never forget His mercies, which are sure, even to his children's children!

The yearly meeting begins at Nantucket this day two weeks, and I believe I may take in their course most of the quarterly meetings in New England, which I am desirous of doing, as their discipline is much neglected, and the revival thereof is no small part of my concern and labour.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEISLEY AND CATHARINE PAYTON.

Ponygansett, Sixth month 22nd, 1755.

In the renewings of that hidden sympathy and nearness, which truth itself gives those that diligently abide in it, to feel with and for one another, I affectionately salute you, who are at this time, and many others, as epistles written in my heart, and helps in my way forward; with earnest supplication to the Lord, our alone Helper, that he who hath been our Alpha, and mercifully regarded us, even beyond many of our cotemporaries, for our health and salvation, and who hath given the earnest in measure of the promised inheritance, may ever be the single object of honour and pure worship in our eyes, that thereby

strength may be known to bear up and sustain our souls in travail and baptisms, many others are strangers to ; for few are the footsteps, of this age at least, that can be discerned in the path, a little remnant—of which you are and I long to be—are travelling in, which is cast up of God, and leads to that peaceful Omega, where the weary enjoy peace without interruption. I have nothing to write of the goodness, sure mercy, and salvation of God, which you know not already, and are stepping in the line which enlarges experience ; but I wanted to give you an assurance of my most affectionate feeling with you, and for you ; and it hath been a comfortable consideration to me, in many secretly pained hours, that I have one mark of passing from death to life, in that I truly love the brotherhood.

Perhaps by this time you may have pretty nearly visited all the meetings in this part of the world, and may be judged by many, consequently ready to leave it, and return home. I have just a freedom to say, “Stand still, look about you closely ;” I believe you went not into the business unrequired ; but leave not hastily any little service that may spread with a degree of permission, liberty and openness. Although absolute necessity does not at present attend it, the heavenly Master may yet prove the quickness of your attention by a low voice, on your faithfulness to which, your peace may much depend. I leave the hint, and very likely it may be needless.

I crave for you, as for myself, the blessing of a peaceful, safe return to your native shore, and the plenteous reward of peace ; if it be not largely distributed, but kept in the Master's hand, it is, nevertheless, sure, and will be handed to you in wise and suitable times and portions.

I should be glad of a farewell epistle, if freedom and convenience admit ; my heart will nearly sympathize with you, when on the mighty waves ; and may your remembrance be of me, and prayers for me, that my goings may be established in the precarious passage through the remainder of my labours in this part of the world.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Ponygansett, Sixth month 23rd, 1755.

I have continued cause of humble thankfulness to the ever blessed Helper, for his support vouchsafed from day to day, proportioning strength to the time and trial inwardly and outwardly. Yet many are the painful seasons I have passed, on account of the general state of the church, which have issued in more proper qualification to labour for the help and regulation of things amongst us.

Long Island was a laborious place, for little present earnings. We went by water from Setawket to Seabrook, twenty-two leagues in one day ; and then to Newport. The yearly meeting was large and well, being a fresh visitation to many there, of all ranks, especially the youth. I found some engagement to attend my mind respecting the discipline ; and got some queries prepared and transmitted to the quarterly, monthly, and preparative meetings, to be answered in the subordinate meetings, and to the yearly meeting. Another set of queries were sent to be read, considered, and answered, in all the meetings for ministers and elders ; and answered to their yearly meeting of ministers and elders. I was concerned to recommend the like to the women Friends, who also accepted my labour therein, and sent down a few queries relative more immediately to their own conduct, to the several women's meetings. I know not what advantage may redound to the church, but it brought me great peace, in the sense of a discharge of my duty, in this labour for the revival of that discipline which Divine wisdom placed as a hedge about his vineyard, when he planted it in the morning of our day.

Great is the work the Lord our God has begun, and is carrying on in the earth, for the promotion of his own glory ; and, indeed, few are the faithful labourers in his harvest ; though there are knees bowed before the Holy One of Israel, who have not bowed to Baal, who will in due time be brought forth into the field, and strengthened to labour successfully in the church of Christ. I think I see such a remnant lying almost out of sight in some parts of America, by and in whom God will arise and get himself a name. Unwearied are Satan's endeavours to hurt the service of such, and render the beginnings of the work upon them useless to themselves and others.

I have often, dear Israel, remembered thee in a distinguished manner ; being sensible the Lord of all power and wisdom would clothe with eminent qualifications for his service, in this thy day, in which the church has on her sable weeds, and her priests are in bitterness. He who is the giver of every excellent gift, hath endowed thee beyond many of thy contemporaries, and I know he would bless thee in them to his own service and thy peace. The meekness of the lamb, the humility and abasedness of a disciple, add strength, beauty, and true weight to all labour in the church of Christ. Oh that thy spirit might be more and more seasoned and bowed with and by that power which alone sanctifies our all to God, and doeth his work and service. I have seen thee, dear friend, in the hidden conflict, and the struggle between the two opposite

powers, and have sympathized with and for thee, when thou hast been bruised and hurt by the prevalence of that which stands as an armed man in thy way to rest. I am sensible of thy secret bemoaning at times, when loss hath been sustained, and the renewal of holy reaches for thy help and recovery; I earnestly wish for thee as well as for myself, the thorough subjection of all within us to that abasing, humbling hand, who prepares instruments for his service from the dust of Zion, and ordains praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings. In the spreading of tender love, I could lay my hands under thy feet, if necessary, that thou might receive strength to reign in the Lamb's dominion, over all which diminishes that excellent service thou might grow up in, for the revival and strengthening of the Lord's cause in thy generation.

..... Accept, dear friend, this salutation, the fruits of love unfeigned, in good part.

From thy assured friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Nantucket, Sixth month 27th, 1755.

It is Truth which strengthens the nearest union, and renders it truly near and comfortable one to another; and in the living, holy sense thereof, I most tenderly and affectionately salute thee. I am still helped to labour with such a degree of strength as to feel the reward of true peace, that my heart is bowed in holy thanksgiving to the all-sufficient Helper for the support of his ancient arm, and humbly encouraged to trust in him when more pinching times are permitted to attend. I have made some advances in my experience to know what it is to want, and what it is to abound, for I never knew more of baptisms for the dead, nor the glorious arising of the mighty power of God, in all wisdom, strength and counsel, than this journey has given me to feel: the gain of all be consecrated to him, who is ever worthy.

I found in Newport, on Rhode Island, a valuable number of relations, the children of my father's sister, some of whom are deeply solid Friends, to whom I was united in the hidden covenant of spiritual kindred, and strongly hope for their preservation in the way of truth and righteousness. My uncle is still living, an innocent, good old man.*

We were eminently favoured with the Divine presence, in the whole course of that great yearly meeting at Newport; and a large share of labour fell to my lot, both in ministry, and endeavouring to restore discipline, which, with respect to its usefulness, was

nearly lost amongst them. The Lord enabled me to labour with success, and queries were prepared and sent down into the quarterly meetings of ministers and elders, with directions to establish monthly meetings of the same nature; and other queries to the monthly and quarterly meetings; also queries for the women's use, as in England, all which fell to my lot to draw up; also an epistle to the several meetings of ministers and elders in the province; that it was a time of close labour to me, and took up some hours of the time I ought to have slept. But all is well; the great Name is spreading itself afresh to an unfaithful people, with merciful extending of holy help; he will be clear, and enable his servants to be clear, and to stand in their lot at the end of days, as they abide faithful.

On the 18th instant I left Newport, and had meetings at Accoaxet, Accushanet, Rochester, Newtown, and two very large meetings at Aponyganset; two days we were upon the waters, coming hither, where we arrived well. I was more sick in coming these twenty-five leagues, than one thousand one hundred from the Land's end of England to the Capes of Delaware. The yearly meeting, begun here yesterday, was large, but a hard, shut up meeting, as most I have been at in America.

I expect to be upon the main again next week; and I believe it must be my lot to visit all the quarterly meetings in New England, in order further to direct the use of the queries sent down. This will cause a considerable increase of bodily labour; but to be found faithful, just and true, in the measure of the gospel labour committed to me, is the aim and desire of my mind.

Dear John Pemberton accompanied me from Philadelphia to Flushing, on Long Island, greatly to my satisfaction: the more I know of that valuable youth, the more I love him. At Flushing, William Logan, a certain great man in the world—but his greatness is more eminent in his religious capacity—joined me, and is now my agreeable companion through New England; he is a choice friend, and had John Churchman's recommendation with him to entitle him to be my companion; and although no public minister in word and doctrine, is an exemplary preacher of righteousness in life and conversation, and of these preachers the world has great need.

Another meeting for worship hath been this day held, in which truth arose in its own dominion, and crowned our assembling with living virtue, to the help of the true-hearted, and placing the testimony of truth over all transgressors in an eminent manner: the gain of all is justly due to Him from whom all strength and ability proceed.

* John Proud.

I would gladly hope to be at Philadelphia in the ninth month next, at their yearly meeting, which I want to see; but this poor New England wants help, and the Heavenly Master hath given me great place amongst them, that I know not whether I shall be thoroughly easy, but leave it to the disposal of all-wise Providence, whose service I have more in view than any other consideration.

I affectionately sympathize with poor E. T., in the loss of her daughter, yet believe she is removed in mercy, whilst measurably innocent. I have had, since I left home, that young woman often in my thoughts, and was not sorry when I heard of her removal, though it might be a stroke severe enough upon a natural parent, and more than they know well how to bear; to see their beloved offspring torn away must make their hearts bleed for them, and for their loss; yet Infinite Wisdom hath sometimes prevented a greater affliction, by administering one that is easier. I therefore hope dear Esther, whom I nearly remember, will patiently acquiesce in the present dispensation, under this certain sense, that high, heavenly, and wise is He who hath been pleased to strip her to the one band, who hath heretofore rejoiced in many. My dear love is to her; and O that her son Abraham may consider the obligation he is under to mitigate her pain, by every instance of dutiful regard, that she may find some relief from painful distress in him. But if even this fail, Truth itself remains, the everlasting stay and unchangeable spring of comfort in all affliction.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Nantucket, Sixth month 28th, 1755.

Here is a very large meeting of professors upon this island, which is, with respect to its soil, a sunk bank in the sea, about fifteen miles long and three broad. The yearly meeting, finished here this day, was very large, the place considered, being more than one thousand five hundred, principally professors of truth, at meeting, and about four hundred out at sea, fishing for whales. A conviction there was formerly amongst them, and a body of good Friends remain; but as the richest part of the inhabitants embraced the principles of Truth from conviction, the others thought the expense of maintaining a priest would be too heavy for them, and have turned Quakers to save money; though I hope, even amongst them, the power of the begetting word is in degree at work, to give a surer title to the family of Christ.

There is another island, about ten leagues off, where no European Friends have hitherto

been, that I have heard of; it is called Martha's Vineyard; I cannot with ease of mind pass it by, and intend to sail for it soon after midnight, intending to have a meeting there to-morrow afternoon, and thence to the mainland of New England, and would gladly hope to be again in Philadelphia in the ninth month. I have looked about me, in every place I have left, whether I had any more service required; and though I have used great diligence, I have not made haste, but believe I must have another fatiguing journey into Virginia. My poor old horse, I am afraid, is dead; I was obliged to leave him; nature could not do more; he travelled one hundred and fifty miles with me without even having so much as a quatern of English oats; I was obliged to beg a little Indian bread for my own support, for none could I buy, and I divided it honestly between him and myself. My companion, Israel Pemberton's horse, I hear, died soon after we left them, and the departure of my poor old "Buck" was daily expected.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Whilst thus closely engaged, and deeply exercised for the cause of truth in America, he was not unmindful of his Friends at home, and from Nantucket he addressed to Friends of Penketh meeting the following epistle, which was publicly read there at the close of the meeting for worship.

EPISTLE TO FRIENDS OF PENKETH MEETING.

Nantucket, Sixth month 28th, 1755.

Dear! beloved Friends,

In the sensible renewings of that melting, humbling love, which hath often bowed my spirit and yours in reverend, holy worship, when present with you, do I affectionately salute the truly living amongst you, as present in spirit, though, for the cause of truth, far separated in body; yet, by no means less inwardly anxious for your establishment in the unchangeable truth, than when present amongst you, and engaged in labour for your help and growth into your several measures of the fulness of Christ. In which true love, my spirit hath often secretly reached towards you; and of late, with that unreserved openness, as to allow me at least a liberty to salute you with a token of love unfeigned.

First to you, my beloved friends, partakers of the heavenly calling, who have surely known him in whom you have believed, and been made witnesses of his powerful resurrection unto life; my soul is at this instant bowed, with and for you, that nothing may be admitted to weaken your hold, or diminish your following on to know him, and his work, who hath

made his voice known and his holy arm bare for your help. I have seen the snares laid in your way; the love of the world, and the indolent rest in the remembrance of former favour; together with the strong touches of heavenly help, which have been considered as marks of approbation of your present state, rather than what the Lord Almighty intended them for, even strong inducements to follow on to know him. This fatal mistake hath sometimes led the truly visited into a partial work, and centred them in a false rest; in a low, and dwarfish, weak state, subject to frequent failures and bruises, which have eclipsed and dimmed the beauty which the Lord of the heritage would have endued you with. Therefore, beloved friends, wait for and submit to the shaking, loosening power, which would lead from the unnecessary embarrassments of this world; for such are those which lead to forget God. Follow faithfully to Bethel, to Jericho, through Jordan, and to the last vision of the heavenly messenger; so shall a double portion of the Spirit rest upon you, and the name and cause of the Highest be magnified, your own treasures enlarged, and those who are behind encouraged, by your example, to diligence and steady care to possess the like durable inheritance. On the contrary, where negligence and weakness, through a worldly spirit, prevail amongst the seeming foremost ranks, it encourages in undue liberties, relaxes necessary care after their own help, and is a stumbling-block in the way of the weak, who gladly admit of these discouraging prospects, as they flatter their own negligence, and speak a language calculated to indulge them in their remissness suitably to labour for hidden treasure in their own possession. Let, therefore, the word of exhortation be received by you, to stir up to an increase in faithful obedience; ever bearing in your remembrance the loving kindness of the Lord of sure mercies, and its end, even your own establishment, and the help of others by your living example; that you, being faithful followers of him who hath entered into rest, may say to others, "Follow me, as I follow Christ."

And I am fully assured that the reverend, honest travellers amongst you, to whom my spirit is secretly united, will not be overlooked. Although they may have pensively to muse on the roll written within and without, lamentation, mourning, and wo, He who has bowed the heavens, and come down for the help of his own seed, will not turn away his holy ear from their requests, but speedily arise for their sure deliverance.

You also, my friends, who are not so sensibly united by a birth from the immortal seed to the true family, as I have often begged for

you, have a place in my remembrance, and an affectionate concern that you might be prevailed with to work while it is yet day with you, and be excited to seek after the one thing; a solemn approaching hour will convince you, that it is absolutely necessary for peace and rest forever. How long hath the gracious Hand been extended for your help! even all the day long, until the evening has drawn near, and his locks have been wet with its dews; unwilling to leave, and graciously mindful of you. Oh! that none such may survive the extending of the blessed arm of all-substantial strength, and remain in advanced life as trees twice dead, and plucked up by the roots, reserved for Tophet, prepared of old for those who forget God.

And O, that the youth amongst you, to whom even Dives's desire for his brethren, that one might be raised and sent from the dead to warn them, hath been granted, of which I am a living monument, might be roused in every heart to seek carefully after their own interest, and to study betimes those things which can alone make their lives truly comfortable, and enable them to fill up their essential duties here, and rest in peace at the solemn approaching conclusion. Whatever place it may now have with you, satisfied I am, you have been eminently favoured; and line upon line, precept upon precept, have been given, in the spreading of gathering love and mercy, which my soul craves your reverent remembrance of to your profit; for they will not fall to the ground, but remain, as profitable direction to the right-minded, or a dreadful hand-writing upon the wall against the rebellious and negligent. For thus, even now, saith the Lord Almighty, respecting the issue of his word to his visited people as of old—"As the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

O, therefore, dear young friends, be warned in time to bow in heart to this word, that you may know it to be a word of sure comfort in a day when nothing else can speak peace to the soul; and that, through its sanctifying virtue, you may be made vessels of honour in the house of God, that the labour frequently and affectionately bestowed upon you may not be in vain to any among you. I am sensible that there are good desires at times present in some of your minds; but, alas! often weakened by the hurtful things which are spread as

snare in the path of youth, and which often endanger the unwary, careless mind, and lead it into certain destruction; but there is an all-sufficient Hand, able and willing to direct and support in all perils, and to conduct steadily and safely to that desirable possession, which is reserved for those, of all ranks and of every age, who seek diligently, by faith and patience, to inherit glory.

I have, on my own account, cause of reverent worship, for the continuance of daily support, proportioned not to my deserving, but to the abundant condescension of a gracious God, who hath every way helped me, inwardly and outwardly, in this laborious service, and hath supplied with wisdom and strength to labour to some service, and my own great peace, in humble, reverent trust in his unchangeable love and help, which hath not yet failed. So that I have often, with a soul inwardly melted before the throne of grace, admired His goodness, and had to acknowledge His unutterable kindness and mercy, in engaging my heart to devote the bloom and strength of my life to his service, who is ever worthy of love, obedience, and the tribute of a devoted heart. Amen, amen.

Thus, beloved friends, the yearning of an affectionate heart reaches to you, and craves for you sure help in the way of righteousness and peace; that if I be restored again to you, there may be a sensible increase and growth; that you may be a joyful prospect to me, and that my return, if permitted, and of which I have a secret hope, may be to you in the fullness of the Gospel of peace, and not with sorrow and distress on your account.

The everlasting, holy, and unchangeable God of all comfort be near you, to strengthen that which remains alive, and should live, to support you in every difficulty, and preserve you as a well fenced and frequently watered garden, is the prayer of your true friend and well-wisher,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

During the visit of Samuel Fothergill to the island of Nantucket, his mind was much exercised on account of a difference which then, and had for a long time previously, existed amongst some Friends there; this he took much pains to remove, and after he left them he felt engaged to address to the monthly meeting the following letter:—

TO FRIENDS OF THE MONTHLY MEETING OF
SHERBORNE, NANTUCKET.

Sandwich, Seventh month 4th, 1755.

Dear Friends,

I have found so much secret travail and concern of soul, on the account of your pre-

sent circumstances, as not to allow me with true ease of mind, to dismiss the Friends who have kindly accompanied us, without a few lines of brotherly advice and counsel.

First, and principally, to those more immediately active in the government of the church, and the management of truth's affairs: let a suitable search be made, in and by what spirit you are conducted in all your services, in the meekness of wisdom, that loves and seeks the establishment one of another in the unchangeable truth, the ground and rule of all your motions and advances, that you may act for God in your day, and be happy with him at last. Is this, my friends, your chief aim in His sight, who knows all the secrets of men's hearts, and every view of the mind; or hath not rather the interposition of other things weakened some of your hands, and opened another eye than that single one to God's glory, which his true-hearted servants, both in ministry and discipline, are truly concerned to keep open; and to the head, Christ Jesus—which hath apparently diminished the beauty which, I believe, once rested in a more eminent degree upon that island than at present? O, Friends! how hath it happened? At whose door may it be laid? I fear the head hath been sick, and thence weakness and infirmity spread itself into the body, and rendered it unfit for his descent into our assemblies, who, of old, required the removal of the lepers out of his camp, as a previous step to his abiding amongst the congregation; and if the leprosy of the lowest class of the people could thus prevent Heavenly regard, what shall we not have occasion to fear, if amongst the chiefs and principal heads of the tribes any lepers be found, for such are all those whose minds the god of this world hath defiled, and led them to seek their own things, more than the things of Christ, and sometimes even at the price of the church's peace.

I am much a stranger, and desire to be so, who hath been the occasion of the present breach of union amongst you; but I am clearly and fully convinced, that had those watchmen who take that name upon them been awake, and quick of understanding in the fear of God, they might have been instrumental in preventing its spreading out into those branches that are apparent; and although I shall not make myself a judge and divider amongst you, with respect to the validity of the claim of any, yet this I am very clear in, that those who made themselves judges in their own cause, without pursuing the constant advice of Friends, to refer their claims to proper judges, mutually chosen by both parties—and in consequence thereof, turned out their cattle—made a breach of the rules prescribed by Di

vine wisdom for our Zion, and the beast of the field broke through into the Lord's vineyard: therefore, the likely way to issue this affair seems to me to restore things to the situation they were in formerly, and if any Friends think their rights abridged, to request jointly the assistance of your quarterly meeting; in the mean time, keep out of reflections and evil surmises one against another, and abide in the peaceable spirit of the Lamb, which alone will be finally victorious.

Let the establishment of the family be dear to you all; and O, that the keepers of the flock, both ministers and elders, may so watch over them as to have to say, I have lost none of those committed to my trust, but have watched over them for good, and preferred Jerusalem's welfare to my chiefest joy. My heart is pained for you, and truth amongst you; and I am strongly bowed down before the Almighty, in intercession, for a time of reviving from his own presence amongst the more aged with you, and the more active leaders, that the cause, eminently owned of God amongst you, may not perish, and you, also, in your negligence.

And oh, thou little distressed remnant, who have communication together, and are sad—the heritage that mourns to the Lord in the sense of the numbers that are slain on the high places—let thine eye be to that Alpha who was the beginner of all good, and he will be thy Omega, the author and finisher of thy faith; the companion and stay of his own seed is he, and will arise for their help.

And now, dear Friends, in the sense of best regard, my heart pleads with you; for Zion's sake, follow after peace with God, and one with another, that the God of love and peace may ever be with you; in this peace alone stands that farewell my soul craves for you all.

I am your Friend, concerned for your true help,
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Nantucket, Seventh month, 1755.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of thy acceptable letter, and although I have little to say which can recommend my writing, yet I do love to be in the way of getting good, by maintaining a correspondence with such as are capable of communicating it. I have, through continued mercy, cause of thankful acknowledgment to the gracious Hand, for his support every way hitherto; although many painful hours are to be met with, yet I am helped to be generally quiet, and this is to me a great and good attainment. Sometimes I think I can see that my commission has passed the

proper office, and got seals to it; at other times I can scarcely see either seal or commission, which, though a painful dispensation, is profitable to quicken to diligence, to be very attentive to my Master's directions, and quick of understanding in his will; and that, above all things, I may know an abode in his service, though but in the most seemingly trivial employment, yet to any honest employ for bread, am I heartily willing to have my hand turned.

I have been stirring about pretty closely since we parted; we had a large meeting at Flushing, but low and distressing, as indeed was my passage in general through Long Island. The meeting at Newport was very large and satisfactory; brought in the reward of peace, through close, painful labour. I found my mind greatly engaged for the revival of discipline amongst them, in which I laboured with some seeming success.

The meeting here hath been large, and, as times go, pretty well upon the whole, the state of the people considered. There is a considerable body of Friends who are true members of the family.
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Boston, Seventh month 31st, 1755.

I wrote thee from Nantucket about five weeks ago, since which time I have travelled as diligently as I could, and have visited several parts eastward of this city, and had many very large meetings, both amongst Friends and in several places where Truth opened my way amongst others, where no Friends lived, which have been signally satisfactory and serviceable. It hath bowed my heart in reverence, to observe and feel the openness and visitation of love and life which is manifest in various places in this formerly persecuting government; the authority heretofore exerted to suppress our meetings, is now watchful to support them, and in many places the principal people flock into meetings in crowds, and behave with great solidity. I had yesterday a large and memorably good meeting in the court-house, at Marblehead, about twenty miles distant; and about two weeks ago one of the most eminently favored meetings I have been at, in the court-house, at Portsmouth; and three offers to have any place of worship they had, if I would stay another meeting. I mention it with a bowed, reverent heart, acknowledging it is the Lord's doing, and awfully marvellous in my eyes.

Though heavenly support to labour is often renewed, and inward peace sustains and covers, yet I have largely tasted of the cup of suffering, as I have felt the state of the

churches as I have gone along; there is a remnant truly living, and true though weak children, who want help and guidance, and seek it, to whom the merciful regard of the Lord of heaven and earth freely reaches, and through whom I hope for the revival of ancient beauty; they are principally of the rising generation; the greater part of the more advanced in years are rather obstructions than helps in the way, and must be removed before the family will be rightly replenished and strengthened from the Living Fountain. It has been exceedingly hard to my nature to treat gray hairs in the manner Truth itself hath led, but I saw no other way to peace than true obedience, in which, though through affliction and distress, I have found heavenly regard, and I ask no more.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER AND SISTER.

Boston, Eighth month 1st, 1755.

Since my last I have pursued my journey eighty miles eastward of this city, and was about to go down to Casio Bay, to see two small meetings of Friends who have gone and settled there, about seventy miles distant from any other meetings in the province, but unexpectedly found a stop in my mind, and a curtain seemed to be drawn betwixt me and those parts, which I could not see through, and found my way opened to appoint some meetings amongst the people, and then return to Boston. As soon as I had finished the service of the appointed meetings, I was seized with violence by the gout in my feet and stomach, and having procured a carriage, I returned to the house of Zaccheus Collins, at Linn, a kind Friend, who hath a valuable wife and daughters, who waited upon me with great affection, and where I had every assistance they could afford me; and through the blessing of Divine goodness, and the plentiful use of the bark, the fit, which I feared would be tedious, left me in a few days. I was pretty much disabled for six days, but got out to two large meetings at Lynn, on first-day—one at Salem, and a very large and memorably good meeting at Marblehead—and came to their meeting here yesterday, which was large and satisfactory. I could not but admire the gracious Hand, in preventing my journey eastwards; I must have been exposed to many hardships, and no assistance; my bed might have perhaps been in the woods, in that time of distress. Since my recovery, I have carefully looked whether I am fully clear, and I believe I am, and at liberty to return towards Rhode Island. It is now (except one day) twelve months since I

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left my own habitation; many painful events have attended, much close labour and travail every way, but all-sufficient Help and Goodness remains gracious, renewing a humble, reverent trust that he will, in his own time, re-convert me home to my native land, and to my friends and relations, both in the natural and spiritual alliance; but the time when, is hid beyond the veil, and right it should be.

2nd of Eighth month.—I dropped my pen yesterday, under a weighty concern to appoint an evening meeting in this place; and upon its being mentioned to the magistrates, they cheerfully offered either one of their own places of worship, or the town-hall, saying that our own house was too small to accommodate the people who inclined to come in. I found more freedom to accept their offer of the hall, and had a very large meeting in the evening, at which were present about two thousand people, and amongst them nearly all the magistracy of the place, several of their ministers and principal people. It was a time, I believe, never to be forgotten; the power and wisdom of Truth was a canopy over the meeting, and I believe the Truth itself gained great ground: let every part of the gain, glory, and profit be ascribed to that excellent Name, in and from which all wisdom and strength proceed. One of their ancient professors said pretty loud, at the close of the meeting, "I thank God that I have once heard the Gospel of life and peace preached in its purity, as it hath been this day."

It is with a deeply bowed heart I mention this and other circumstances of Divine regard, spreading itself to the people in a wonderful manner. I hope ever to remember it is the Lord's doings, and is humbly marvellous in my eyes, and I hope will be a means of encouragement to the humble seekers of Zion's prosperity, to labour with diligence to keep clean the camp of God, that its purity and safety may appear to those whom the heavenly Power hath shaken in their false rests. But, alas! there are too many of the professors of Truth who are the greatest enemies to the cross of Christ, by their corrupt conversation; and many others, though more morally clean, dead in the root, and rather obstructions to the youth than helpers of their faith; such as are unsound in various parts of our Christian testimony, are leaders among the people; and the favour of the government, in exempting Friends from the payment of priests' wages, hath been a lasting detriment to the cause here, by a hasty admission of persons who desire to be made members. Many are very desirous of an addition to their meetings, even if they are not added to the Church of Christ, from views of a corrupt nature, to make a figure in their neighbourhood, and perhaps

bear rule in it, and gradually get names on earth, and a share in the management of public affairs; from which, however, they are totally excluded, and may they ever remain so.

There is a remnant of right-spirited people, of the youth and younger race, who have at heart the cause of God, and the regulation of things amongst them, with whom I have been united in labour, and helped to strengthen their hands, having been at most of the monthly and quarterly meetings in New England, and hope the Lord of mercy will graciously regard the cause of his truth, and preserve a seed to his own praise.

4th.—On the evening of the 2nd instant, I got a meeting amongst Friends, the inhabitants of this place, which was to my satisfaction in the discharge of necessary duty; and yesterday had two very large, solid meetings, to true satisfaction, through heavenly help, which was great amongst us.

I am now clear of this place, which hath borne with weight upon my mind at times, years before I left home, and hope some service hath been done. May the gain and glory be wholly rendered to Him who alone is worthy; it is he that is the staff and stay of his servants, whether their feet are made beautiful upon the mountains, or dipt in Jordan.

With respect to martial affairs, as they are remote from my business I meddle not with them, but endeavour rather to draw out of that fire and bustle too prevalent amongst the people. An express arrived here last night, with a confirmation of the news of General Braddock's total defeat, with the loss of about seven hundred men killed, himself and sixty officers amongst them, and the train of artillery, baggage, &c., belonging to the army; he took along with him one thousand five hundred picked men, and kept them together in the European manner; the French and Indians, skulking behind the trees and logs of wood, destroyed the English, who stood collected as a mark for some time, and then left their officers and ran away. It is said the enemies were not above three hundred in all—one hundred and fifty Indians, and as many French.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

JOSEPH FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER
SAMUEL.

Eighth month 19th, 1755.

..... My late indisposition confined me several months, which to me, so little acquainted with ill health, was very distressing, both to body and mind, and I have been often brought very low, and deeply bowed in mind, where I have been made sensible of the supporting hand of Divine help and consolation

underneath, in the most pinching times; and the extension of gracious goodness has been towards me when in the greatest want, for which gracious dealings, and the many favours and blessings received, my soul begs I may be preserved in an humble and grateful remembrance of, and for the remaining few days I have to spend, which I often think may not be many, that I may be enabled to redouble my diligence in endeavouring to walk worthy of the regard of our Heavenly Helper, who, as leaned unto, will not only enable us to form good resolutions, but to come up duly in the performance of them.

I take notice, with much thankfulness, of thy kind concern and regard for me in the conduct of my worldly affairs, and am duly sensible that thy very good advice springs from that Divine Fountain that has hitherto freely flowed through thee to all the visited of God. Our children, through mercy, are in health, and Heavenly Goodness is near to the tendering of the minds of many of them, and the refreshing dew, I hope, rests upon the minds of those growing up. It is my earnest prayer that we, their parents, may be preserved in such a manner as to be exemplary instruments in the hand of our Heavenly Father, in their education in his fear, and in training them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

JOSEPH FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ABRAHAM ANTHONY
AND JACOB MOTT, TWO FRIENDS OF RHODE
ISLAND.

Nine Partners, Ninth month, 1755.

In the fellowship of the suffering seed amongst you, I affectionately salute you, and hereby inform you, that the situation of the Society in your parts, hath been, since I parted from Rhode Island, the frequent and painful companion of my thoughts, in which I have deeply looked to see how it might be helped, and have carefully looked at the proposal of entering, in writing, the names of such as are to be deemed members of our Society, which, upon the whole, I cannot fully fall in with. I believe, as through the remissness of the watchmen the present disorder hath entered, by the labours of the watchmen the remedy must be obtained. It appears to me the likeliest method to know who are of you, will be to consider that all such who have a birthright in the Society, or have been admitted upon request, or been employed in offices of the church, must be deemed members, and under the care of Friends, and that a visit be paid to all such as frequent meetings, and have not a right to membership by the means aforesaid; the visitors taking the queries agreed to last

yearly meeting, and solidly reading them to the parties, may acquaint them that those queries, or the substance thereof, are universally agreed to amongst Friends everywhere, as the rule of their outward conduct; and if they desire to be accepted as members, it is expected they concur therewith, and be governed thereby; if such submit thereto, and testify their concurrence by a personal appearance at the monthly meeting, or to Friends' satisfaction, a minute may be made of their being deemed and accepted as members of the church. If, on the contrary hand, any declare that they will not be governed by such rules, after deliberate waiting, and visiting them, they ought to be deemed strangers to us, and the Society no-ways answerable for their conduct; but as they belong not to us, I cannot see the necessity of our making any minute against them. This method, I apprehend, will fully distinguish who are of you, and who are not; and if you find any, who by the aforementioned procedure are members, who are spots in our feasts of charity, labour for their recovery; and if they continue obstinate, place Truth's judgment upon them.

I believe, before Zion shines in her ancient glory, judgment must begin at the house of God, and the refiner known among Levi's sons, and the ancients of the house; and oh that none may obstruct its work, and be found fighters against God, by obstructing his work in themselves or others. The God of our fathers establish you more and more in his work, and work amongst you to his praise and your comfort.

Farewell, farewell, saith your true friend in that which is unchangeable,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SUSANNA FOTHERGILL TO HER HUSBAND.

Warrington, Ninth month 24th, 1755.

My soul salutes thee in near and true affection, and truly wishes thee a continuance of thy health, and preservation through the various trials and difficulties that Providence in his wisdom may see meet to allot thee; so that neither heights, nor depths, nor whatever commotions may be amongst men, may be able to move thee from that sure help that hath been with thee hitherto—hath been thy battle-axe and weapons of war, and hath covered thy head in the day of battle. Mayest thou not be dismayed, though storms may arise, and difficulties seem to surround thee on every side, yet stronger is He that is in us, than he that is in the world, and more mighty than men, and can turn and overturn; and let us poor mortals know that He, the Most High,

rules on earth as well as in heaven; that his works are works of wonder, and his ways past finding out. My soul hath been bowed, and thoughtfulness has taken hold of my mind, on hearing of the hurries and confusion on that side of the ocean; yet never doubting but the righteous will be supported, will have a rock to flee to, and a safe hiding-place and peaceful habitation that the world cannot deprive them of. Yet is my soul bound in sympathy with thee, believing many difficulties may attend thee, yet firmly believing thou art in thy proper place, and mayst, in the hand of the Great Master, be made helpful to the weak, and an encouragement to good Friends, who, I doubt not, will be glad thy lot is cast among them. Some of them I often remember with near regard. I was pleased to hear thou got the company of dear John Pemberton, and should be glad thou might be favoured with more of it; ever since I saw him I thought him a hopeful youth, and I hope he will hold on his way.

I have had several Friends lodging here; we had the company of our worthy friend, Edmund Peckover, two days. I parted with him at Frandley; he has laboured closely amongst us, and has had good service; the dew of his youth still rests upon him.

SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

John Churchman's, East Nottingham,
Ninth month 30th, 1755.

In the near and tender sense of that love which many waters cannot quench, nor distance impair, I most affectionately salute thee, having through the mercy of all-sufficient Help, never, I hope, to be forgotten, still to continue the agreeable accounts of my progress, under the sense of Heavenly protection every way, being supported in health, to my thankful admiration, and am now in better health and ability to labour than when I left home. Friends think I am much stronger than when I arrived, although I have travelled about six thousand miles in less than twelve months; neither hath inward health been withheld, in the wise proportions of Infinite Knowledge, whose ways are indeed unsearchable; although many painful baptisms, for the dead and dying, have fallen to my lot, yet I have humble cause of rejoicing, in hope that my labour for the help of others, and the obtaining true peace, hath not been altogether in vain. And although I have often to walk by faith, and not by sight, or sense of much present feeling, yet the invisible, holy Stay is graciously near, to give renewed testimonies. I am separated from thee, for the cause of God and his Truth,

and we are both under his fatherly regard for good; we can never be more safe than under his hand, and in his service. I have now visited the province of New York, Long Island, Narraganset, Rhode Island, and New England, pretty thoroughly, and had abundant labour, both in the gospel ministry and the re-establishment of discipline. I have visited some parts of the Jerseys, and was at the yearly meeting at Philadelphia last week, to some good service; the meeting was very large, and to great general satisfaction. After the meeting, I came down directly with John Churchman to his house, to enjoy a "flat calm," as he expresses it.

I was often present, in spirit, with Friends at the Northern yearly meeting, and pleased to hear it was satisfactory; though I believe, from some who were there, there would be a great deal more of the bell than of the pomegranate. But humbly thankful I am that there is a remnant left, who have them placed about their robes in due number and proportion. Some of that happy number I find here, and too many of a different sort.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

(Addition by JOHN CHURCHMAN.)

Dear friend Susanna Fothergill,

Thy dear husband was so good as to offer me this, in order that I might have an opportunity to assure thee that the tender regard and near unity which, from our first acquaintance, made near impressions reciprocally on each of our minds, to the laying a sure foundation of friendship, still remain as steadfast as ever; and in a renewed sense thereof, my prayer to the Father of all our mercies is, that He would still be pleased to preserve and keep us under the wing of his love, and increase our affections in warmth to himself, for therein stands the fellowship of all his children. Thy dear husband, to my great satisfaction, has made a small tarry at my house, in order to give rest to the body, which, by overmuch fatigue, may be so debilitated as to be a clog to a willing spirit. Perhaps these few lines, mean as they are, may meet with no less acceptance for being joined to the foregoing epistle. In much tender affection, in which my dear wife joins, I conclude, thy real friend,

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

East Nottingham, Tenth month 3rd, 1755.

Thou art the frequent companion of my thoughts, and that with hope and desire, as for myself, that every degree of happiness may attend, and that proportioned to the just sense

thou hast received, wherein it alone consists. I am thankful for the favour of thy recovery; I cannot doubt thy awful remembrance of the supporting Hand, and careful inquiry after the mind of Him, who humbles to the brink of the grave and raises up again. His mercies are unutterable, and demand reverent hearts. O, that we may never forget what he hath done for us, or be rendered unworthy of the further notice and regard of a Being who remembers his children from generation to generation, and supports through all their trials, to a peaceful habitation with himself.

I expect to spend this winter in these provinces: not only in the continuance of bodily strength, but the renewal of ability to labour in the Lord's work, is my spirit bowed in humble worship. Many are the painful steps amongst the dead and the dying I have to tread; the heritage seems in some places almost laid waste, through the negligence of those who call themselves watchmen, who appear to me the very tail of the flock; and it seems as if, whilst the people have made the outward wilderness as a fruitful field, the plantation and garden of God has been made as a neglected desert and barren wilderness.

There are a living remnant amongst the various classes in age, who keep their garments clean, and are strong to labour in the Lord's work; and work indeed there is, for all who are of a willing heart; and I trust their labour will bring some advantage to the family, and peace to themselves.

My good old faithful companion and servant, who carried me two thousand three hundred miles last winter, whom I left in Virginia, very near his exit, as I thought, hath been brought up to me here this week, in tolerably good order; and I expect a great deal more service from him, as my journeys will be shorter, and provisions plenty and good. The poor old creature knew my voice when I spoke to him, and gave all the signs of joy on meeting me that such a creature is capable of.

Dear sister, I am abundantly sensible of the place I have in thine and dear brother's affectionate remembrance; though, perhaps, when sometimes in secret concealed distress, and disappointed of hearing from you, a painful thought may be suggested, and sometimes drop from my pen like a complaint, yet I know it is groundless, am sensible of tender sympathy, and at times, in spirit, as near as if a partaker of conversation with you both. This intellectual union has been often relieving, and I am humbly thankful, that though the tenderest affection reigns undiminished in my breast, I have not an anxious wish towards England; this being, in the course of Providence, my proper lot for the present. I

have now been about a week more than a year in this land, and have travelled six thousand two hundred miles. I intended to have transmitted to thee an account of my journey, in the nature of a journal, but my time is so engrossed I have not time, but have hitherto kept an account of my manner of spending each day since my arrival.

I am glad to hear a good account of the yearly meeting; I was daily present in spirit, and in humble request for the overshadowing of best wisdom over you.

White-hart court* was then, and oftentimes, a place I visited in mind.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO DR. FOTHERGILL.

Maiden Creek, in Pennsylvania,
Tenth month 20th, 1755.

The signal proofs of Divine help which have been extended towards me and others, through my labours in the gospel service, will, I hope, ever be remembered by me in the manner they ought, to my profit and encouragement, in devotedness of heart to him who is ever highly worthy of obedience and faithful service, and will never send his servants out at their own expense, but amply supply, out of his own inexhaustible treasure of riches, wisdom, and strength: indeed, who is like him, or able to enrich as he? Human understanding, glory, or friendship, are poor in possession, and in event. But never-failing is the fountain of unchangeable good; and though he feed his people with the rod, yet the nourishment is divinely sanctified, and the flock of his heritage, though in the wood, is environed with invisible, yet invincible salvation.

Since my last, I went down to a yearly meeting on the eastern shore of Maryland, and returned with John Churchman to his house; I have also proceeded through the western side of this province, and have had many large and truly precious meetings, although the service hath been laborious, amongst a people, the elder part whereof seem not only dry, but very dry; yet there is a number of young people of the Hebrew race coming up out of their dens, and clothed upon with the vesture of righteousness and holy zeal; and indeed the cause hath need of them.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Philadelphia, Eleventh month 6th, 1755.

I strongly hope He who hath called to this work will support and enable me to bear it with resignation and patience, and in his due

time restore me to my beloved friends in my native land; and in the mean time will preserve us living to himself in the eternal covenant of light and life; for abundant experience testifies that therein is our safety, beauty and use, and proper capacity of yielding service to Him, who is worthy of obedience, worship, and fear for ever. Abundantly good and gracious hath he vouchsafed to be to my soul, in this painful labour in which I am engaged, and hath often filled with his own holy rain to his heritage; and made, at times, as a sharp threshing instrument in his hand, to thresh the lofty mountains to pieces, and to bow the sturdy oaks of Bashan. It hath been his own work and gracious condescension, and to him over all, be the praise ascribed, who is God of the mountains, and lifter up of the low valleys, and their distressed inhabitants.

I hinted that something would be likely to detain me longer than I once thought, and I believe it will be my duty to visit all the monthly and quarterly meetings within the verge of this yearly meeting. It hath pleased the holy Master of our assemblies to clothe my spirit with a concern for the renewal of the discipline in his family; and he hath been near to direct in wisdom, and to give me such a place amongst Friends here as to open my way greatly in that respect; and I believe in this service William Brown and John Churchman will by turns favour me with their company, which I esteem a favour.

I returned here to the quarterly meeting, which was very large, and strongly good in various respects; and as the Assembly for the province have, in some respects, I think, acted very inconsistently with the principles they profess, I had a concern to have an opportunity with such of them as are members of our Society, being twenty-eight out of thirty-six; and they gave some Friends and me an opportunity this morning to relieve our spirits to them.

Some of those parts I visited last winter are now in great confusion, by reason of the Indians having done some mischief; they have destroyed several families, and spread a general terror over the back inhabitants of this province; and this city was, a few days ago, alarmed by accounts of one thousand eight hundred French and Indians being within seventy miles of this city, on their march to it; but it was a false rumour. But the deviation of many from our testimony, and their desertion of an arm which has been their sure defence above seventy years, and guarded them from hostile invasions and bloodshed, and now leaning to their own strength, and actually putting the people in arms in some places, seems to me a presage of distress they will find hard to bear. I expect you will have

* Doctor Fothergill's residence.

great rumours of mischief done by the Indians in this province; but the latest and best accounts to this day, do not amount to above ten or twelve killed; but multitudes have fled from their habitations.

I was, some weeks ago, at a settlement of Friends beyond the Blue Mountains, who were then in great quiet, but have since all removed, through fear of the Indians, and left their plantations and dwellings desolate. In the midst of this confusion, too few know the Rock of Defence, or have confidence towards the Ruler of heaven and earth; their minds scattered, and their foundations discovered very weak, having lost confidence in the Divine arm, trust in their own.

From this account thou may sensibly judge of the painful labour I must undergo, to obtain ease and discharge my duty: all the hardships of travel last winter, though very great, were nothing in comparison of the anguish of spirit I feel for this backsliding people, though there are, and even in the Assembly, a number who remember, with humble trust and confidence, the everlasting Protector of his people.

I dare not dissipate my strength by one wishful look toward my native land, beloved wife and tender friends, so as to desire to see them; but steadily and honestly labour here, according to the ability given; circumscribing all my views within the bounds of duty, and resigning all my will, power and faculties, unto the will of Heaven; who hath indeed, been pleased often to renew wisdom and strength beyond the usual proportion of my measure, and to support, by his invincible arm, in many deep concealed trials.

I have no confidant here but the Lord alone; here are many worthy Friends, and dear John Churchman is like bone of my bone; but I have found it my safety and strength to be hidden and deeply reserved from all unbosoming my complaints to any mortal, and before the holy Eye alone to spread my cause.

Thou hast a right to know my secret heart, and canst enter into its chambers, and in sympathy feel with and pray for my help; and I know thou art inwardly bowed with me, and for me, to the Lord of help.

Brother Joseph's letter gave me great satisfaction, on his own and dear sister Haannah and children's account, towards all whom my heart is often filled with a love which is not derived from mere nature, and in the embraces of it they are often fresh in my mind; but this is all I can at present find a way to manifest. May all our dwelling be in that hidden root of communion whence all the various branches derive nourishment, and we shall be as epistles written on one another's hearts by the finger of God. SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Chester, in Pennsylvania,
Eleventh month 11th, 1755.

A variety of close, painful labour hereaway, commands the attendance of every faculty of my soul and spirit; though my affection to beloved relatives is undiminished, and I am allowed at times to run in thought from one to another, yet the painful sensation of absence hath been very much removed. I esteem it a singular mercy from the everlasting fountain of mercy thus to stay my mind in its proper centre—to hide my native land, beloved friends, and each tender connexion, within the veil, to prevent a dissipation of mind to which I am too prone, and to keep my strength collected and firm for the anxious labour of the day.

And, indeed, the sum of Divine mercies is unutterable, of which my soul hath been made partaker, for my own and others' help; it hath been renewed from day to day, in deep and wise proportions; sometimes more scarce and deeply hid from sight or sense, to awaken awful research; sometimes more evidently manifest, to confirm humble confidence in the all-sufficient Helper: thus deep, memorable teaching hath been administered, which I hope will not be forgotten in any future period of my life. The continued support of bodily health claims thankful notice; I never was more healthy than through this country.

I have been favoured with the profitable company of that truly great and good man, John Churchman, in various meetings in this province, and to be now and then my fellow-traveller.

I have assigned sufficient reasons before, why I dare not point out the time of my return home; it is concealed, and I dare not attempt to draw the curtain. I hope to be preserved steadily dependent upon Him who, I have reason to believe, drew me out from all that is dear in life; and who, I trust, will, in his own time, restore me to them again, in the fruition of that peace which sweetly seasons every dispensation, and whose tender, humbling effect is the strongest cement of the family of our Heavenly Father. Thou knows, beloved sister, whose service I am in, though unworthy to be ranked amongst his servants; and that he hath a right to be obeyed, and devotedly served, whose power is over all, and his mercy is to those who fear him. These considerations, with which thy mind is experimentally conversant, will lead to a humble quietude and resignedness.

I am easy and quiet; I know I am not forgotten, and that my dear friends are affectionately, and in true sympathy, mindful of me.

I feel the strongest reciprocal returns; may it ever be mutually cultivated, and grow to the brightness of that friendship which is the glorious fellowship of the inhabitants of Mount Zion.

I must conclude this testimony of near and tender remembrance. My spirit is nearly united to thee in that which is stronger than natural alliance—the hidden communion of souls, rectified by wisdom, and refined by the power of redemption.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

JOHN PEMBERTON TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Eleventh month 18th, 1755.

I spent most of last week with thy dear spouse, and intend to set out this morning to meet him again. He has his health, and looks much better than he used to do in his native land, notwithstanding his deep labours, in body and spirit, which are great, his testimony awakening and powerful, and I think he grows in the root and solid substance. His company is particularly acceptable, to solid friends, at this time of difficulty, wherein his advice has been strengthening, and his testimony clear and weighty against such that join with the world in spirit, and in its carnal reasonings: too many of such there are, that hearken to the clamours of the people, and are dismayed with the world's dismay. Yet there are such that can, in humility and thankfulness, say they are favoured with a quiet habitation.

JOHN PEMBERTON.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO DR. FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Eleventh month 24th, 1755.

Thus far peace hath attended my steps; excellent glory be ascribed to its Author! Although the daily opening, through the spirit, of discerning the state of the meetings, families, and at times of particular persons, hath subjected to pain and distress, and more exercising than bodily fatigue; yet the holy spring of counsel hath issued in its pure crystal streams, which, though they have spread wide and freely flowed, have not left the channel through which they run, dry and sandy; but in due wise proportions both cleansed and made it fruitful in inward enlargement of experience, how to trust the sacred fountain for fresh supplies, improve those already administered, and abide empty until the appointed time for replenishing come.

I received soon after I arrived here, a command and promise from my Lord and Master, that I should make him alone my confidant, and if he should communicate some pearls for my own use and treasure, not to spread them

to public view, but return them into his treasury undiminished. And likewise, that in all my distressing, pinching hours, I should to him alone unbosom my pain, and spread my hands towards his holy habitation; and upon these conditions, and a faithful discharge of duty before him, he would fill my treasury, and that with the riches of his own presence, and hear in the day of trouble, and enable patiently to possess my soul in the invisible probations of companionship with his suffering seed. Thus reserved and concealed, under the appearance of a cheerful, quiet countenance, I have been helped to step along without making complaint to any, or boasting of riches not my own. It has created no confidants, but left me single from all, and by some, perhaps, considered as void of much knowledge in my own private capacity, and by others as an unnecessarily reserved and uncommunicative person.

But it hath tended to my peace and ease, and I have not wanted bread in my own house, by an unnecessary profusion of it to such as perhaps had not teeth to chew it, and would have been hurt by it if they had attempted to swallow it.

This simple, eternal truth, soon spoken or written, but of extent inconceivable to the carnal mind, I have found my stay and comfort. That God is good to the upright, sincere heart, and will not forsake them, let their attainments be more or less splendid, or their stations what they may; he will protect in summer's heat and winter's storms, and though they may walk upon the waves, or be ready to sink in them, if the petition be in good earnest, Help, Lord, or I sink, and a right disposition remain to lay hold of the outstretched hand, he will, of his great mercy, renew as of old the expressions, It is I, be not afraid. My heart and pen have outrun my expectation in thus expressing my feelings, but it is to those to whom I am allied by a connexion nearer and stronger than nature, who may perhaps read it with those emotions of friendship and sympathy which I hope will ever furnish salt to our correspondence.

About four o'clock in the morning, on the 18th instant, this province was pretty generally alarmed with the shock of an earthquake, which occasioned great consternation; but I do not hear of any damage that ensued, unless the breaking of some chinaware and glasses. I was then at Aaron Ashbridge's house, and being in some pain of mind, my sleep was taken from me, and thereby I was enabled to observe the progress of it with some accuracy. I heard no noise like that of a rushing wind, which was heard in many places, but a gentle shaking of my bed, in such a manner as con-

vinced me what it was, which continued to increase, and the windows, by the increasing trepidation of the earth, began to rattle; some china, upon a chest of drawers, was moved pretty much, as I conjectured; it gradually increased for one minute, and opened the door of my chamber by drawing the bolt of the lock out of the staple.

As its increase was gradual, so was its decrease, and of the same duration, viz: about one minute; it did not much exceed in all two minutes, nor was it any less. I perceived the shocks of two earthquakes in England, and one upon Long Island, in ninth month last, but they were little in comparison of this, and not all of so long extent of time. Here are numbers, as in England, who, in order to take off any awful impressions from the people, immediately resolve their being into natural causes, lest the Lord of nature should be remembered and inquired after. True it is, he hath commanded the subserviency of the elements to himself, and his merciful regard to unworthy mankind; yet hath he them in readiness to execute his purposes of chastisement and reproof. Though they bear a part in the general song of praise to the author of their being, yet at times their language relative to mortals is, "My Father, shall I smite them? Shall I smite them?"

Very distracted is the present state of this province; several cruel murders have been committed on the frontiers, and sixteen people destroyed about the 9th instant, within less than ninety miles of this city; which was done by a gang of banditti, part Indians, with some Irish among them. I was at the place about five weeks ago, but do not understand any Friends are hurt. The five Indian nations who conquered the Delawares, sold some part of the ancient inheritance of these last to the proprietors, some few years since, alleging the right of sale to be in them as conquerors, and the goods were divided amongst the five nations, principally, to the discontent of the Delawares, who still judged themselves justly entitled to some equivalent for their land, which either the inattention of the proprietors, or their want of information, induced them to disregard; and it is pretty much on this land, and land fraudulently obtained, that the barbarities are committed.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Philadelphia, Eleventh month 24th, 1755.

I have, since my last, been closely engaged in a part of this province adjacent to this city, and been favoured with the renewing of blessed help, to labour in many large, and I hope some of them memorable meetings, though in

very deep, distressing, painful service; but it is enough; and the sum of my desires, the Ebenezer of all ages, is near, to strengthen, with the stretching out of his own glorious arm, to enable to clear his own name, and the heads of his servants, from the blood of the people.

On the 18th instant, this province was alarmed by a severe shock of an earthquake; it is the second I have perceived in less than three months, but the most alarming and terrible I have felt.

It fell upon me, in a vast congregation, last night, in this city, to remind the inhabitants of this awful visitation, with the sword now destroying upon their borders. The subject was awful; and a very eminent degree of holy authority and wisdom attended, to make it, I believe, memorably advantageous to some, as it was melting to many hundreds present. What livingly opened was fifth and sixth verses of the 19th Revelations.* I mention it with reverent praise to the ever blessed Fountain of sure supply and help, who, and who alone, is worthy of all honour, dominion, and pre-eminence forever.

Great is the perturbation of many, and plain the discovery now made, of the unprofitable professions many have made of religion, in this time of clamour and rumour of war; few know where to have recourse for a rock of defence, and a safe hiding. Agitated with fear and horror, they feel their want of a good foundation in this time of need. I hope it may be profitable to many in the issue, though, for the present it is painful to such as are concerned to labour amongst them. The fears of the people are not groundless, nor hath any occasion been given to raise them to such a degree; about seventy Indians have been known together, who have burned several houses and scalped some people. But I meddle not with these proceedings; they are not my province or business.

I remember thee and dear relations affectionately; and am sensible I have, in this labour, the union and sympathy of many who are near to my spirit. Dear Sarah Chorley has a place in my near regard. I have often remembered her for the work's sake, which the Lord hath begun and carried on in her mind, and would and will perfect it as he is steadily looked to.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

* And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great.

And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia; for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Rev. xix. 5, 6.

LYDIA LANCASTER TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

Lancaster, Twelfth month 13th, 1755.

Thy welfare every way is the concern of my mind, now, in the absence of thy husband more particularly, that thou may be preserved daily in that which, above all things, will be thy wisdom, strength, comfort, and support, both in spirituals and temporals. I find great need of it myself, having no other help to guide and instruct me in the proper way of my duty, that I may make straight steps in my goings, both before God and man; giving no occasion of just offence to any who may watch for it; as there are many eyes over us poor preachers, some for good and some otherwise; but truth will stand, over all the clamour and wrath of man; nay, the devil, and all his instruments, cannot overthrow it; the foundation stands sure, and the Lord knows them that are his, and will plead their cause in his own time and way. But we have need of patience to wait that time; it may not be in our hasty time, for our judgment sometimes is rash; but his is sure, and lingereth not but for some good end: therefore, let us ever learn to submit all, and commit our cause to Him who is just in all his ways; let him freely dwell in our hearts, sway his sceptre, and do his will; for he will fight the battles of such. I do not know why I should write after this manner; but as it freely comes, so it goes, as unto a bosom friend, who is no stranger to those suffering paths, nor to that Hand of power which worketh deliverance; into which I commit thee, with my own soul.

LYDIA LANCASTER.

According to the eloquent testimony given forth concerning Lydia Lancaster, and which was written by her intimate friend, Samuel Fothergill, she was the daughter of Thomas and Dorothy Rawlinson, of Graithwaite, in Lancashire, both of them descended from honourable families. They were religiously concerned to instruct their children in the Truth, the most precious of all blessings. That powerful Hand, which can alone give the increase, mercifully extended an excellent blessing to several of their children, and particularly to this their daughter; and as it opened the heart of Lydia in former time, opened hers to receive the heavenly message.

About the age of fourteen years, she had a sense of its being the will of Providence to engage her in the ministerial service, under which concern she continued about ten years, growing in wisdom and experience, that she might come forth in the right time, endued with proper qualifications. In the twenty-

fourth year of her age she appeared in a living, powerful testimony, and grew therein. The blessed Author of all spiritual riches having abundantly replenished her with the treasures of his kingdom, she soon became an able dispenser thereof to the churches. In this cause she visited this nation several times, Ireland and Scotland twice, also the continent of America.

Her ministry was living, clear, and powerful; her openings into the mysteries of the kingdom deep and instructive, adapted to the state of those amongst whom she laboured; close, and with authority to the negligent and careless: yet all her ministry was attended with a degree of that love and tenderness which accompanied her Lord and Master, who "came to seek and to save that which was lost."

Great was her growth in religious experience, even to the stability of salvation, and an assurance that she should be preserved from falling; yet accompanied with the deepest humility. A filial love, which casts out servile fear, was the covering of her spirit, and rested almost constantly upon her for several months before her removal.

She died at Lancaster, the 30th of the fifth month, 1761, aged seventy-eight, and a minister about fifty-three years.

As she lived, so she died, in great favour both with God and man, full of days and full of peace.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Philadelphia, Twelfth month 17th, 1755.

As the sure mercies of our Heavenly Father are new every morning, conveying along with them renewed obligations to awful worship, and some degree of holy ability to offer it to him, and to make mention of his loving kindness, even as a song in the night, so the tender connexions of nature, the stronger cement of friendship, and a good degree of the deepest alliance in spiritual affinity, as a threefold cord, draw into a communion and conversation which I hope will not be insipid or tedious. The affectionate, sympathizing spirit which I feel to run through and animate thy letters, is to me inexpressibly pleasing. I rejoice that I have a very affectionate sister, a tender friend, and the Heavenly Husbandman a pleasant plant, united in one person. And oh, that he who has done abundantly more for us than we could ask or expect, may, on our part, be so reverently followed and served, that we may ever know him near, to prune, cultivate, water, and replenish to greater fruitfulness, and a happy translation at last to the banks of that river which proceeds from the throne of God and the Lamb.

Through the continuance of Divine help, I am sustained in ability to travel; my bodily health generally very well, and spiritually according to the wise proportion of His wisdom, who sends not his servants on an embassy at their own charge, but furnisheth meat, drink, and apparel out of his inexhaustible magazine; even such provisions as are well prepared, and such apparel as wears not out, but increaseth in lustre, as carefully watched, and often washed, until they acquire a meetness to appear in before the throne of unmix'd Purity. Oh that my heart might ever feel what it now suggests, through all the crooked, intricate mazes of this wilderness passage, to a happy residence beyond danger.

A number of substantial Friends, from divers parts of this province, having appointed a meeting for conference together, in this city, and requesting my meeting them, I found some engagement of mind for the service. Our conference continued, by several adjournments, until last evening. The Friends met are generally returned, and I expected to go away to-morrow, but feel my way blocked up, and an engagement of mind to remain here, though I see not for what end; but as I am often led in ways too deep for my penetration, I acquiesce in quietness and resignation of spirit.

A general visit to all the meetings (which I have almost perfected), appears not to be the whole of my business here; one little service after another, and not in the character of a minister, hath given me some true ease; and hope to be helped to such a degree of attention to the great Master's requirings, as to know, and by his strength perform, his will.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Philadelphia, Twelfth month 17th, 1755.

..... Oh that our residence may ever be in that house where the Feeder dwells, and administers wise portions to his children, even bread that will never grow mouldy, wine that is well refined, and garments that never wear out, but increase in beauty and lustre the more they are worn, until they are meet to appear even in the presence of unmix'd Purity and terrible Glory.

Through the continuance of Divine favour, I am still helped, even beyond my expectation, and supported to labour every way to true ease, though very close and painful service falls to my lot, in doctrine and discipline. The week before last, I visited all the monthly meetings in a neighbouring county. We met at ten in the morning, and stayed until five in the evening, without breaking up or refresh-

ment, for five days successively, which I think wore me more than any service I have had in this country; but the strong Tower of the righteous was near, and supplied with inward and outward health.

I am preserved from a painful hankering after home, being staid in my present service from a sure sense of duty, and a painful exercise. My whole heart is engaged to follow after the things which make for true peace to myself, the families' health, and the renown of the ever worthy Name, who hath preserved, and by his own hand sustained, to look towards his holy temple, in many trials, and hath never failed. Thou knows me too well to think I loiter away time; thy affectionate, repeated hints, are tokens of a nearness which nature suggests not, and an united spirit with me in this labour; and mayst thou be remembered in thy lonely allotment with the precious dew of the everlasting hills, and the sweetness of that peace which surpasses the understanding of man.

As my spirit is bound to the testimony here, I dare not attempt to hint much about the time of my return home. I hope to return when I ought, and to come sooner would not be to the ease or comfort of either of us.

The consternation in which this province hath been thrown by the Indians, is not diminished. The Assembly have sold their testimony as Friends to the people's fears, and not gone far enough to satisfy them; the Indians have complained, without redress, and are now up in arms, and have destroyed many people; there were the bodies of two men, whom the Indians had killed and scalped, brought down in great parade to this city, from the back parts; multitudes went to see them, and seem loudly to clamour for war. The ancient methods of dealing with the Indians upon the principles of equity and justice seem neglected, the spirit of war and destruction endeavouring to break loose, in order to reduce this pleasant, populous province to its ancient wilderness condition.

Few, very few there are to stand in the gap, and spread innocent hands towards the holy sanctuary, in intercession for the people; too many under our name, and even amongst our professed chiefs, unsound in the faith, having lost their habitation in the fold of rest, are looking at, and calling for, the arm of flesh, and the sword to defend them.

There are, nevertheless, a number who know how to pray, and where to flee. Great is the opposition of spirit the ministers of the Gospel of peace must meet with, and the doctrine of dependance upon the arm of the Lord is an unknown language to many; this makes

it very hard labour to divers, to endeavour to awaken the people to consider their ways.

Wise, faithful, and true is He that dwells on high, and will convince all people that he rules over all the children of men.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOSEPH PROUD.*

Philadelphia, Twelfth month 20th, 1755.

I have been deeply engaged in spirit; and very closely employed in labour, almost incessantly, since I parted with thee; and so closely hath my mind been bound to the testimony, and my measure of labour in it, as to prevent my attention to much else but the labour of the present day. I durst not allow much scattering of mind, even where the ties of nature were sacred and nearest. I hope this may be accepted as the real cause of so long a silence; but a degree of true nearness draws my attention towards thee, thy dear wife and children, accompanied with an earnest desire for your preservation, and sure building up in the Truth as it is in Jesus, and that your care might be increased to look forward beyond all settlements in profession, and the outward courts of the temple, to that durable foundation and tried rock, which is Jesus Christ, the Lord and giver of light and life. Thereby you may be qualified to be useful in your day; and being gathered up into the peace and rest of Mount Zion, may say to your children, and others, by a living example, "Come hither, I will show thee the bride, the Lamb's wife." Great is the want of such in your, as well as other parts of this land; yet I am fully satisfied the Lord of salvation has arisen in sundry places, to raise up their weak hands. And oh, that you both may enough feel after the living, cleansing stream, which would more evidently beautify and make fruitful, trees his own right hand hath planted, that obstructing things might be more and more removed.

Thus the Lord of the plantation would work for his name's sake, even amongst some who have yet had little fruit upon them, more and more abounding in inward and outward righteousness to the Lord and his family, and lead gradually to a holy meetness to be at last fixed upon the banks of that river which proceeds from the throne of God and of the Lamb.

Thus, in true earnestness of spirit, my soul longs for you both, that the enduring riches of the Spirit of everlasting love and life may fill your treasury, and an increase of zeal and love towards the family may be known, wherein, I am persuaded, the weight and bur-

den of its welfare would be more felt, and a concern to show yourselves on the Lord's side, in heavenly conversation, and in a steady care for the cleansing of the camp, lamentably defiled by the spirit of the world in your island. And although a sense of your own weakness, and the difficulty of the labour may at times distressingly prevail, yet the all-sufficient Supply of all would show himself near, and endure with strength to labour to some help in general, and true peace in your own individuals. I believe good is towards you, yours, and the Lord's family; and the ancient prophecy seems in measure accomplishing, "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion, for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof."

Happy, yea, inexpressibly happy, will be the portion of the truly faithful, who devote themselves to his service with upright hearts. The excuses of weakness are not available, as the strength of the mighty arm of God will be revealed to the humble seekers, who never said to Jacob, Seek my face in vain.

And, dear children, in true love, much desired and longed for, may your spirits be awfully bowed to seek true riches, which are, I am persuaded, at times offered from the Lord to your acceptance, and can alone beautify in his sight, and in your own, when the veil will be rent, and things appear as they really are. A gradual progress towards Zion, from tender years to such a state as the Almighty may allot, is the most secure and uniform, is more free from the depths of distress and anguish, than where negligence and folly have attended their inconsiderate steps, and they have the sorrow of unlearning, and the labour of learning, in more advanced years. Remember with love and fear the God of your lives, in the days of your youth, that in the multitude of his mercies he may remember you, and through his mercy you may be set as a seal on his arm.

Assure yourselves of a large share of true regard with your affectionate friend and kinsman,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO TIMOTHY WATERHOUSE.

Philadelphia, Twelfth month 20th, 1755.

I have by no means forgotten thee, thy dear Hannah, and other relations. I feel all the tenderness that nature requires, and the warmth of strong desire for thy prosperity and establishment in that blessed Truth, into which thy feet have been measurably turned; and oh that thou mayest ever remember, it is the followers of the Lamb that shall with him

* A relation, son of John Proud, of Newport.

be victorious. Many have known the arising of the Morning Star in their hearts, and by the brightness thereof have been convinced, and in a degree led into obedience and conformity, yet for want of steady following on from one degree of faith and obedience to another, have been darkened in their minds, and weak in their steps, and rather by some crooked by-path turned back to Egyptian bondage, than advanced forwards to that land of liberty, the glimpses whereof have in time past been so precious, that they have accounted all other things but as dross, and of no value in comparison with it.

The retaining in our remembrance the joys of our morning, and what was once done for us, hath prevailed at times as principal riches, whereby the daily sacrifice hath been neglected, the feeling after living virtue stifled, and religion gradually left the heart, the poor soul contenting itself with notions and conclusions it once saw in the light of life, without waiting for daily renewings. Thus form is substituted instead of power; the head enriched; but, alas! the soul and spirit returned, or returning, to their common centre, heretofore in a good degree crucified by the Holy Power, regain life and strength, and, under a varied form, lead into alienation from God.

Unexpectedly, and unsought for, have these remarks dropt from my pen, under a good degree of nearness of spirit to the Great Counsellor, and perhaps not void of instruction to thee in thy present state; and oh, saith my soul, that thy morning light may ever remain new and clear, that suffering distress, and troubles on thy convincement, may not be rendered void of use, and laid waste by the unfaithfulness of maturer age. Have a care of the world, and its spirit; its friendships are enmity with, and destructive of, that lamb-like, innocent life which inherits all things. Let not thy mind be encumbered with posts or places in the government; they are not for thee; stand out of them all, in the ranks of the Lord's army; and thus, I am persuaded, the Lord would bless thee, and others through thee. But if this refining hand and chastity of mind be not rightly sought after, and patiently abode under, I fear thy day will be overcast with clouds, and perhaps scarce strength left to withstand even evident pollution.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

At Joshua Pusey's, Twelfth month, 1755.

It is no small favour, amongst many others, to me, in my pilgrimage through this land, that I feel the invisible cord which binds up the bundle of spikenard, and find myself at

times within it, though a favour not at all times attainable by me. I am often scattered, and in an anxious solicitude, whether I am meet for such a fellowship; and this is well, in bringing more close search after the cause of obstruction; which my soul desires may be removed by the spirit of judgment and of burning. I have rejoiced at times in the sense of this fellowship, in which I have desired my lot might be cast forever; and though many bitter and unpalatable fruits grow in this land, yet there is a garden which produces apples of gold, and our Master has set a slip of this tree at Nottingham. May his dew rest upon its branches, and former and latter rain render it ever fruitful, and its branches spread over all opposing things, and poor I, favoured, now and then, with a dish of its fruit.

This friendship thou hast vouchsafed to admit me to has done me good, and I hope will continue beneficial, in exciting to diligence to be what I know thou wishes for me; and in the progression of that regard, let thy knife as well as thy cruse of oil be upon me.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEMBERTON.

Wilmington, First month 12th, 1756.

Thou hast been so much the companion of my thoughts since I saw thee, that I can hardly forbear telling thee so, though I have little else at present before me to communicate; only this I may say, my spirit is, and hath been, frequently touched with near sympathy with thee, and strong desires for thy succour in the *various exercises* of thy pilgrimage; for I believe thee secretly and strongly affected by *them*, though outwardly favoured with many agreeable enjoyments of life.

And, indeed, unspeakably wise is the conduct of our Heavenly Father towards his children, though we may at times injudiciously repine, when some of his choicest blessings are handed out, under the form of adversity. He knows our frame; past, present, and to come are one in his view, and his wisdom directs their several contingencies to our profit. Afflictions, when they arise from real, allowable causes, are at times made useful, in renewing diligent labour after sacred relief; and truly profitable inquiries, Is there not a cause? have often issued in such discoveries as could scarce have been expected, nor would have been received, in any other school.

Here is the faith and patience of the saints exercised, and rewarded in His time and way, who slumbereth not in the darkest night of probation, but Immanuel is his holy attribute forever.

My spirit strongly begs every dispensation of our Heavenly Father's good pleasure may be effectually blessed, in our obedience, to our help; and I am abundantly satisfied his hand is towards thee for good; and comfortable hope arises in my heart, thy day is near to break forth more pleasantly; and the cloud which may, perhaps, have been on thy tabernacle, will be taken up, as a signal for thy progress.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

ISRAEL PEMBERTON TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, First month 15th, 1756.

The benefit and satisfaction I have enjoyed from the conversation and friendship of thy valuable husband, have interested me in those near friends whom he hath left behind.

I feel assured of thy partaking sensibly of that reward which Infinite Wisdom and Goodness graciously affords to such who deny themselves of the most precious enjoyments, in the discharge of those duties enjoined by the wise dispensations of his providence, for the benefit of their fellow mortals.

The many excellent qualifications thy dear spouse is favoured with, being, with a steady devotion of heart, employed in the cause and service of the bounteous author of them, are so signally rendered serviceable to us, in these parts of the world, by the renewed supplies of Divine instruction and strength, daily extended to him, that many have cause reverently to acknowledge the condescension of Divine regard, in sending him among us in a time of great difficulty, when every help, mediate and immediate, is necessary: and I hope in due time, when his service here is over, the prospect of which does not yet seem near in view, he will be safely restored to thee, full of the most perfect tranquillity, peace, and true joy, to your mutual consolation.

ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

East Nottingham, Pennsylvania,
First month 19th, 1756.

Though I have nothing to boast of, as signal fruits of my close labour, to others, yet the peaceable fruits of honest obedience are an abundant compensation, and spread a table in the desert, at times, that is more worth than that the devils are cast out, and that I tread on serpents; the sweet evidence of a name in the Lamb's book of life, is the sum and substance of all. I mention it with reverence; not as though I had already fully apprehended, but as a mark which is to be arrived at by

faith and obedience. Oh, that it may ever be the chief object of our endeavours, with united diligence and care, that we may go up hand in hand to Mount Zion, the Heavenly Jerusalem, where those who overcome inherit all things.

And although painful baptisms, and times of great inward distress, continue at times my lot, yet I am helped to be comfortably easy and resigned, being sensible they are necessary for my own cleansing, and right qualification to minister to others in their various states, and suitable ballast for those times of more sensible manifestations of the Holy Countenance; for such, even to a glorious degree, are at times vouchsafed, but they are the festival days of Zion, and only come in the wise appointment of the king and ruler of that heavenly city.

I know thy heart is as mine, and thy desires strong that my return may be in true peace, and hope we shall both be preserved from repining at the disposal of that Hand, from whence a multitude of unmerited mercies have proceeded. The present state of this province is very distressing; the Indians, very cruel and bloody, destroying men, women, and children, and burning their houses; which hath occasioned great trouble, and raised the clamour of the people against Friends, who dare not resist violence with violence. Yet too few lay it properly to heart, and learn righteousness. A choice seed there is, who spread innocent, interceding hands towards the holy temple, with which my very soul is united, and that seems likely to detain me longer amongst them than otherwise I might be.

The ingratitude of many to a merciful benefactor, their worldly-mindedness and forgetfulness of the Lord God of their fathers, is cause of awful alarm from him who justly challengeth the love and obedience of all flesh, and will get himself a name in the earth, in mercy or judgment, and be heard by all flesh. Oh that this people were wise, and knew this.

The Assembly here have passed a law imposing a tax upon the inhabitants of this province; and as a great part of the money is to be laid out for military purposes, many solid Friends cannot pay it, which is likely to bring such a breach and division as never happened among us since we were a people; may it be finally conducive to the glory of the ever worthy Name, if it issue in the winnowing of the people.

I still continue very healthy for the most part, though I have travelled and spent myself as much as most, having travelled seven thousand miles in this country. The winter proving favorable, thus far I have not been willing to lie by, but intend two days entire rest here,

which is more than I have had at one time for some months.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

LYDIA LANCASTER TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Lancaster, Second month 10th, 1756.

In the pure fellowship of the gospel of peace, my soul nearly salutes thee; having thee in daily remembrance, and according to my measure, travailing in spirit and sympathizing with thee in thy painful and laborious service, and under thy many heavy burdens, which, though great, will, I doubt not, be sweetened to thee, and beneficial to many. I pray, in my soul, thou may not faint in thy mind, nor be weary in well doing thy duty, according to Divine manifestation; for whether the people will all hear or forbear, thou, and all the faithful, shall reap in due time, not sorrow and perplexity, but glory, honour, and peace.

O, my truly beloved friend, whom the great Lord of the harvest hath sent, as a cloud full of rain, into that wilderness country, I beg thou may be enabled every way to quit thyself fully, by discharging thy trust honestly, that when it is thy time to return, it may be with pure clearness and lasting comfort; yea, and I believe it will be so. I am extremely obliged to thee for writing so plain, free, and informing a letter as thy last to me was; indeed, I prize it much. I now send thee a renewed token of that love which neither time nor distance can diminish; for I feel the length and strength of it to increase, and rejoice in my heart, with a spring of praises, to the Fountain and Author of our mercies, whose presence attends his depending children all the world over, under their various afflictions and trials. Great cause have we humbly to trust in Him, in a daily, patient waiting upon him, to know his pure will; and such have cause many times to rejoice in his salvation.

As to the state of affairs in America, I do not think myself a proper judge; but think our people had better have quitted their places in the Assembly, as the world is circumstanced. They are in a strait and very difficult station: I see not how Friends can faithfully bear up the ancient testimony, without being loudly cried against; wherefore, if they could be free to resign, and live in peace and quietness, minding their own business, as Friends do every where else, seems to me most agreeable; as I wrote to thee once before, so shall leave it; and let thee know I had a late letter from Edmund Peckover, giving an account of an extraordinary visitation from on high, extended to the people at Norwich. In two years time are come forth in public testimony to the num-

ber of ten, all well approved; among whom is E. G., from a state of mind far from agreeable, is reduced to the greatest humility, and as a weaned child, is in much self-abasement and abhorrence. He appears in their great meetings, to the satisfaction and joy of Friends, and agreeable surprise of every body; and that there is such an open door of conviction, that he thinks it may be said there are almost daily some added to the faith.

As to the times outwardly, things look very threatening, and I expect a war with the French this ensuing spring and summer. May it please the King of kings to defend and protect us by his Almighty power, as I have reason to hope he will, (all those who are really his,) yet I believe it will be a time of such calamity as this our native land never knew; and yet there is a secret hope in me that it will all work together for good, to those who truly love God, and labour for Zion's prosperity, and the enlargement of her borders. There is a tender visitation to many of the youth in this nation; and I believe the time that is approaching will shake, sift, and loosen the wordlings from their too eager pursuit and love of what will be found in a tottering condition; that they must either fasten close to the ancient foundation, or else fall; nay, I hope many will be awakened to righteousness, and have more room for religious consideration than heretofore; for it hath long been a dull, drowsy time, and little more witnessed than the name of religion; but the great God is jealous of his honour, and will not be mocked. Deep and ponderous have the meditations of my heart been for months past, and much satisfaction from the Lord has been met with.

I now conclude, with a heart more furnished with crystal streams of love and pure prayers than pen and language can set forth; wherein I remain thy true and faithful friend, sister, and companion in the sufferings of Jesus, and joy of our Lord according to my measure,

LYDIA LANCASTER

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO COMFORT HOAG,
(AFTERWARDS COMFORT COLLINS.*)

New York, Second month 12th, 1756.

In a degree of that love wherewith our Heavenly Father hath loved us, and sought us out

* This Friend resided in New England, and attained to a great age. The following account of her is taken from a letter written in Eighth month, 1812, by Matthew Franklin:—"We called to see Comfort Collins, aged one hundred and one years and eight months. A more interesting and precious opportunity I never remember. All her faculties have, in a measure, fled, save her religious sensibility; she has no sort of recollection

when our feet were turned from the paths of peace, I affectionately salute thee; earnestly desiring thy preservation and establishment, that neither heights nor depths may remove thee from the safe abiding of the faithful. Various are the trials, and manifold the afflictions a remnant have to pass through, in their journey towards Zion; some more manifest than others; some within, some without, and some both. But here is the faith and patience of the saints, that nothing may move them from their trust; and these present afflictions may work for us a more exceeding weight of glory. Large hath been thy share in probations and trouble; but he who led Israel through Jordan, and commanded her waters to stand as walls on each hand, hath an everlasting name in his family, and will be his poor children's guide through Jordan's waves and depths, and establish on the firm land of salvation, as humbly followed and trusted in; and when their hearts may be overwhelmed, will lead to a rock which is higher than they. It behooves us, dear friend, in order to share so great salvation, to be obedient children of our Heavenly Father, to wait for his counsel, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, to purge and redeem, that we may have a claim as children, to the Father's promise, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee."

With respect to myself, I am mercifully sustained in health and ability to proceed with diligence in the Heavenly Master's employment. I thoroughly visited Chester county; performed a second visit, to my great satisfaction, to the western shore of Maryland, and through the Jerseys, to this city. I stand

that she ever had either husband or children, or houses, or lands, nor of her nearest friends even, when named; yet her sense of Divine good, and the religious fervour of her mind, are unabated.

"We stayed about an hour, the whole of which time she was engaged in praising her Maker, in exhorting us to love the Lord, and to lay up treasure in the heavens; several times saying, 'One hour in his presence is better than a thousand elsewhere: I know it, friends, I know it from experience,' and then her voice would seem to die away in a kind of melody; and after being still a few moments, she would again lift up her voice with much sweetness in praising the Lord, and advising us to love and fear him; and looking round upon us said, 'I love you, dear friends, though you are strangers to me; for I love them that love the Lord, blessed be his name!'"

"The whole company were in tears whilst we stayed. The remembrance of this season is not off my mind; nor, I hope, ever will be, while memory remains, for I think that she and Mary Griffin are two most memorable instances of the reality and rectitude of the principles of spiritual light and life."

The time of her decease has not been ascertained.

ready to go any where that truth leads, and light shines; but think I am near clear of this land; and have this evidence—I have, in my measure, laboured faithfully. I have seldom known a greater share of the word of life than hath attended in this journey from Philadelphia hither, which hath been about three weeks; nor more frequent scarcity of bread out of meetings, so that I have been ready to say, notwithstanding all my labours, "I am cast out of thy sight, oh Lord, and in sorrow sought my beloved, and for times could not find him." But I believe his pitying eye and gracious ear are open, for good towards Zion's dust, and his arm invisibly near when our heads are overwhelmed by the waters of bitterness. My dear love in the unchangeable covenant of life, salutes the living amongst Friends thereaway. May the mighty God of Jacob preserve in holy, humble waiting, and sustain to his own praise, and keep in his own meekness, wisdom, and purity, that in days of mourning and lamentation for the slain and dying, this land may have to spread innocent hands towards the holy throne, that he may spare his people, and that they may never be a prey to the Gentiles, neither inwardly nor outwardly. So be it, oh Lord God!

I am, with the salutation of true love, thy friend and brother in the faith, patience, tribulation, and victory of the gospel,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO DR. FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Second month 20th, 1756.

Although a variety of painful exercising steps are in the way of my duty and labour, yet all-sufficiency is one of the attributes of our Heavenly Father; and each of them is very deeply significant. It is and has been cause of profitable humbling to my soul, that sure mercy has so signally attended every way. I know it is for his own name's sake, and his people's sake; and may the praise and reverence due, forever arise to him alone, undiminished from me, for I am not worthy of his so great condescension. Neither, indeed, are the professors of his pure truth; and that, I hope, some of them are awakened profitably to consider, and have their hearts stirred up to apply for help to more fruitfulness and diligent care after true support, though of too many my hope is low.

Oh that we, who have tasted that He is good, may never forget him, nor allow our palate to be vitiated by that which our present and future experience will evince is not bread; the artificial, inaginary dainties of this world's

riches, honours, and friendship, have too often been an ensnaring banquet, to which even some of Zion's sons have sat down, tasted, and forgot their proper aliment. But this thou knows; and may thou ever be guarded in the proper exercise of thy senses, and thereby preserved healthy, and strong, and meet for that service, which is of infinite importance and everlasting duration.

I wrote to thee from West-river, in Maryland. I finished my second visit to that shore, and was enabled to leave it with great peace, obtained through painful, faithful labour. I returned to the quarterly meeting at Concord, for Chester county, having travelled very hard, and was enabled, through merciful help, to clear myself of that part of the province to great satisfaction; the name of the Lord was gloriously high amongst us, to the melting many of our spirits as into one heavenly lump. I came here on the 11th, and have not been a day unemployed; and have been favoured with some truly good meetings in this city.

The circumstances of this province still continue fluctuating and unpleasant. Many thousand pounds of the province's money, have, by the Assembly's committee, been laid out in erecting forts upon the frontiers, and placing men in them; a step as prudent, and likely to be attended with as much success, as an attempt to hedge out birds, or the deer. The neighbourhoods of those forts have been, since their being erected, the scenes of the greatest barbarity; in contempt and mockery of the attempt, eleven people being destroyed a few days ago, within a mile of one of their forts. Fresh matter of contest hath presented between the Assembly and the Governor. The recruiting officers having enlisted the servants of the inhabitants, they have, many of them, no means of following their several employments; a great number will be ruined, and a greater still exceedingly prejudiced: the Assembly have addressed the Governor respectfully, but received an evasive answer. I so fully concurred with thy sentiments before thou imparted them, about the pointed style of the Assembly's reply to the Governor, as to improve every opportunity I could meet with, to impress the necessity of decency and due respect upon such of the Assembly as I could propose to myself to be likely to have any influence upon, with the manifest inconsistency of every inflaming step, with their interest, and with their religious profession. I found many pained about it, and sensible it is wrong. It is altogether imputed to B. Franklin, their principal penman; who, I have sometimes thought, intended to render the Assembly contemptible, and subject our religious Society to the imputation of want of respect to authority,

as a factious sort of people; and I fear he has gained his point. But as the uneasiness of the minds of many in the Assembly with such language increases, I believe they will for the future be more guarded.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY JORDAN.*

Upper Springfield, Third month 5th, 1756.

If I have not, when personally conversant with thee, given thee proofs of a real affectionate sympathy in thy present afflicting circumstances, thou mayest be assured it has not been the effect of disregard, or occasioned by the want of that sensibility of others' distress which nature and principle have deeply fixed in my mind.

A continued chain of important reflections relative to the whole, may have often diverted my attention from particulars, though not from thee; and, indeed, I have found it expedient, as much as I could, to avoid much dissipation of mind, that I might stand more collected for the labour of the day.

But I have ever desired the favour of a mind susceptible of others' distress; and chosen from the school of affliction to receive the tongue of the learned therein, to speak a word in due season to the weary and pained. That afflictions of body or mind are not joyous, for the present, to nature, is a truth abundantly confessed, yet that they are often sanctified to work a more exceeding weight of glory, hath been fulfilled in the happy experience of multitudes.

The afflictions incident to these tabernacles of clay, have often a painful effect upon the mind; the weight of them sometimes raises distressing reflections, and prevents our attention to the sole, suitable relief; and when the Lord of our life intends wise instruction, disquietude and secret repining induces the desponding mind to increase its perturbation, by a fear that we are cast out of the notice of the Heavenly Father, forsaken of God, and therefore afflicted.

* She was the daughter of Mary Pemberton, and her former husband, Robert Jordan. Her mother, in an affecting account which she wrote concerning her, says—"She was one whom the Lord had favoured with a good natural capacity, and having his holy fear implanted in her heart, she found it to be true wisdom; her deportment was grave and solid; her words were few and savoury, manifesting a lively sense of religion, even from her very young years." Her illness was lingering, through which she was preserved in great patience, and uttered many tender and affecting expressions. She died on the 21st of Tenth month, 1759, in the twentieth year of her age.

Hereby we are prompted to wrest the inscriptions Heaven has written upon all his messengers, whether sickness or health, sorrow or joy, and are in danger of defeating the end of their being sent. What more particularly endangers our misconstruction of the message of sickness and distress, is its being sent in the time of sprightly, blooming youth, when the gayer, easier scenes are most likely and more eligible; advanced years submit to it, of course, but youth by force. The language of Hezekiah upon such an occasion is very natural, and the result of most minds in parallel circumstances: "I said, in the cutting off of my days, I shall go to the gates of the grave, I am deprived of the residue of my years." Not only the gloomy prospect of nature's decay, and the dissolution of the body, affected his mind, but a painful solicitude about an hereafter aggravated his sorrow, even the fear of an exclusion from future joy: "I said I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord, in the land of the living."

Peradventure, dear Mary, disquieting sentiments from both these awful reflections may at times have supplied hours of anxiety; and a combination of real causes of complaint, aggravated by the anticipation of those suggested by fear, may have furnished thee with a variety of fears; and the vigilant accuser of the brethren improved the opportunity at times, to cast down below the proper place.

What may conduce to remove the whole cause, is not in my power to prescribe, but an affectionate regard may suggest; and I would hint moderate exercise, as often as thou canst; the approaching season invites, and the tender indulgence of affectionate parents will often furnish thee with the means; endeavour to exert thyself, and let not an apprehension of inability render thee incapable of contributing all in thy power to thy restoration to health; this, I believe, would tend to thy advantage, and repair the breach in thy constitution a state of inaction may have occasioned. Not only thy own advantage requires it, but I believe it would happily tend to the comfort of an affectionate, worthy parent, whose mind hath been exceedingly depressed by affliction for her dear children's sake; thy indisposition, which thou could not prevent, and also thy poor brother's, having, at times, been as much as she could bear, and indeed insupportable, if Almighty regard had not sustained.

I am abundantly convinced the great Physician of souls is not far away from thee, to help in the necessary hour, and as reverently inquired after, will establish in innocence and virtue, and bring salvation and peace to thy house. Though virtue is not hereditary, yet the intercessions of religious parents are often

available on their children's account; and I hope at least one of the successors of that worthy man of God, Robert Jordan, may know and be happy with his God, and may know the same result of anxiety Hezekiah knew: "Thou hast, in love to my soul, delivered it from the pit of destruction."

That all things work together for good to those who fear the Lord, is an undeniable truth, if we, through impatience and inattention, render not the visitation of Heaven unprofitable to us. This consideration hath often induced my reverent kissing the rod, and humble inquiry into that instruction which ever attends it: who knows what scenes of temptation a confinement to a sick chamber prevents our being tried with; peradventure it may be the hollow of an Almighty hand, hiding us until the causes of indignation are past by. Yet when that is gone by, the call, "My people, come out of thy chambers," claims equal regard, for we have various relations in life to discharge, and holy diligence and watchfulness will be rewarded with a bulwark of defence; and placed in the midst of this world and its commotions, we shall know our situations to be as a garden enclosed. Great is the want of such examples, though there are some yet preserved, and I trust among the youth of thy sex an increasing number, who know salvation as walls and bulwarks; and though little sisters, yet in the lineage of the immortal family, and though weak, surrounded with all-sufficiency; and I hope thy place amongst these happy relatives to the King in Zion will not be vacant, here or hereafter.

My regard and strong desires for thee are more than I can express, and hope accompanies my mind that thou wilt be helped to live to thy Creator, be a comfort to such as may expect it from thee, and know a time of more true relief every way.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Burlington, Third month, 1756.

I think I have very little worth notice to send thee, but the token of affectionate remembrance, in a degree of the revival of that love which never dies, which at first baptized and united our spirits, and remains our joy, and at times is cause of it one to another. I believe, in proportion to our access to the Father of lights, its lustre and animating rays will retain and increase their splendour, and in times of traversing the gloomy, remote regions of the shadow of death, its reflection, though not in direct lines, will be relieving, and its genuine, though faint beams, convey hope.

The course of my experience; since I left

Philadelphia, hath taught me a practical paraphrase on what the Apostle meant by living by faith, and at the same time all within me hath been repeatedly humbled by the wise alternations of light and darkness. Seldom, in my spiritual progress, in my own individual case, am I more deeply poor out of meetings, and more reduced to a poor morsel of bread, and sometimes not that, except the word of patience; and in meeting, not often more opened in the powerful Word of Life; but alas! I feel like a tube; some liquid, crystal stream runs through me to others, but I doubt little remains. May the cleansing efficacy of the holy stream purify the channel, and run into that reservoir constructed by Eternal wisdom, out of my reach, but whence he can water my garden, even with his foot.

I was favoured with some open, relieving times in Philadelphia. I left that place on the 21st of last month, and came hither to the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders, which was, through very hard labour, at last well. I was at Mount Holly on first-day, and in this town in the evening; both meetings large and well; at the quarterly meeting here on second-day, and the youths' on third, both large, and the latter memorably comfortable. On fourth-day, at the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders, at Wrightstown; very close labour, but strength proportioned to the work: a large, profitable meeting succeeded, held that evening in the court-house, at Newtown. Next day the quarterly meeting, very large, and a thorough good meeting, through manifest support in the extending of the fan and the axe, and the oil of consecration to those who waited for it. I left that county easy, and came to this place. On seventh-day, had a large meeting in a Baptist meeting-house, about eleven miles off; yesterday, a large meeting at Mansfield, and this day a large and heavenly meeting at the monthly meeting here.

Our epistle from Philadelphia to the monthly meetings meets with a different reception, as the people differ; the libertines, worldly-minded, and opposers of the reformation in themselves and others, cavil and rage; but the seed is relieved, and the honest-hearted are strengthened. I see it will be a time of division between wheat and chaff, and that we shall find some amongst the latter we thought would have been more deeply weighty, and perhaps the contrary in some other instances. But the company, in which some who disented from us find themselves left, will, I believe, awaken some weak, honest hearts to ponder, whether Divine wisdom hath changed the channel of instrumental intelligence from

its usual course, by a living, sensible ministry, into the muddy pipes of the licentious.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Philadelphia, Fourth month 28th, 1756.

I often feel called upon, by the voice of unfeigned affection, to remember thee; there is something in my mind stronger than [what] mere nature inspires, which suggests strong and sincere desires for thee every way, as for myself; and as thou well knows, from a measure of experience, the path of true happiness, may thy strength be renewed with the increase of thy knowledge, that through all the intricacies and probations of life, thy race may be steady, and its termination be within the everlasting gates of that city, whose inhabitants are established in peace without alloy.

The first perception of approaching liberty to revisit my native land, was allowed on my return from a laborious and painful visit to the western shore of Maryland. I never, until then, found myself at liberty, or even much desirous to draw the curtain aside, but it was then rather lifted up by the Master's hand, and a two-fold sense was given, of peaceful approbation, and a view of release. Nevertheless, my mind is quietly calm, yet under the weight of some remaining service, and solemnly still, without any tumultuous emotion, in the view of my again being personally conversant with those to whom I am united in the ties of nature, and the closer cement of grace.

I have gratefully and reverently to acknowledge, that the unspeakable mercy of an all-sufficient Hand has been plentifully extended, in such a manner as loudly to demand a humble abasement and faithful subjection to his holy requirings.

Being made to know I go not in this warfare at my own expense, but though spiritually without bag, scrip, staff, or shoes on my feet, of my own providing, yet the inexhaustible store-house, armoury, and wardrobe, where all the living generations have sought and received supplies, is often opened to my humbling admiration; and though I have travelled at great expense, the bag continues to be filled with fresh riches, the scrip with suitable bread, and the staff strong to support in arduous, painful pilgrimage; and though I have travelled amongst sharp, cutting rocks, rending thorns, and even amongst scorpions and serpents, my feet are not bruised, but shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace and light.

I have not an exulting thought in my heart to appropriate these favours to my own wisdom or worthiness, but my exultation is in the

name of Him whose mercy is unutterable, and not at all proportioned to my merits, which would issue in eternal misery, if interposing condescension averted not the stroke. Oh! that every succeeding day of my life may produce a testimony of my awful regard to the riches of Divine forgiveness.

I have had another smart attack of my old complaint; it was not of long duration, confining me only eight days, but for four days exceedingly grievous pain in my side, breast, and back. It seized me at New York, in a house where both inclination and ability concurred to render me every service possible. I was so disabled as not to be able to ride on horseback, but came in a chaise from New York hither, and in about fourteen days was bravely recovered.

Another circumstance it may not be improper to mention, lest it should come some other way. The day I came to New York, one of the ferry-boats was upset, and eleven people drowned. As it was pretty generally known that I intended to cross the ferry that day, it was suggested that I was amongst the people who were lost, and the report circulated through the neighbouring provinces with surprising swiftness, even down to Maryland in four days. I was apprehensive some forward person might transmit it to England, and therefore, with a grateful heart to the great and good Preserver, give thee and my friends, if such a rumour should come, this intelligence. I passed the ferry the same day in safety. I had a meeting that day in the seat of government of the Jerseys, in the Presbyterian meeting-house; the Governor, J. Belcher, procured it, and attended the meeting. I dined with him afterwards, and met with a kind, affectionate reception; he is old, and his body enfeebled, but I think his immortal part not far from the kingdom.

I could not pass by this circumstance, as in that town, *i. e.* Elizabethtown, our dear and worthy father met with bitter opposition when last here, from the former priest, and with difficulty got a meeting in the place; and such is the change, that the present priest voluntarily offered me, in his terms, "his pulpit." I did not ascend his rostrum, but, as no place could be procured equally large for the reception of the people, accepted the house. It was a day of memorable mercy, and I hope as such will be remembered. The general spring meeting here was very large, Friends from remote places coming to see and take leave of the Europeans, and it was a great and good meeting in its various sittings.

Since that time I have travelled several hundred miles, visiting some fresh places, and re-visiting others where I thought duty led,

and have now gone through all the provinces of North America, as fully as any that ever came into these parts, excepting one remote corner in New England, where are two small meetings. Yet am I fastened here; Joshua Dixon sailed some days ago, in a vessel for London. Some weeks ago I went aboard the vessel, but it seemed to me no place of rest, nor my business here finished. Joshua thought he was released, and the ship appeared pleasant. I too, with humble submission, desire when I may, to return, but M. P., C. P., and myself, felt our minds alike restrained from returning; and although we now see little before us, yet we are bound to this place and land, for what end we cannot fully see; but the Lord is with us, and therein we desire humbly to acquiesce.

There are several very large quarterly meetings coming on, which I am ready to believe will tend to our discharge.

The distress of this province is great—its commotions violent—all the desolations of a cruel Indian war impending, and the legislature in a great degree infatuated; it seems like a judicial desertion of all their counsels, and every step they take increases their perplexity. Friends have interposed for the restoration of peace, and borne their testimony faithfully; I hope it will issue in their dismission from government, their connexion with which hath been of great dis-service of later times to the real end of our being raised up as a peculiar people, to bear our testimony to Him whose kingdom is in peace and righteousness. The love of power, the ambition of superiority, the desire of exemption from suffering, strongly operate with many under our name, to continue in stations wherein they sacrifice their testimony, and are as salt which hath lost its savour. But as it now appears that we can scarcely keep the Truth and its testimony inviolate, and retain those places, many stand up on the Lord's side, and declare they have none on earth in comparison with the God of their fathers.

I am already sensible of perils amongst false brethren, and am afraid they will be strengthened from your side of the water; some letters are already received, disapproving Friends' conduct here, in a crisis in which there appeared to me an awful inquiry, Who is on my side, who?

I intended to have written to dear brother, but am not allowed time; the present posture of affairs is not to be described in a short compass, and I cannot meddle with gathering a bundle of sticks to lay upon a fire which already burns too fiercely, lest I should gather a viper to bite my hand.

My dear love attends M. W., and what can

I say to her that she knows not, of the alone everlasting Husband and Judge for the widow and fatherless, whom she knows, and who I humbly hope will not fail in this time of trial?

If any ask when I return home, I can only say, as soon as I can and bring peace with me; that peace I have diligently sought; and though the curtain long drawn between me and home, is at times a little drawn by, yet I see not full liberty to leave this land, but hope a few weeks more may set the seal of peace upon my dismissal.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Philadelphia, Fourth month 29th, 1756.

I acknowledge with thankfulness the kind regard of our great Master, in keeping us in quiet resignedness in this time of separation, for his cause' sake, and that he is present in the needful hour. I might speak largely of his gracious dealings with me in this laborious service, but I silently adore his hand, and crave his favours may be remembered by me, and produce a testimony of daily and awful regard to the richness of his mercy.

..... I greatly rejoice to hear of some revival amongst you, and ardently wish preservation, stability, and growth to every plant our Heavenly Father hath planted, and I am abundantly convinced, it will not be of the Lord that unfruitfulness and instability appear in any. He would yet make Zion the joy of the whole earth.

I expect this is the last letter I shall send from these parts. I am humbly thankful that the Hand which directed my opening services on my first arrival here, is near to help and strengthen to my own comfort; and I may reverently say, he hath set before me an open door amongst this people, and they know, and the Lord knows, I have not flattered them, nor coveted any marks of their regard.

..... The frontiers of Pennsylvania continue to be harassed by the barbarous Indians, who destroy man, woman, and child; all attempts to defend themselves against them seem vain, and the means of restoring peace, (to wit) doing the Indians justice, by fully paying them for their lands, were in the beginning shamefully neglected, and will now be very difficult to bring about.

Unsearchable are the ways of Providence in the execution of his judgments, and his steps in his holy sanctuary, to get himself a name: resentment, anger, and destruction to their enemies, seem to be the general reply to this awful voice, instead of a strict inquiry, "Is

there not a cause?" Oh that this and our mother country may both learn righteousness, before the brandished sword of justice be unsheathed to their terrible chastisement!

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

JOHN CHURCHMAN TO ANN FOTHERGILL.

East Nottingham, Fifth month 23rd, 1756.

There are but few of the many friends in England that I more frequently remember than thee and thy dear brother, and that with sincere desires that the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of your own natural father, may still remain to be the preparer and sanctifier of your hearts, and that you may still remain to delight therein; this, with a mind truly bounded and made content with the allotment of Providence, is great gain indeed. Our whole life, from earth to heaven, should be one continual travel, and as our heart's desire is towards, and our eye fixed on, the mark of the prize that is before us, and this object continues rising, so the world is left further and further behind, and grows, as to its enticing things, smaller and smaller.

Your dear brother has made an honest visit to the churches in America, and if he has not much increased in words and fine eloquence, I am sensible he has improved in the root of living ministry, and has been baptized into the states of the people, as much as any I ever knew from Europe, and I think, though I love him nearly, my judgment is not biassed by the warm regard I have for him; we may value one another for the work's sake, but there is no praise due to man for the excellency of the gift, for every gift, good and perfect, comes from God; in humble reverence let him alone be therefore praised for ever, and all his own works will praise him who is worthy for ever and ever.

Dear friend, thy countenance is as familiar to me at this hour, as it was when I enjoyed that quiet rest at your house, so very acceptable to me, being almost worn out, and your singular kindness and regard can never be forgotten by me; at seasons, whilst I was in London, I felt very poor and worthless, and tender usage makes deep impressions; I acknowledge, had it not been for such humbling seasons, whereby I was taught to know myself, I had been less worth than I at present am. Perhaps it may be some encouragement to thee to know that some others have been taught to think meanly of themselves, when, for their trial, their Life has withdrawn himself, and left them to view their own imperfections.

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

ELLEN EVANS TO ANN FOTHERGILL.

Sixth month. 1756.

Though I am a stranger to thy person, yet not so to the good character thou bears, therefore I find freedom to send thee a recital of the close, prophetic warning of approaching trials, which was delivered to a large auditory, at the time of our quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, by thy brother, soon after his arrival, when not so much as a handsbreadth of cloud appeared over our land; but in a short time a storm arose and fell heavy on many within our borders. As the subject was solemn, so was he quite great in the delivery of it, which was to the following effect, viz:—A holy commemoration of God's kind dealings, formerly, and latterly, to this our thriving colony; aptly comparing it to the vineyard, the Lord thereof had in a very fruitful hill, which, after clearing and fencing, he planted with the choicest vine; such indeed were the first inhabitants of Pennsylvania, men of excellent talents, both natural and divine;—when, looking for fruit, behold it brought forth wild grapes. He then queried, what more could have been done for a people than had been done for *us*? He besought us to consider what fruit we were bringing forth?—if sour grapes, we might expect the fence should be taken down, and we trodden and laid waste:—signifying that such would be our case, if not prevented by timely repentance and amendment of life. Such, indeed, was the force of Divine evidence which attended him, that Friends' minds were seized with awful dread, and had to say to each other, after meeting: Is this the last warning that we are to receive? It seems so like that of Jeremiah to the Jews, just before the destruction of Jerusalem!

The first time I had an opportunity to hear him I thought he flew high, even to the third heaven; when a pang of slavish fear took me, and I had liked to have wished him there for good and all; that is, safe in his heavenly mansion; but I was stopped, and bid not to pray that he should be taken *out* of the world, but to breathe for his instruction while *in* it; which I did with all the little ability I had. But when I had opportunity to observe his humble, watchful conduct, like one always walking in fear, my fear, before mentioned, was entirely removed.

He is now going to leave us, who are so nearly united to him, that bidding him farewell seems a heavy task to me and mine; that sweet flow of divine love which frequently passes through his heart to his auditory, endears him to all, both saints and sinners.

There is a fine company of them going together. Those precious ministers, Mary Peisley, and Catharine Payton, whose services were great in these parts of the world, and also our dear ancient friend, Abraham Farrington, and Samuel Emlen, jun.

As love for a long time hath been grown in my heart to thy worthy father, who, of all men, struck the deepest impressions, in a religious sense, on my mind, so it is matter of rejoicing to me to hear of the welfare of his family. I often do believe God has a peculiar regard to the seed of the righteous; such, dear friends, you are. May the blessing of your father's God rest plentifully on all your heads.

..... Accept of the love of one of thy father's old friends,
ELLEN EVANS.

In several of the preceding letters, mention is made of the alarm which then prevailed, on account of the inroads made by the Indians on the back settlements of Pennsylvania and some neighbouring states. It was a time of war between England and France, and the French authorities in Canada had engaged some of the Indian tribes in this warfare.

The city of Philadelphia, in particular, was in a state of much excitement; the defeat and death of General Braddock; the devastations committed by the Indians, and the fear that they and their allies might even attack the city itself, caused great and general alarm.

Friends were under an exercise of mind, not only that all the members of the Society might be kept quiet and faithful in support of its testimony against all war, but were also much engaged in interceding and making efforts with the Government and with the Indian chiefs, with whom they had great influence, to prevent a general Indian warfare. Another cause of anxiety was an impost or war tax, which the Assembly had laid upon the inhabitants, by which Friends were brought into considerable difficulty.

Samuel Fothergill, as was often acknowledged, was very helpful to Friends under these circumstances; aiding them with his counsel, and frequently engaged in earnest exhortations for all to remain faithful in support of their Christian testimony. "If the potsherds of the earth clash together, let them clash!" was his language; and his charge in particular to Friends was to abide in their tents, and not so much as to look outward, but to avoid and keep clear of every thing contrary to the peaceable spirit of the gospel of Christ; and thus to show themselves his true disciples. He joined with several other Friends in signing and issuing at this time an epistle of advice

and caution. He also united with Friends in their efforts to preserve the peace of the colony, and in particular to prevent the Indians from becoming engaged in the war. These efforts were frequent and strenuous, but proved unavailing. In his Journal are the following entries.

“Fourth month 9th, 1756.—Had some labour amongst Friends, to endeavour to prevent a cruel Indian war; and had also a conference with the present and late Governor, along with J. P., [John Pemberton,] upon the present posture of affairs; they received us with candour, but our labour was ineffectual, for on the

“10th, a day to be remembered through many generations with sorrow, the Governor agreed to proclaim war against the Delawares, and delivered the hatchet into the hands of some of the Indians.”

This conclusion on the part of the government, was the source of much distress to Friends in general; and Samuel Fothergill largely partook of it. He, Catharine Payton, and Mary Peisley, during one of their earlier visits to Philadelphia, were in that city when the first soldiers who had received their commission from the English government, arrived there, under the command of General Braddock. The circumstance excited considerable attention, and is thus mentioned by C. Payton, in her Journal:—“I said a cloud of darkness came with them. The Lord had settled this colony by peaceable means; he hath hitherto protected it by his own Almighty arm, and it prospered greatly; but henceforward disunion and disturbance prevailed and increased in it. Our friend, Samuel Fothergill, as well as we, were strongly and affectionately engaged to promote peace, and guard them against the event, which he feared would ensue, and which in time followed.”

The general Spring meeting held in Philadelphia, (1756,) was very numerously attended, and was a solemn, instructive meeting; in which the Friends, whose labours in America were now nearly accomplished, had considerable service, and in the love of the gospel, took a solemn and affectionate leave, and soon afterwards embarked for Europe.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

On board the Snow Polly, near Bombay
Hook, Sixth month, 1756.

Thy very acceptable salutation, I read in that love and affection in which I am sure it was written; and I trust the pure friendship, hitherto subsisting since our first acquaintance, will often receive a holy stimulus as we have recourse to its inexhaustible source with suita-

ble frequency, and furnish us with both inclination and ability to converse together, when we must be necessarily separated in body: for I think, whilst I am in the body, I shall never forget the regard and sympathy thou hast manifested; and although the heavenly approbation is the most to be prized and sought after, yet the pure fellowship of the brotherhood is a stream from that eminent spring whence all good proceeds; and even the fellowship of the saints on high, in the Father's love, is a part of their felicity.

I have taken my leave of America with peace and quietude of mind. I have some sea store, but not to profusion. I beg wisdom to husband it well, that I may carry some of it home, and know it blessed when I come there. I have sometimes deeply inquired into my own state, and feared an apostacy, in that the ecstasies of joy, heretofore very often renewed, have of late time very much abated. It hath taught profitable inquiries, and hath sometimes appeared not to be occasioned by declension, but by a solid equanimity in enlargement of experience, and more productive of stable joy and fixedness, than the variable circumstances attending the former. I boast not of my growth, for I have not overgrown a variety of painful weaknesses. I am easy with a solid review of my journey, and believe I shall very frequently remember many of you in love unfeigned.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

The last entry in S. Fothergill's Journal is this:—“5th of sixth month, 1756.—Came on board the vessel Charming Polly, John Troy, master, bound for Dublin.—Left this land, with peace and holy quiet.”

Thus concluded, with that reward he had so earnestly desired, and so diligently sought, the visit of Samuel Fothergill to America:—a visit, during which he had faithfully and honestly laboured, and wherein he spake diligently the things of the Lord; he had taught publicly, and from house to house, and had not shunned to declare all the counsel of God.

To many in that land he had become bound by the strong ties of Christian love; this bond was mutual, and terminated but with life itself. Many were the proofs and testimonies reciprocally given of this feeling; several more public testimonials were also issued by his friends, of their approbation of his labours amongst them.*

* The following certificates, which he brought from various meetings, are amongst the records of Hardshaw monthly meeting, viz:—

From the monthly meeting of Hopewell, held at Opechan, in the county of Frederick, Virginia.

The vessel in which the Friends embarked had a comparatively quick, though rather a stormy passage, of thirty-four days. The waves, at times, dashed over into the cabin. Notwithstanding the stormy weather, they had many good and precious meetings during the voyage, some of which were attended by the master and sailors.

It being a time of war, several French privateers were in the Irish channel; they were favoured to avoid these, and to arrive in safety at Dublin, on the 9th of the seventh month, 1756.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

Dublin, Seventh month 10th, 1756.

I salute thee in the tenderest affection, and hereby inform thee of my safe arrival in this city, after a good passage of five weeks, in which time I have been, and yet am, greatly favoured with health, and a degree of that holy peace which passes understanding. Glory and praise to His adorable name, who lays the beams of his chambers in the waters, and is the defence of his people forever.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

They were detained in Dublin upwards of two weeks. On the 25th of seventh month, Samuel Fothergill and Catharine Payton embarked for Holyhead, and proceeded thence to Chester. Here they parted: and on the 29th of that month, Samuel Fothergill was favoured to reach in safety his own house at Warrington.

From the quarterly meeting held at Symones Creek, North Carolina.

From the monthly meeting held at Frederickburgh, South Carolina.

From the yearly meeting held at Nancemond, Virginia.

From the yearly meeting held at West river, in Maryland.

From the quarterly meeting held at Portsmouth, Rhode Island.

From the quarterly meeting held at Flushing, in Long Island, New York.

From the quarterly meeting held at Burlington, New Jersey.

From the monthly meeting held in Philadelphia, 28th of fifth month, 1756. (This is signed by eighty men Friends.)

The tenor of these documents is,—“That his public labours amongst us, both in the ministry and the discipline, have been fervent, deep, and lively; to the edification and building up of the Church, the information of strangers, and to the great satisfaction of such as wish well to Zion’s cause.”

According to the account kept in his Journal, he had travelled, during his visit in America, eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-five miles.

CHAPTER IX.

THE impressions made upon the mind of SAMUEL FOTHERGILL by his visit to America, were never obliterated; his diligent labours there for the advancement of truth and righteousness—his fervent desires that these labours might not be in vain, but that, through the blessing of Him whom he desired to serve, there might be brought forth fruit, even an hundred-fold—his intercourse with Friends—his warm attachment to them—the particular friendships formed with many—and the deep interest he ever afterwards continued to feel for their welfare and their various concerns, were subjects often predominant in his thoughts, and conspicuous in his correspondence.

Amongst those to whom Samuel Fothergill became much attached whilst on his visit to America, and whose minds were peculiarly affected by his ministry, was Samuel Emlen, son of Joshua and Deborah Emlen, of Philadelphia. He was endowed with great natural powers of mind, with a peculiar readiness and fluency of expression, and had received a liberal education, being well skilled in several languages. He accompanied S. Fothergill on his return to Europe, and an intimate friendship ever afterwards subsisted between them.

He was the companion of Abraham Farrington during part of his religious visit to England and Ireland, and at a meeting at Carlow he first appeared in the ministry. In this service he travelled much on the American Continent; he also visited the island of Barbadoes, and was several times in England, where he travelled extensively, as well as in Ireland and Holland.

In 1772, he crossed the Atlantic, with John Woolman, intending to pay a visit to his much-loved friend, Samuel Fothergill, then in a weak state of health; they arrived in London at the time of the yearly meeting, and when that was concluded, he hastened to Warrington; but ere he arrived there, his friend was released from the bonds of mortality, and had entered into his rest. Samuel Emlen attended the interment, and was largely engaged in the ministry on that occasion.

His last visit to Europe was in 1796; he was not able to travel much, but spent most of the time in Dublin and in Lancashire, visiting the meetings and families of Friends very acceptably, thus setting the seal to his previous abundant labours in England and Ireland.

Upon his return home in 1797, the health of Samuel Emlen became much impaired; his constitution was naturally weak and infirm, and from this period he gradually de-

clined. A short time before his decease, being at a meeting at Philadelphia, whilst engaged in a lively testimony, he was seized with violent pain; leaning for support on the rail of the gallery, he pathetically repeated these lines:—

"My life, if thou preserv'st my life,
Thy sacrifice shall be;
And death, if death must be my doom,
Shall join my soul to thee."

He departed this life on the 30th of twelfth month, 1799, aged nearly seventy years, having been a minister forty-two years. His interment was attended by a large assemblage of his friends and fellow citizens, of all ranks and degree.

During the last visit of Samuel Emlen to Europe, he spent much time at Warrington, and was accustomed often to advert to the labours of his departed friend S. Fothergill, and to the powerful and awakening tendency of his ministry. He would frequently visit the house in which his friend had lived, (it was then occupied by the editor's parents,) and describe and expatiate upon the hours they had there passed together: he also related several interesting passages and circumstances connected with Samuel Fothergill's visit to America; amongst others, the following:—That during a visit which he paid to a few Friends scattered in the back parts of Pennsylvania, they had to endure much hardship, were sometimes obliged to pass the night in the woods, having the sky for their canopy, their travelling cloaks for covering, and using their saddles for pillows. Late one night, they arrived at a solitary house, in a lonely place; here they requested lodgings for the night, which were granted. They found that the house and extensive farm around it belonged to an individual, the mistress of many servants employed upon the land; she was of masculine character, and strong powers of mind, but of an unregenerate heart, much under the influence of unsubdued passions, and greatly addicted to profane swearing. S. Fothergill told his companion, that from what he had observed, he thought her the most wicked woman he had ever seen. She nevertheless treated them with civility, and even kindness. The situation of the family, with such a character for its head, caused some exercise of mind to S. Fothergill, and in the morning he requested that the household might be collected, and that they might sit down together; this was complied with, and the whole family was assembled. He addressed them in a remarkable manner, and in particular he was led to lay open the wickedness of the human heart in its unregenerate state, and the awful conse-

quences of remaining in such a state; his language and expressions were so powerful, that the mistress of the house was greatly affected, her spirit was broken, and she wept much.

After this, feeling at liberty, the Friends prepared to depart, they took leave of the family, and desired to pay for their entertainment. She refused to accept anything, but said they were quite welcome to every thing they had had; adding, that she was unworthy to receive such guests under her roof; and so powerfully had the word preached wrought upon her heart, that she exclaimed, "You are angels, but I am a devil!"

Another circumstance was related by Samuel Fothergill himself, of a Friend at whose house he had lodged when passing through the wilderness. These thinly peopled back settlements were then much infested by wolves, and she told him of a remarkable deliverance which she had once experienced from these ferocious animals.

She was a widow, and lived with her son, who cultivated a small piece of land, which furnished them with a frugal subsistence. Their nearest neighbour, who lived a few miles distant, through the forest, came early one afternoon, to request she would visit his wife, who was suddenly taken very ill, and stay with her while he went for medical advice. With this she complied, and putting up in a basket a few needful things for the sick woman, she told her son she did not expect to return before the next morning, and set out and reached the place in safety.

With suitable remedies, the invalid soon recovered, and her husband coming speedily back, the widow concluded to return home that evening, hoping, as it was a fine moonlight night, that she might pass the forest without danger; but, on crossing an open glade, she saw a company of wolves drinking at a pool of water at some distance, which made her sensible of her great rashness and imprudence, knowing, that unless she could pass unobserved, her destruction was inevitable, as no human help was at hand; for though her home was now in sight, she could not get in, believing her son would be in bed, and the cottage fast. In this strait, she lifted up her heart to God, in earnest prayer, that He, who had often strengthened and consoled her in many troubles, would now be pleased to interpose for her help, and that as she was returning from a work of charity, he would not permit her to be devoured by these savage creatures; her mind became composed, and she ran quickly forward: on crossing the fence, she looked back, and perceived that one of the

wolves had raised his head, and discovered her; he uttered a shrill cry, and immediately the whole pack was in pursuit.

Meanwhile, her son, not expecting her, had retired to rest, but he could not sleep; a strange and unusual anxiety came over his mind, which continually increased; he got up, and made a large fire of wood, which blazed brightly, by which he sat down; in a short time he thought he heard his mother's voice calling to him, and opening the door, he perceived her, followed by several wolves; one was so near as almost to touch her shoulder with his paw. The sudden light dazzled and checked them, and for a moment they fell back, which gave her time to rush into the house and close the door, when she, with her son, both greatly affected by this deliverance, united in returning thanks for the merciful interposition which had so remarkably preserved her life.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO CATHARINE
PAYTON.

Eighth month 1st, 1756.

I affectionately salute thee in a degree of that love which hath often mutually united, and raised desires for the preservation and establishment of each other in these days of dissipation, when so few come up to the solemn feasts: and dear friend, our experience may teach us humbly comfortable lessons of the faithfulness and truth of our heavenly Father. How hath he sustained in trials, within and without! when the billows rolled high, his arm supported; and when the diffident heart was ready to say, "I shall no more see him in the land of the living," he hath renewed his presence to us as the morning light. Our duty, our greatest duty is, humbly to follow on to know Him; to abide under his holy, redeeming hand; that every branch which would sprout out of his holy counsel may be early removed; thus, I believe, a happy equanimity of spirit might be more generally known, and perhaps less of that deep suffering which sinks beneath the happy medium. I am afraid deep sufferings and baptisms must be known by all who retain their place in the Lamb's army; but such is the equity and truth of our Captain, that if patience have her perfect work, his true followers, even through the region of the shadow of death, fear no evil. May the Stay of the righteous in every generation thus direct our steps, in the midst of the paths of judgment, to the honour of his cause, the dignifying his name, and to our own peace.

I rejoice to hear of thy dear mother's agreeable state of health, and more so to un-

derstand the decline is made tolerable and easy, by an increase in that which remains when nature fails, and is the enduring riches of all who are happy. She has been long convinced of a fixed truth, and now feels its sweetness, that religion is the stay of life, and the greatest comfort of its close.

I am, through mercy, pretty well in health, calm in spirit, though much emptied. I know it is right, and may every residue of corruption, be searched out and removed. I can beg for sanctification through the spirit of judgment and of burning, and the degrees of glorification will be justly attained.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Third month 6th, 1756.

With a heart replenished with strong emotions of gratitude to the great Preserver of men, whose excellent name is the abiding defence of his people, and their sure munition, I affectionately salute thee, thy dear wife and children, for whom, not only from motives of gratitude, but the uniting cement of the family, I wish every degree of essential happiness.

Under the protection of the Holy hand, we arrived safe at Dublin, the 9th of last month, but I could not reach my own habitation until the 29th, being detained by contrary winds. But as service offered, and renewing of strength to perform it, I was preserved from much impatience, and have cause to believe our return by Dublin was in the wisdom and by the direction of Heaven.

I found all well at home, my dear wife fully as healthy as when I left her; and had awful occasion to acknowledge, not one word of the Lord respecting me or mine hath fallen to the ground. May it ever be awfully marvellous in mine eyes, and engage in prompt obedience to every succeeding call to service. O that I may be preserved to be remembered in the household, by the great Master, and his will respecting the labour, not mine, be done.

I am, at present, much restricted for time to write, but may just say, I am returned in peace, can review my labour amongst you at least with ease; and He who drew forth has caused the angel of his presence to be nigh at hand upon my return. I have nothing to rejoice in, but abundant condescension: nor doth any gloomy cloud of distress intercept my prospect of the heavens. Various are the prospects of the skies, according to the time of day; but if the dark clouds arise not from our own misconduct, we may awake

and arise from them, and see the holy likeness.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Eighth month 10th, 1756.

..... No expressions are capable of setting forth the variety of trials, painful labour, and exercise, which, within and without, have attended me, since, this day two years, we parted at Gravesend; but I may say, with a deeply reverent heart, equally unalterable have been the sure mercies of our Heavenly Father and helper, before whom our darkness and weakness is open and known, and his saving arm of power magnified in the greatest distress. He hath graciously preserved, and helped, and kept, to return in peace and safety, when others of his precious servants have laid down their lives, far from endeared relatives. O that it may evermore be awfully marvellous in my eyes. I believe my going was in His wisdom, and have cause to believe my return was so likewise. I found work to do at Dublin while I staid, not without lively evidence that I was where I ought to be—and that is enough.

I believe we parted on the 10th of eighth month, 1754, and this is its anniversary; two years are revolved and lapsed, but I trust they are not lost, but have been employed to future advantage; at least my own, if I be enough bowed in heart to live near that Hand, which is the glorious supporter of all who bear its refining and turnings; I am calm, quiet, and easy, not returned with the rapturous fruition of heavenly riches; *they* are locked up in the celestial treasury, and one wiser than I keeps the key.

..... I have gratefully to acknowledge, He who is one of a thousand, hath been comfortably near to my spirit, as a holy stay and quiet rest; I have an evidence of acceptance, and that I have been where, and done what I ought. But it is conveyed in the still small voice, which requires very deep and silent listening, and not in the rapturous whirlwind. Good and wise is He with whom we have to do; oh, may we labour, with diligence and steady patience, to be meet for a place amongst his own children, who have their bread in due season.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

LYDIA LANCASTER TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Lancaster, Eighth month 13th, 1756.

..... Yea, thankful I am that thou hast been favoured with health, and every way preserved to perform such a long, heavy, trying journey, and to return in safety with peace in

thy bosom, and which I hope will rest upon thee like dew, to thy lasting refreshment, comfort and satisfaction, of which thy dear wife will also have a share; for she has been a true fellow traveller with thee, in a feeling sense of close sympathy, and hath borne thy absence in a most prudent manner, with much fortitude and Christian patience, and becoming cheerfulness.

When we heard of thy arrival at Dublin it made many glad hearts. I have often thought our quarterly meeting looked naked and weak without thee, yet Providence hath graciously condescended to our help and joy of faith.

I have lately heard that Friends have had another opportunity with the chief of the Jersey Indians, since thou came away, who seemed well satisfied with the conversation of Friends, and said they had now a different apprehension of Friends, having had their acquaintance mostly with the new-light Presbyterians. Many of them went with Friends to their meeting on first-day, and were much tendered under Truth's testimony.

LYDIA LANCASTER.

CATHARINE PAYTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Dudley, Eighth month 14th, 1756.

..... Solitude seems so much my choice, as well as safety, and my present business seems to be so much at home, that I am willing to look at it, being very desirous that I may not move out of my place, and so destroy that peace I am at present favoured with.

I am not, my dear friend, insensible that we are frequently (I had almost said, most frequently,) the cause of that distress of mind we feel, and hope earnestly to press after a state of perfect resignation to the Divine will. I believe there is such a state of rectitude and strength to be attained, as that we shall not be greatly moved either by outward or inward trials, in which attainment I know myself but too deficient; but through mercy, I have a heart that loves instruction, though it comes in judgment, and that has frequently prayed that the Almighty might not spare the rod when it was necessary, by which, as well as the staff, I have been comforted; yea, I have been fully willing that the righteous justice of God should be exerted, and if for any transgression I was cast into prison, I might remain there the appointed time. But, through his grace, I dare hope for a degree of liberty, which I already feel; and may my eye be ever kept humbly watchful, that my flight may neither be in the winter nor on the sabbath day.

CATHARINE PAYTON.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Warrington, Tenth month 26th, 1756.

It hath not been the effect of forgetfulness, that I have not before this time written to thee, from this, the land of my nativity ; but a variety of outward affairs, to which prudence required my attention, and some employment relative to the Society, may plead my excuse ; especially to one who knows I dearly love him, although I cannot tell him so at all times. It is surely when the warmth of this holy union prevails, that correspondence is most truly beneficial.

I am returned home in safety ; and though I feel no rapturous enjoyment of riches, yet pretty much exempt from outward blame, in the close review and examination of my progress in your land. Although the rod, as well as the staff, are the wise allotments of our Heavenly Father, and to me equally necessary, yet I find it safe to endeavour after steadfast dependence upon Him, with whom alone is salvation. I have sometimes a glimpse of more openness, and the more sensible testimony of acceptance. But may I seek more worthiness, for I have more than I merit. The western counties appointed their yearly meeting at Warwick this year. It was large, and I believe, upon the whole, satisfactory. Catharine Payton had very acceptable service ; but, between ourselves, I had a painful prospect and feeling of the present state of the ministry amongst us ; yea, more so than ever before. My sister Ann met me at Warwick, and I went with her to London, and much rejoiced to see her and the Doctor, not solely from motives of natural affection, but for the Truth's sake which is in them, and in which I hope they have grown in my absence. May the Lord of perfection carry on his own work, until they and we are entire, wanting nothing. It is many years since I was in that city, at any other time than at the yearly meeting, and was pretty much a stranger to the state of things amongst them, which I found lamentably low ; upon a view of those who might be instrumental in rebuilding the waste places, one cannot avoid a cry, " O Lord, by whom shall Jacob arise ? "

I found in almost every mind a secret displeasure against the Friends who signed the epistle of caution and advice ; and fully expected to be tried by the Meeting for Sufferings, for being concerned in it. But innocently conscious of my own and friends' integrity, and mindful of that which engaged us, I was quiet, and yet bold. I have this remark to make, although subscribing that epistle hath made me the butt of professor and profane, I

never once repented it ; I believe it was right, and leave the effect to Him, whose ways are unsearchable, yet faithful, just and true.

The Friends who are among you from Europe, will, I hope, be guided aright ; they have great need to ask wisdom of Him whose gifts are perfect ; many here expect they will condemn that epistle, and censure the Friends who signed it ; some think otherwise ; but it is the promotion of Truth itself, (not our names, and our own honour,) my soul begs. I have not hitherto received a line from any Friend in America, except two from Rhode Island. You are many of you very near to my life, and fresh in remembrance : methinks I should be sorry to be entirely forgotten, though I had rather that was the case, than that the message I had to deliver in my Heavenly Master's name should be written in dust. I am often with you in spirit and true sympathy ; the clouds seem black, and filled with tempest ; happy is it for those who have a Refuge to flee to in time of storm, even the ancient enduring fortress of the righteous, the strong tower of David.

This nation seems in a ferment, and likely to come to distress ; a scarcity of bread, and various losses ; a divided people, and many enemies amongst ourselves ; and what is most to be lamented, our crying iniquities cut us off from Divine favour, as it may justly be feared. These things seem to me to portend a cause of humiliation, perhaps more awfully alarming than any thing we have long met with. I cannot divest myself of pain for my native land, as an inhabitant of it, nor yet a remembering our multiplied offences against the Lord of heaven and earth, or desire a breach in the uniformity of his attributes, by his withholding punishment from those who have despised and abused his mercies, and mocked at his gentle correction. With respect to my health, it is not so good as in your country ; a pretty frequent cause of complaint in my breast hath attended me, and hath been one cause of my silence, writing much being painful.

Our honourable and aged friend, David Hall, departed this life a few weeks ago, having been some time indisposed, but went off suddenly at last, though I fully believe in a happy preparation for that rest which is glorious.

I must draw to a conclusion, with the salutation of dear love in our holy Head and High Priest, which extends over sea and land, and is stronger than death ; may we be made and preserved such sanctified vessels, as often to be replenished thereby, and be preserved, in times of withdrawing, chaste and dependent, that our fruit may be on us every month, in the variety of seasons in the Lord's year. My

dear wife is bravely, and joins with me in the most affectionate tenders of true love.

Thine, in the fellowship of the hope and sufferings of the gospel of Christ,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Tenth month 26th, 1756.

In a fresh sense of that love and pure friendship in which our spirits have been at times mutually refreshed and united, I very affectionately salute thee, ardently wishing for thee, as for myself, an increase with the increase of God, and that whereunto we have already attained, we may hold fast without wavering, and persevere in that path which hath been mercifully cast up for us, and is indeed the path of peace.

Many are the difficulties and trials through which lies our passage to rest; and that the souls of a remnant know right well. Yet with equal certainty have they to rejoice in All-sufficiency, and make His most excellent name their song in the house of their pilgrimage. The main and proper business of every traveller, who would succeed in his journey, is to keep close to his Guide, whether the road be joyous or more afflicting. Sometimes, by endeavouring to take a shorter, and at other times an easier path, people have insensibly wandered away, and gone on without going forwards, and their mistake been fatal. Sometimes a smooth path has, by its seeming straight direction, and contiguity to the right one, diverted us from arduous labour, and we have been induced to choose present ease, at the expense of true peace; and the danger of final miscarriage hath been hid for a time, but at last appeared with awful weight; happy where timely enough to retrieve the mistakes resulting from former indolence or inattention. We live in a benumbing climate, and every hour brings with it a torpedo, to stupify our right hand. Though, dear friend, I am not jealous of any peculiar necessity for the application of the above hints to thee, yet I am so conscious of their relation to myself, that I cannot well omit them, as they flow unsought for, not unfelt.

..... That ancient cord of love, which binds up in the heavenly bundle of love and life, is often around my spirit, in sympathy and fellowship with some of yours; though a debility of mind often is my lot, in which I am disqualified from much expression, and sometimes have no right to express any thing. I have been much divested of the sense of heavenly treasure in my own possession, since my return, but am thankful for a resigned, quiet spirit, which I feel is not insensible stu-

pidity; and all I beg for is, to be remembered and replenished, in the wise proportions of His knowledge, who keeps the windows of heaven shut as it pleaseth him, and opens when he sees meet. I am poor, yet not void of hope at times, and I thank my Heavenly Master I am content. I rarely open my state, but to Him who can relieve and supply; but it may not be discouraging to thee to know there are others poor and needy besides thyself.

We seem in great agitation in this kingdom, and perhaps on the eve of some national calamity. Few, very few, lay it to heart. Destruction and bloodshed seem the principal topic of converse, but the real enemy and great destroyer is cherished as a friend. I think there seems an increase in wickedness in this land, and it appears to draw fast down a stroke from that Hand, which will make its own way in the earth, and be magnified in righteousness. I do not expect your present situation is the most pleasing; but oh, that the Rock of the righteous, and their dwelling-place throughout all generations, may be our fortress, for the clouds seem heavy with a tempest.

Dear John, thine assured friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JAMES WILSON.*

(The original is in the possession of Thomas Thompson, Liverpool.—G. C.)

Warrington, Eleventh month 9th, 1756.

Dear and worthy friend,

As I am persuaded thou hast greatly at heart the welfare of Zion, and in a particular manner art interested in me, having discharged

* This venerable Friend resided near Sedbergh, but in his latter years he lived at Kendal. He was born near Kirby, Lonsdale, in 1677, became convinced of the principles of Friends, and when about thirty years of age received a gift in the ministry, in the exercise of which he travelled much in England and Scotland, and was frequently engaged in holding public meetings in many places where no meetings of Friends had been ever held before; great and serviceable were his labours herein.

He had to pass through many trials and afflictions, both inwardly and outwardly, under which he was sustained with much resignation. He had nine children, and many grand-children, all of whom he survived, excepting two of the latter.

A few years before his death, he thus wrote:—"I am now waiting, and beseeching God Almighty to grant me the continuance of his blessed grace and Holy Spirit, to aid and assist me in a full preparation for death, and calmly to resign myself to it; and above all, to grant me his help in that painful and trying season, that I may forever praise His holy name, who is forever worthy, with his dear Son, who is my dear and blessed Saviour. Amen!"

He died at Kendal, twelfth month 30th, 1769, aged ninety-two, a minister sixty years.

the office of a father to me in my minority, with a father's regard and tenderness, I take up my pen to salute thee and thy dear wife, my worthy and honoured friend, whom as well as thyself, I still remember with distinguished, yea, filial regard; and can assure thee and her, though I have not made many professions of affection and esteem, there are few living to whom I bear an equal share, or who are the more frequent companions of my most affectionate remembrance.

A variety of labour, in which our heavenly and blessed Father hath engaged me, hath very much confined my mind to the service of the day, and rendered it necessary for friendship to give place to duty; so that my correspondence hath been but little, though, I hope, in the hidden root of immortal life, I am made a partaker of the fellowship of the brotherhood. But this, with the poverty and leanness which have been much my lot, hath laid the finger of silence upon my lips, and stopped my pen. I thought I found at least a liberty this evening to assure thee of my regard, and give thee some little account of myself, my labours abroad, and how, upon the whole, I apprehend the state of the Society is in those parts where my lot hath been cast. Through mercy, I have to acknowledge I was favoured with a more confirmed state of good health than usual, two short interruptions excepted. I travelled with diligence, and at times pretty hard labour; and as I passed through various provinces, I may give thee a hint how I fared, and found things in each.

To begin with Pennsylvania, where I landed. There are a very great body of people who bear our name, and many who deserve to bear it. A noble seed, of several classes respecting age, though too few of the aged amongst them, who have kept their garments clean, and whose hands are strong. Their fathers came into the country in its infancy, and bought large tracts of land for a trifle; their sons found large estates come into their possession, and a profession of religion which was partly national, which descended like the patrimony from their fathers, and cost as little. They settled in ease and affluence, and whilst they made the barren wilderness as a fruitful field, suffered the plantation of God to be as a field uncultivated, and a desert. Thus, decay of discipline and other weakening things prevailed, to the eclipsing of Zion's beauty; yet was there a noble remnant, whose love was strong, and who remembered the Lord of the whole earth and his house, whilst they built their own.

A people who had thus beat their swords into plough shares, with the bent of their spirits to this world, could not instruct their

offspring in those statutes they had themselves forgotten. As every like begets its like, a generation was likely to succeed, formed upon other maxims, if the everlasting Father had not mercifully extended a visitation, to supply the deficiency of their natural parents.

It consisted with his wisdom and mercy to reach forth a hand of love to many of them of the younger sort, and to subject their hearts to the work of his own power; and more especially of later time, he hath prevailed upon many in that province; brought some into the ministry, some fitting for it; and I trust for many, who are like the little sister, who hath no breasts to give to others the sincere milk of the Word, he is building them up as a wall, upon which a palace of silver may be reared. I cannot but hope in that province, particularly in the city of Philadelphia, it may be said Truth prospers, and there is a prospect that the succeeding generation may excel the last. I visited all their meetings, not as running hastily through them, but with great circumspection, and some of them four, five, or six times over, being desirous to leave them in peace.

Maryland is poor; the gain of oppression, the price of blood is upon that province—I mean their purchasing, and keeping in slavery, negroes—the ruin of true religion the world over, wherever it prevails. Friends there are greatly decreased in number, and mixed with the world, in whose spirit they dwell. Their unfaithfulness to their testimony against the hireling priests, and their hands polluted with the gains of unrighteousness, have almost destroyed even the appearances of Truth in various parts; and as the pure gift of the ministry cannot be communicated to such unclean vessels, there is a great scarcity of ministers. I know not more than two in the province on whom is the heavenly stamp visible, and they are neither negro keepers nor priest payers. Nevertheless, in this Sardis the blessed Hand is at work. Some are lately convinced, and among the rising youth are some of the true Hebrew race, who have heard the alarm of the heavenly trumpet, and come out of their dens and caves.

This very much describes also the state of Virginia; only I think I may add, the visitation of Divine truth seems more effectually received in various parts of this province than the former, and a spring of living ministry to edification; but here the youth are those whom the King of heaven delights to honour.

North Carolina is the next. There are a great many Friends in a part of it contiguous to Virginia; some truly valuable Friends, but few; yet many who offer a sacrifice of

that which cost them nothing. The largest body of Friends here seems to me the weakest; they have been a lively people, but negro purchasing comes more and more in use amongst them, and the pure life of Truth will ever proportionably decay. I travelled twelve hundred miles in this province, amongst Friends and others, and found some brethren and true members ingrafted into the Vine; though worldly mindedness and lukewarmness have seized upon many.

South Carolina hath only two meetings; one at Charleston, where there are few who bear our name, and fewer who deserve it; yet such is the force of our Divine testimony, as to gain place among the people. I had several very open meetings there, particularly two in the Baptist meeting-house, to great satisfaction. The principal people of the province attended, and the Lord of all mercies magnified his eternal name. The other is one hundred and thirty miles distant; a pretty settlement of Friends, mostly from Ireland.

I went thence to Georgia, and had a large meeting in the court-house, and some opportunities in the inn where I lodged, to some service, though there were not any there who bore our name.

I returned through the several provinces, as Truth opened my way; had sundry meetings in the county court-houses, and some of their places of worship; and finished my visit to Friends, where I had omitted any meetings in my going south; and upon my return rested a few days at Philadelphia.

The Jerseys were the next in course; I had much close labour there; there is a valuable body of Friends, but much chaff, though I trust things are upon the revival. Long Island contains a great body of Friends; some truly valuable, but the more aged have not walked as bright examples; the leaders of the people have caused them to err. I visited this island four times, and left it at last with a pained heart, to which the want of a hopeful prospect of things being better greatly contributed. Narraganset and Rhode Island were then in my course. I had much close labour amongst them; this world has intercepted their prospect of a better, and greatly impaired that beauty which once rested on them, or their ancestors, though I hope there remains a little remnant upright, with their lamps trimmed and burning. But, alas! the number of the faithful is there but as the gleanings of the vintage; I met with few places more discouraging. Thence, I went to Nantucket, a late plantation in comparison with many others, but too few there have kept their first love; divisions and contentions, the certain companions of the spirit of this world, have

hurt them; and as these have subsisted amongst the leaders of the people, their example hath been injurious to others. Yet, even here, hope remained, from a prospect of a rising generation coming up, to assert a testimony their fathers have forgotten or neglected.

Boston government was the next place where I found continual occasion of sorrow, yet intermixed with some hope. I had abundant labour, both with the natural branches of the olive tree, and those without. In that Aceldama, or field of blood, I was greatly favoured in many open and very large meetings, to publish the everlasting Gospel with some success, to my humble admiration, and thankful acknowledgment to the ever worthy Name. The state of the Society in this province is affecting. What open persecution could not effect, has been too fully accomplished by the caresses and favours extended to Friends there; nevertheless, there are a body of lively Friends up and down, who, I trust, walk in white.

I returned through Narraganset, Rhode Island, and Long Island, into New York government; where, though cause of sorrow appeared, yet it was not void of hope for many amongst them, whose faces are set Zionwards. In the city of New York is a small, but very valuable body of Friends, who grow in the Truth as it is in Jesus.

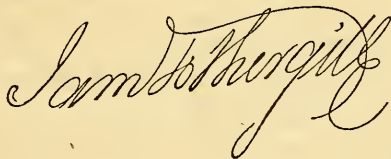
I returned to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, ninth month, 1755, which was very large, and truly comfortable. The winter I spent in close labour in Pennsylvania, and through Jersey, to my relief and ease of spirit. And although very painful baptisms attended me, yet the overshadowing of a rock which was higher than I, preserved in summer's heat and winter's storms; and graciously supplied for every time of want; and mercifully sustained with ability to bring forth fruit in every month, throughout the revolution of the Lord's glorious year.

I mention it to the praise of his most excellent Name, for righteousness belongs to him, but to me blushing and confusion of face; inward and outward salvation was the merciful and unmerited bounty of his hand; he staid me in humble reverence, when I came to the festival days of Mount Zion, and preserved me in patience, when I pensively mused on the scroll, written within and without, with mourning, lamentation, and wo.

Excuse the tediousness of this epistle. I did not expect it when I sat down; but my heart is touched with a lively sense of Divine condescension, and gratefully worships Him, not one of whose words hath fallen to the ground. I have nothing to glory in, and am weak; I have known strength. I am foolish,

I have been helped with wisdom. I am poor, but have been enriched. The rod I have often merited; the staff hath been often revealed. I have nothing; I am nothing; let the gain and praise be consecrated to Him, whose is the fulness of all wisdom, riches, and strength.

Farewell, my dear and honourable friend. May that arm which hath been thy succour, and the strength of thy youth and middle age, be near in the decline of life, perfect every thing necessary to be done to qualify for converse with the saints in light, and keep by its mighty power to the last moment. May the close of thy well run race be joyful: and when access is vouchsafed to the throne of grace, remember poor me, who may have yet a larger portion of the slippery course before me, that I may be enabled so to run as to obtain, and be preserved a monument of unutterable mercy to the end. Thy very affectionate friend,



THOMAS GAWTHORP TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Blackwater, in Virginia, Twelfth month 8th, 1756.

..... I should have been glad to have seen thee before thou left this continent, but it seems to me it was for the best that we had no personal communion with each other, for some in Nantucket were so weak as to imagine I had seen the letter thou wrote to Friends there. The difference is not closed, and I fear it will be to the hurt of many.

Thy labour for the renewing of the discipline seems to gall many stubborn ones, but causeth joy to those who are bowed in spirit for Zion's welfare; so that there is hope Truth may yet gain the ascendancy, and the church, which long hath had her place in the wilderness, as a lily amongst thorns, will, in the husband's time, become the beauty of nations, and Jerusalem the praise of the whole earth.

Friends were much distressed about training, in New England and New York governments; and though some could not suffer, yet a good number were faithful in the testimony they were called to bear on behalf of their Lord; who said, "My kingdom is not of this world; if it were, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews;" so that if, as servants of Christ, they could not fight for their Master's life,

much less for their own lives; and if not fight, not train, nor pay others to do that for them, which they believe they should not do, either for their Master or themselves. It is likely the state of Pennsylvania will be given thee by another hand, yet thus much I may say, the yearly meeting was a good, profitable meeting to many.

I hope thou wilt sometimes remember me, a poor traveller in these perilous times, with desires that fortitude and wisdom from on high may be my armour, whilst I have to pass through the broken ranks of these hosts, where sword is set against sword, and the divisions are so great, even amongst the first born sons of Jacob; for which my heart and bowels are pained within me.

THOMAS GAWTHORP.

Thomas Gawthorp, a fellow labourer with Samuel Fothergill, in America, was born at Skipton, in 1709. His father dying when he was young, he was put an apprentice; and meeting with severe treatment, he, to get free from it, enlisted into the army.

Whilst in that service, he attended a meeting at Skipton, wherein his mind was so affected by the powerful ministry of Mary Slater, that from that time forward he continued to attend Friends' meetings as opportunities offered, and was brought into great exercise of mind on account of his situation; yet he was not at liberty to have his discharge purchased, fearing that he might not stand his ground: one of the officers, observing his distress, made him an offer of his release, upon payment of the money paid to him when he enlisted; this, on solid consideration, he accepted, and left the army.

Soon after this he married Isabel Crosfield, and settled near Kendal, and in a short time came forth in the ministry; "his mind being devoted to the service of his great Master, and obedient to the manifestations of Truth, he grew in the gift received, and became a deep and able minister of the gospel; diligently labouring, in the openings of life, for the exaltation of Truth in the hearts of the people," often having close and pertinent counsel to deliver, well adapted to their different states; "not in the wisdom of man, nor in the eloquence of words, but, in the simplicity of the gospel, and with the demonstration of Divine authority. He, nevertheless, often found it his place to repress a too eager desire after words, by setting an example of humble and awful worship in solemn silence."

He several times visited many parts of this nation, Scotland and Ireland. He also visited Friends in America four times: from the last

of these visits he returned "much reduced in bodily strength; but he was preserved in much peace, being clothed with innocency and sweetness, quietly waiting for his change, and having an evidence that his day's work was nearly accomplished." He departed this life the 29th of ninth month, 1780, aged about seventy-one, a minister forty-seven years.

The following extract of a letter, written at the time of Thomas Gawthorp's last return from America, in 1778, gives some further particulars of him, and of the situation of affairs in Philadelphia:—

"William Dillworth brought my brother, Thomas Gawthorp, home in a chaise; he was very feeble, he can neither write, nor in any way use his right hand. He says he was twenty-seven days on his passage from Philadelphia to Falmouth; he was in the former place when Washington and his army were in it, also after he left it, and William Howe took possession of it without any opposition, many of the inhabitants rejoicing, though they had little left to give them, wanting almost every thing necessary for the support of the body; beef and mutton sold at half-a-crown and three shillings per pound, and other things in proportion. Before he left the place, four pins sold for a halfpenny, and Friends wished to have bought him two yards of flannel to put about him at sea, but could not get it. He says his son James, who is settled in Virginia, suffered much; and for refusing to muster when required by the Provincials, he was taken and marched two hundred miles, to Philadelphia, with his hands tied behind him and a gun on his back; he was not kept long, but sent home again, but was not allowed to see his father, though then in Philadelphia." (*Letter from Geo. Crosfield, Westmoreland, to his son Geo. Crosfield, Warrington, 1778.*)

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Twelfth month 8th, 1756.

A time of deep poverty and leanness, in which it hath pleased the heavenly Father I should be much exercised since my return, might plead my excuse were I silent. But I wish to assure thee of my very near regard, however poor and worthless I am: and indeed, I think, at times, I see a wisdom unutterable in the most stripping times which are allotted, when we sit alone and hold our peace, for our houses would never be so carefully swept and searched, if we had the ten pieces of silver in constant possession and view. I am, however, humbly content; I dare not complain, it is not lawful. There is

a just occasion administered by the inadvertence of the past, or for the instruction of the future part of life.

It consists with His wisdom, who is perfect in knowledge, to balance our steps in righteousness; he wisely ascertains the bounds of day and night; the hilly, rugged path and painful steps, the smooth part also of our race, are all planned in a knowledge too great for our present comprehension. Here may we reverently acknowledge our incapacity for choosing right for ourselves, and commit our all into his hand, as into the hand of a faithful and good preserver. In the midst of his attributes of glory and majesty, there is to be read the excellent name of most merciful Father; but this only when he gives vision to the eye he has formed; until then, who is so poor and blind as his servant?

May that Hand which hath led and sustained thee hitherto in slippery paths, from thy youth upwards, for such hath thy pilgrimage led through, be thy staff during the residue of thy passage; that by his help thou may offer an evening sacrifice of praise, and say, Oh! Lord, thou hast been with me from my youth to this hour.

Our worthy friends, A. Farrington and S. Emlen, have been at my house a week; the former has gone to visit a neighbouring county. I believe he will have great and good service amongst us. S. Emlen is not, at present, fit for much travelling, and is advised to lay by; I hope for his company at my house this ensuing winter.

I have not been favoured with a line from Pennsylvania since I left it; I am not distressed about it; may the message have its proper weight, and I care not if the messenger be forgotten. I have nevertheless, heard with sorrow of your distress, and the slaughter on you confines. I think the clouds are heavy with a storm towards various parts of the British empire; scarcity of bread threatens us here, and is already severely felt by the poor in many parts of this land.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

At the close of the year 1756, and during the winter, there was much distress amongst the poor in Warrington, as well as in many other places, owing to the high price of provisions, and insufficient employment: the sufferings of his neighbours excited the compassion of Samuel Fothergill, and he wrote the following address, in which he adverts also to the circumstance of the town being then encumbered with a company of itinerant stage players.

The address was published anonymously, but it effected the removal of those people from

the town, and caused a subscription to be raised for the relief of the suffering part of the inhabitants.

A few Hints addressed to the Inhabitants of Warrington, 1756.

The present distress of our poor neighbours justly demands our attention, and ought to excite in our minds a proper disposition to relieve them, accompanied with gratitude to that kind Providence who hath made us to differ from one another.

Sympathy with the distressed is a painful yet pleasing sensation, to those who consider the social duties of life necessary to be sustained with propriety, as one step towards a fellowship hereafter, [which] every consideration should induce us to aspire after.

If we are blessed with hearts susceptible of such impressions, to mitigate their distress will necessarily be our endeavour, if happily their burden may be made lighter through our assistance.

These remarks arise from the general complaints and cries of our suffering poor, which indeed are loud and piercing, through the want of bread. Circumstances the most painful, where not a few parents, after the labour of the day are compelled to hear, without any possibility of relief, the piteous cries of their children for bread; alas! they are not able to procure it for them.

That this is the state of many amongst us, is a most painful, certain truth; though perhaps, neither thought of, nor attended to by many, who in fulness of bread and ease, forget the anxiety of the poor.

What attempts have we made to relieve them, and mitigate their sorrow and suffering?

I wish I could give a detail of many:—are the inhabitants unable to administer relief to their poor neighbours? are their circumstances such as to render it difficult for them to sustain the necessary duties of society?

I believe otherwise.

Have we not had amongst us, for many weeks, a gang of players, vagabonds, declared such by the laws of the land! Cannot we find money enough to squander upon them, to supply their luxury, and pay them for corrupting our youth?

We can spare, as I am credibly informed, from eight to fifteen pounds per night, supporting, at the expense probably of one hundred pounds, these vagabonds, in defiance of every awful sanction of laws, Divine and human; and yet hear unmoved the cries, and see the tears, of our starving poor, who mourn for the relief we thus lavish away.

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Is this a loan to the Lord we might hope himself would repay?

Who will hesitate a moment, upon reflection, whether it be not more consistent with our duty and interest, to turn this stream of profusion into the families of the poor; to banish this nuisance from amongst us; prove ourselves capable of rational and religious considerations; and thereby will be suggested to us, in a time of need, the calm, peaceful evidence of our having been good stewards of the manifold mercies of God.

Inquire not who is the author of these remarks, but whether they are true.

PHILANTHROPOS.

JOHN PEMBERTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, First month 11th, 1757.

Our yearly meeting at Burlington was a time of great favour to the upright. Honest Thomas Gawthorp was there, and had some very satisfactory opportunities in public. In the meeting of ministers, John Churchman told me, he thought him equal at least to any he had ever heard. In the meetings for discipline, he was several times singularly favoured; but it is not often he is permitted thus to ascend: his path is trodden by few, and he is often reduced so low, both in body and mind, as to be scarcely able to keep on his feet.

The eye that is still over us for good, directed through the service of that meeting in a manner not to be forgotten; it began sooner and lasted longer than usual, and though many seemed to come prepared for war, yet the spirit of the Lamb was victorious, that without much argument or controversy, the mouths of gainsayers were stopped, and the authority of Truth presided remarkably to the conclusion; which was a little sooner than would have been chosen, if the burial of our worthy friend, John Evans, had not engaged many of us to assent to it. That good man had a time of close sifting and probation on his death bed; I went with Daniel Stanton to visit him a few days before he died, and found him low, dejected, and distressed. This should excite alarming considerations in some of us, who are conscious how vastly deficient we are of the attainments which he had experienced; yet, alas! I must confess we lay it too little to heart. JOHN PEMBERTON.

LYDIA LANCASTER TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Lancaster, First month 23rd, 1757.

..... That pure love which I often feel bubbling up towards thee in the spring of
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Divine life, engages me to send a few lines beseeching thy acceptance, as I know we have an endeared affection for each other, grounded in and upon that ancient Root, which hath hitherto borne up and been the support of us and of all the faithful, through the various tribulations of our march. And lest our grand adversary, under any disguise, should get one step in upon any of us, to deprive us of that free partaking of the sap, and virtue, and nourishment which this heavenly root affords, I have made a narrow search and close examination of myself and inward condition, with as much singleness and impartiality as I was capable of. For I was ready to think thou had not such full unity with me, nor indeed with few of us, as used to be. I could tell no reason for it, except that we could not all see and think alike about some new proposals, and in this we did not play the hypocrite, but spoke freely, and I believe in much love and friendship. I am sure I did, for it is the way Truth leads me, whether I may be the better or worse thought of for so doing; and after I have spoken my mind, do think myself clear, not bearing any grudge, or harbouring any ill opinion respecting those who may not at that time see as I do. But I search my belief over again, whether they or I was in the right; for we none of us plead infallibility, or desire any should pin their faith upon us, but desire all may see for themselves, and see right; so leave such things as cannot at that time be accomplished by love, nor strive too much, nor over-drive any of the flock, lest thereupon they should sicken and die; for all are not of one strength, and yet with care, time, and patience, may so run as to accomplish their journey. We read, the Apostle Paul was not only strong, but skilful also, in spreading the Gospel net, becoming weak with the weak, taking their pace in a gentle manner, whereby he caught many.

I hope it is far remote from my heart's intention to daub any stone in God's Zion with untempered mortar, or to heal any wound of sin deceitfully; but I find as it was love ever raised and made any of us instruments of service in the house, so it is by our abiding under the same influence that the body comes to be edified, and to grow from one degree of strength to another, to be changed from one measure of clearness in understanding, brightness and glory, to another. And though thou may think our meeting worse than it was a few years since, I own myself to be of another judgment, both respecting aged and young; but I may be mistaken, so shall leave it for time and truth to determine, and with a heart fruitful in love

to thee, my beloved and valuable friend, and thy dear wife, I now conclude, and remain thy real, true, and constant friend,

LYDIA LANCASTER.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ELLEN EVANS.

Warrington, Second month 4th, 1757.

That affectionate regard which Truth itself raised mutually in our hearts, is by no means impaired. Often, very often, since I left your land, has it been strongly revived, and more especially so upon receiving the sorrowful tidings of the removal of thy dear husband, a circumstance in which the affliction is, like the loss, very extensively felt. Thou mournest the loss of a tender husband; his children, that of an affectionate father; the church laments a pillar removed from the place it filled, at a time when such are greatly wanted. A sorrow allowable—for the perfect example of every virtue, even Jesus wept for Lazarus; this, nature demands, when its connexions are broken, and the endearing social ties dissolved: but thou well knowest, and I hope it now stands thee in stead, that we are all pilgrims and strangers, as our fathers were, each journeying on through this region of distress, towards that city which hath foundations. Why should we grieve too much when a companion with whom we have travelled many dubious, anxious steps, has an entrance granted him into the holy city a few moments before us, and enjoys consummate felicity, whilst we stand at the door and wait also for the same fruition, of which at times we receive the earnest?

Upon all the glory of the earth, and all its enjoyments, upon every visible thing, one inscription is written, as the immutable law and determination of Him whose name is the Most High; "They shall perish." Throughout all nature and natural connections, however endearing, it has been and must be verified. Equally fixed is the subsequent truth, the joy and the song of many generations, "But thou remainest." On this everlasting Husband, Father, Friend, and Succour may thou and thine now lean, and know this dispensation sanctified and blessed to all your help, in renewing diligent care to live and move, that when the Great Shepherd shall appear, and all his faithful servants with him, your portion may be among them for ever.

And now, I cannot avoid addressing myself to you, the descendants of my honoured, because honourable friend. I am convinced the same gracious Hand which was his support and comfort, has been near to some of you for the like glorious purpose, even to establish

you before him for ever. But I am jealous that the want of religious depth, and simplicity God-ward, hath been cause of halting, and rather a choosing to embrace the present world, and have a name eminent in it, than to have a new name, the name of God, and of the city of God. Thus will the heavenly tenders of immortal treasure be disregarded, and the vain shadows of things be preferred to those true riches, which none ever sought with too great diligence, or if they sold them, ever got their worth in exchange. A heart honestly concerned for your help cannot contain or dictate flattery; I love you dearly, therefore thus I write. I am also persuaded there is a seed and heritage that mourns in secret, because of its leanness, and honestly seeks relief whence it hath ever sprung. May stability and patience be the girdle of their loins, and in the Lord's time this poor, suppliant, distressed seed will delight itself in fatness.

One general hint from my own experience, and the parity of our states, would I suggest to young people. Let all your conduct demonstrate that you remember the worthy deceased with due affection, and though he be dead with respect to the body, yet let him speak. I have found it my duty and great advantage to place in view my worthy father, and in matters of importance, or dubious cases, to consult what would have pleased him, who was ripe in experience and judgment. I believe this reverence to the memory of a worthy and religious parent, is an oblation of sweet incense before the Everlasting Father.

Farewell, dear Ellen; may Israel's Rock be thy safe abode, and keep thee fresh in spirit, green and fruitful in old age, and unite thee to Him, and the many generations of the just, who are entered within the pearl gates.

Farewell, ye descendants of the great and good; imitate their example; as they followed Jesus Christ, follow ye them. Be wise, for it is true happiness: in wisdom you will fear to offend, and this fear is an excellent defence.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Second month 4th, 1757.

As the love I bear thee is sincere, I flatter myself it is reciprocal. I know thy engagements are various, I also know my own unworthiness to engross time which may be spent more usefully.

I think I am profited by the general silence of my acquaintance on your side the water; it has led to a solemn, strict scrutiny

and review. Perhaps I might have acted more wisely in some parts of my conduct; but if integrity of heart and honesty of intention are general salt, I appeal to the Searcher of hearts, every part of my labour amongst you was seasoned thereby. I have been, since my return, making some proficiency in the holy school. I left your land with a holy quiet, and knew upon my return the royal diadem upon me. I have known the withdrawing of the pure river, which is the cause of solid joy to those who are replenished by it. I have seldom in the course of my experience known so dipping a time. The day again hath dawned, in which the mysteries couched in darkness, and sealed for a time, are opened, as well as the requisite labour of the day; that I find when the cloud is taken off the tabernacle, the voice is very near to call to fresh labour; and methinks, in a humbling sense of the worthiness of our Master to be ever served, all within me says, O Lord, give me thy presence, in which is all things, and let prompt obedience be my return for ever! Oh that it might also be thy happy lot to know the feast of dedication, for in the solemn day of dedication of the temple to God, a glorious feast is ever held. I am abundantly convinced the Author of all sure mercies would have it so; and if Solomon's choice of wisdom be thine, He will array thee with distinguished glory; if otherwise, the event is fixed, He will cast off and reject.

..... It is time to conclude, which I cannot well without a testimony of affectionate remembrance of thy wife and children, for whose true help and establishment in the best things I am concerned, even with a distinguished anxiety. May you, their parents, by living example, show them the way to rest and peace, and thereby a peaceful acquittance in the day of inquisition will be obtained, and I trust the solid satisfaction of seeing in this life those fruits of Heaven's blessing on your zeal and care, which may be yours, and your children's everlasting rejoicing.

Remember, I entreat you, dear children, and humbly seek Him in youth, for religion and holy fear is the best embellishment of youth, and the safe and only guide through the difficulties and snares of life, as well as the excellent companion and solace of declining years.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

JOHN PEMBERTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Second month 19th, 1757.

On the 8th instant I received thy very affectionate epistle. The kind expressions of regard and good wishes for my welfare which it contains, affected my mind with a degree of

reverent thankfulness, and with a desire that my attention and solicitude might increase steadily to pursue the path of peace, whether it is joyous or afflicting; for I have felt, and with awful weight, the danger of missing the crown; and lately my situation was dismal, and thus continued a long time, so that I was entirely without hope, yet subscribed to the Almighty's justice. And though the prospect of an eternal separation, and an inheritance of inexpressible misery, was beyond utterance distressing, yet I was filled with deep anxiety for the tender youth whose feet might be turned out of the path, or greatly injured in their journey, if by being left to myself, I should commit any thing that might bring a reproach. And though prayer was cut off, yet was I resolved I would live as near to that which I thought right, as weak reason would suggest, or was in my power. At length the long suffering and gracious Being was pleased to favour with a degree of light, in a time unexpected, and a prospect of duty seemed to open, to which I seemed freely resigned, but afterwards that vanished, and I enjoyed a calm, and was willing to do, or to suffer any thing to be under the Divine notice.

May my spirit reverently magnify the Lord, and rejoice with fear in the all-merciful God, whose tender dealing with us cannot be fully set forth. The freedom with which thou hast written to me, and the fatherly care manifested when present, have made me thus free, believing thou wast not altogether insensible of my situation, and the danger that attended me when thou wrote, for many of thy expressions were applicable; for too great inattention has been my failing, and indeed I am surrounded with infirmity, and darkness often covers me.

JOHN PEMBERTON.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JAMES PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Second month 25th, 1757.

The ground of that pure and true friendship, which subsisted betwixt our worthy fathers, was doubtless in that love which remains throughout all generations; and as the natural descendants from fellow members so united, abide in the same love and pure friendship with the ever-living Head, the union will remain undiminished, and the present, as well as the past, will make us as epistles in one another's hearts.

Two expressions have often, since we parted, moved in my mind to apply to thee, with earnest desires they may have due place. The first is this:—Know thy place. I am made fully sensible the Lord of the family hath designed one for thee, in his house, to

bear up the ark in these times, when it is grievously shaken. For this end hath he vouchsafed the visitation of life and understanding, and hath at times taught thee to travail in spirit for the cause, and admitted thee to the tribulation of the companions of Jesus; a fellowship not eligible to many, who would have the cause to prosper, but do not concur in the promotion of it, in themselves or others. Let not the embarrassments of this world, neither the commerce of it, nor its stupifying fears and turbulent commotions, divert from an honest inquiry after thy proper place in the church. There is all our safety and rest. In stormy times, these know, such is the excellency of Zion's dwelling place, none can make her afraid. A stone in a building is not serviceable merely for its filling a vacancy, but, being skilfully placed, it keeps others also in theirs; it covers some, and supports others; that the share every stone has in the support of an edifice is worthy of religious application. An humble application to the holy Workman to square and fit, and a sincere yet fervent resignation to be placed where He will, will, in his own time, fully instruct what is our place, and fix us therein. Having known thy place, and entered therein, abide there—was the other hint which spread in my heart towards thee. Beware of being turned out of it by any of those suggestions which an unwearied enemy frequently raises. One seemingly plausible is the want of proper qualification; but whence this want? Is it of the Lord of perfection that the people are lame and defective, or of themselves? He is infinitely full of all we want, and would make our feet firm upon the mountains, and therein beautiful. Beware of arraigning a wisdom that is deep and high; yea, unfathomably so in the building of his house, and the choice of the several parts thereof; for where this spirit prevails that puts off labour, and slides away with the plea of unfitness, it hastens their rejection from the house of God; and alas! then, what fabric can they flee to, in the stormy day of his power and wrath?

Inwardly dwell in His pure preserving fear. Let not the world lift up above thy proper place, in reverence of heart and chastity towards the Beloved: let not the extensive concerns of merchandise, lawful in themselves, be carried to such a degree, as to induce to forget the pearl hid in the field; and I humbly hope thou wilt attain and retain that rest which is steadfast and immovable, rejoice thyself, and teach others also how to rejoice in the stability of God's salvation.

Farewell, dear friend; may the most substantial of all blessings be diligently enough

sought, and it will be found, and be an excellent defence. Thine in sincere affection,
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In the spring of the year 1757, S. Fothergill had an alarming illness, which lasted a considerable time. The exertion and fatigue he had undergone in America; the long journeys on horseback which he was in the constant habit of performing; the nature of his public services, and the many engagements which incessantly occupied his mind, all combined to produce a serious effect upon his constitution, from which it never afterwards fully recovered.

His strength was on this occasion greatly reduced, and his recovery was slow. It is thus mentioned in the journal of his intimate friend, Catharine Payton:—"Fourth month 9th, 1757.—We went to Warrington, where a renewed occasion of thankfulness to gracious Providence was administered, by the probability of the recovery of our dear friend Samuel Fothergill, from an indisposition wherein his life had been despaired of. This had much affected my mind, from the consideration of the great loss the church would sustain by his removal, and myself as an individual member thereof; yet durst I not ask his longer continuance, in this state of trials and dangers, knowing that if Divine wisdom called him out of it now, it would certainly be in the best time."

ABRAHAM FARRINGTON TO SAMUEL
FOTHERGILL.

Newtown, near Carlisle, Third month 19th, 1757.

Yesterday I was at Carlisle monthly meeting; it was large. I had been very weak for several days, but was helped much that day; the helping hand was near. I have often found it has been the way in which I have been led deep into suffering, both in body and in mind, to be prepared to do a good or great work; and after it, must be brought down again, almost, as it seems, near to death. Oh! astonishing! why must it so be, or so suffered? but to keep the creature from glorying; and to prepare it for another work, it must be marred. O, let it be in the Potter's hand, new made for every work. Had I been a silver or a golden vessel, the marvel need not have been so great. Silver or gold will melt easily, and not lose either virtue or weight; but wooden vessels cannot bear the fire, but deep scouring, rubbing, and scalding they must have, to take out the scent they are apt to contract. So that I find that saying remains true, and will stand for ever, "Every branch in me that beareth fruit, my heavenly Father purgeth it,

that it may bring forth more fruit;" and again, "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth," and those who are without it, or do not love it, are bastards. O, what need we have of patience, after we have done the will of our Master, to wait for the promise. New whetting, new grinding, new melting, seems to be, I think, the lot of poor instruments and vessels, for the work is new; but who are we, that we should reply, or ask the question, Why hast thou made me thus, subject to change or be changed? It may be, if we can be enough passive, and content, from being marred in our own eyes, the change may be from glory to glory.

What am I writing, or to whom? If I have gone too far, do not expose me.

ABRAHAM FARRINGTON.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

London, Third month 31st, 1757.

Yesterday I received an agreeable account from cousin Charles Chorley of thy recovery. As soon as thy strength, the weather, and the roads permit, the easy motion of a carriage will, perhaps, be beneficial: be very careful, however, of the first cold, for this may plunge thee again into great difficulties.

..... This, I hope, will find thee fast recruiting, and if not yet able to write thyself, yet let us hear from thee through some channel, as often as possible. I must leave to our sister, for a while, the management of a correspondence which is one of the principal pleasures I enjoy. But I am almost oppressed at present, though, I trust, it will not be of long continuance; and I write this after having mounted not less than fifty single pairs of stairs to-day, and some of them at no small distance from each other; but whilst I have any sense left, whether I am able to express it or not, I shall always remain thy affectionate brother,

Fothergill.

SAMUEL EMLIN TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Dudley, Fourth month 4th, 1757.

B. M. and myself were favoured to get well to Stafford, the next evening after setting out on the journey. The next day was extremely wet, and perhaps, proved a sufficient excuse to some of our brethren in profession, for their not attending the monthly and quarterly meetings, both held there. The number of those who came was very small; I think not above a dozen or fourteen men, and not more women; among the latter was dear C. Payton,

to whom, I believe, it was a day of suffering and pain. She intimated her willingness to see some of their families at home, and much to my unexpected pleasure, intimated a freedom that I might accompany her therein.

I thought a little of the matter, and hoped, if I proved not in her way, or burdensome, it might be an additional opportunity of improvement to myself; among the many put into my hands by a gracious God, whose long-continued willingness for my help furnishes matter of humble admiration and thankfulness, with a degree of which I wish my mind may be daily clothed; being satisfied I am distinguished by receiving many mercies, and peculiar marks of unmerited long neglected favours. O that the time past, in which my heart has been too much attached to lying vanities, may be properly, and then will it be profitably, reflected upon, by quickening to greater care and vigilance in the important work of true religion, the necessity of which, at times, is in mercy shown me.

I am painfully sensible, that although I was, early after my coming to Warrington, called upon in your meeting, in the words of the apostle, "O, Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings;" an inattention to the former hath been an inlet to the latter, and to my unwary mind, hath been a destructive snare of the adversary, who, alas, persuades too many of the unguarded youth, that if they refrain from those things accounted among men immoral, they are then safe from noxious things. By this specious delusion, my sorrowful experience bears me witness, a seeking after that most desirable knowledge, of a growth in spiritual understanding and Divine favour, is diverted. Hence come leanness and poverty, which if not timely fled from, produce death; against which I desire to be more watchful than in the former part of my time, and hope, when it is well with thee, for thy future breathings on my behalf, to that Being, with whom is all-sufficiency.

The sorrowful news from Ireland of the church's loss, and the afflicting dispensation allotted to S. Neale, in the death of my dear mother in the Truth, Mary Peisley, quickly spread thus far; an additional evidence of the uncertain continuance of all sublunary things, which I wish may awaken me to more strict consideration thereof, and diligence to endeavour, as much as in me lies, to follow the footsteps of that truly worthy woman, of whom I have this testimony, that of all the people within the compass of my knowledge, I think none were more watchfully circum-spect at all times than she. Though now gone

from works to rewards, I hope the remembrance of her will be often livingly fresh in my mind for my own instruction. The endearing love which subsisted between her and dear C. P., will render the trial to the latter great; she knows where in time past she has found support, and I hope will be yet enabled to trust in Him, who remains to the upright, unalterably faithful and all-sufficient.

My good wishes are towards thy brother Joseph's family, to some of whom the visitation of Divine love is extended, to the humbling of their minds at times; may they prize the mercy while afforded. The contrition under which I have sometimes seen Sarah* has affected my mind, and raised desires that she may now, in the time of youth, the most acceptable season, be prevailed with to embrace that, which will furnish true peace and durable comfort, when the most pleasing of temporal enjoyments sink into very nothingness, with respect to any satisfaction in their power to yield.

SAMUEL EMLIN, JUN.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Fourth month 25th, 1757.

I have had a long indisposition, being afflicted with the rheumatism and a fever, and in general apprehension near my final change; but am, through mercy, much better in my health, though very weak, and have but at times the use of my hand.

Neither absence, nor sickness, nor any other circumstance, hath impaired that love unfeigned, I bear to thee, thy dear wife and children; a love flowing from a pure fountain, which would effectually wash all our garments from every thing unlovely, if we enough sought and waited for its baptizing virtue, and would present us without spot or wrinkle to our holy Head.

I have found it very necessary to bow in heart to the rod with which the Heavenly Father has pleased to chastise me, and with inward and outward distress to humble into very dust before him. A time of profitable searching, I trust, I have had; and may it evermore remain, and its result as a nail fastened in a sure place. We serve a wise, gracious Master, and yet, even after we have done our duty, and laboured according to the present direction and portion of strength, we have need of patience, for in the inscrutable treasure-house of our Master is reserved our wages. Oh that such may be our fidelity,

* The second daughter of Joseph Fothergill, afterwards Sarah Hird. She died at Leeds, third month 31st, 1819, aged seventy-eight.

through the various revolutions of our pilgrimage, that nothing may deprive us of our crown; but having received the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, may we hold it fast without wavering, and receive its reward, even the salvation of our souls.

Our worthy friend Abraham Farrington, was lately well in the county of Durham. He has along with him the most unquestionable seals to his commission, and is amongst us in the fulness of the gospel power to search out the hidden things of Esau, and is a nursing father to the tender plants.

I am greatly obliged to thee for the extracts of the proceedings of your yearly meeting, and glad to hear you were favoured with the overshadowing of the Holy Wing in it, and blessed with a spirit of mutual condescension. I hope all things will work together for good, as the meek, suffering nature of the Lamb is abode in.

I was supported by the Hand which has been often near to my help, to labour honestly in London, and not ashamed of the gospel of Christ my Lord. Many of the warmest opposers of the progress of the church from strength to strength, were at their country houses. I expect the united attack of such will be upon me at the yearly meeting. But I know who has covered my head hitherto, and I humbly beg for wisdom and counsel and strength in the field of battle, in which I shall find myself necessarily engaged.

Dear worthy M. Peisley is now beyond the reach of reproach, having suddenly finished her course, and gone down to the grave, in the highest degree of splendour, and the glory of her Master's countenance, which was most eminently, nay, in a double portion, with her for some weeks before her final change. She was married to Samuel Neale the 17th, taken ill two days afterwards, and departed the 20th of last month, to the great loss of the poor withering church in Ireland. But unsearchable is the wisdom, and perfect the goodness of God, who rules in heaven and on earth.

I cannot make retaliation of the favours and kindness I have received from thee and thy family. My most ardent wishes are for all your prosperity, and growth up into heavenly places in Christ our holy head; that the blessings of heaven and its fruitful dew may be known to lie upon your many branches, yea, to remain there long; that even beyond your excellent progenitors, your blessings may extend; and thus would Eternal Fulness plentifully diffuse more and more through the families of his people the riches of all ages, as they are made the chiefest joy.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ABRAHAM DARBY.*

Warrington, Fifth month 14th, 1757.

Thine I received this day, and have to acknowledge, with gratitude to the gracious Preserver of men, I am much recovered from my late indisposition, though yet weak, and not altogether free from pain.

I nevertheless hope to reach the yearly meeting in London, and am necessarily obliged to make it as easy a journey as I can. I hope to be at Coventry the day thou mentions, and have thought of easing myself now and then by the use of a post chaise. I am under some engagement of mind to attend a meeting in this neighbourhood next first-day but one, and am really unfit to make any excursions out of the direct road, unless duty absolutely required.

With the utmost sincerity, I wish thy daughter Hannah much happiness. May Jesus be called to her marriage, and every real blessing be extended, in the wise proportions of eternal mercy and wisdom. Let not the transient glare of this world nor its fallacious promises, bring a veil over that beauty which is in holiness, or impair in her view the loveliness of that one in a thousand, "fairer than the children of men," whom she has sometimes beheld in measure. All visibles are fleeting; all lower connexions, however tender, endearing, and laudable, liable to dissolution; but he that loved us and gave himself for us remains the Ancient of Days, yet new every morning. Let your example, oh parents! impress these truths deeply on your offspring, and spread amongst those with whom you have to do, or amongst whom you have to walk, lively examples of that humility and heavenly mindedness which becomes and adorns those, who well knowing the greatness of this world is a tempting snare, and yet an empty bubble, seek a city which hath foundations, laid and established before the foundation of the world was laid. Farewell, beloved friends, be wise, watchful and happy.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

At the approach of the yearly meeting he was sufficiently recovered to leave home, and accompanied his friend, Abraham Farrington, by easy stages to London, when they both attended that meeting.

* Abraham Darby died at Colebrookdale, third month 31st, 1763. The marriage here mentioned was that of his daughter Hannah to Richard Reynolds.

JOHN GURNEY* TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Norwich, Fifth month 29th, 1757.

When I last parted from thee at Gravesend, I could not think, if we both lived, that I should have missed seeing thee at the first yearly meeting in London after thy return, which I much longed for. I am unavoidably prevented, and so must submit; I have not missed above once before for twenty-three years. I am very glad and thankful it has pleased Providence to permit thy safe return, and to hear that thy health is restored; for I am ready to believe there was never more need of a nearness one to another; nor any period, that, in my remembrance, called for more circumspection. We seem, from many incidents fallen out, more noticed than ever, and according to the shining of our lights shall we become a blessing or a hindrance to those that are seeking truth. I can truly say I greatly wish in our whole conduct that we may be blameless and harmless.

In this place we have of late had great changes, and Truth has, in particulars, operated very strongly, I may safely add miraculously; the freethinker, the libertine, the scoffer, having in great nothingness and humility, been deeply baptized into the spirit of the gospel, so that the last are become first, and some that have been cause of great pain are now a cause of joy. I am sure I am truly glad that it is so, yet I cannot help also desiring, that such as by their outward appearance have seemed first, may not be the very hindmost, or that, being centred in form and ease, they should become lost to the very savour of life, and so be dry and die. May all be incited to more and more diligence, by seeing the invitation of our great Lord embraced by such as have long dwelt in unbelief, and have, as it were, wasted their substance in a strange land.

I know not what I shall urge for my writing thee thus, but I found a desire to salute thee in a few lines. Thy affectionate friend,

JOHN GURNEY.

CATHARINE PAYTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Woodbridge, Sixth month 21st, 1757.

In that love which neither time nor distance can efface—which breathes health and salvation to all, and especially to the heritage of God—do I salute thee, with ardent desires for thy preservation and yet firmer establishment on the eternal Rock, which I am sure I

find it necessary daily to press after, and believe it to be so for all, however advanced in experience, or dignified with divine honour, who are yet in a state of progression, and may advance in glory and holy stability. And inasmuch as we may acknowledge, with humble gratitude, that the Lord our God has done much for us, and in his own wisdom and power exalted us above many of his servants, may we be still concerned that his own image, which is purity and perfection, may be more and more conspicuous in all our works; that we may be examples to the believers, in word, in conversation, in doctrine, in spirit, in faith, in purity.

Through infinite favour, I am got thus far, I hope well, on my journey, having been helped by the mighty Helper to discharge my duty beyond my expectation or desert; and also made subject to the humbling dispensations of his providence, so that it has been little to me whether I was clothed with the royal robe, or made to appear naked and barefoot in the view of the people, if the name of my God might but be honoured in and by me; both which states have been remarkably my lot, and I believe, will be measurably so, of all the vessels that are made and preserved honourable in the Lord's house. They must be stripped of themselves, and have all former experience taken away; so shall their ministry be more and more refined, and effectual to the end for which it is appointed; and though it appear less in measure, it will be more in weight. It is not, my dear friend, because thou art ignorant of these things, that I write them, but as they freely offer to my pen, I drop them simply: perhaps by such free communication we may read each other in the life, and be incited to persevere in the heavenly race.

I am favoured with an agreeable companion in Sophia Hume, and John Kendall has given up to accompany us in our intended journey to Holland, who I rather hope will be more serviceable than some Friends may expect, as he has of late years been industriously improving himself in the language: so far as I can yet discover, Providence smiles on the undertaking, and I humbly hope will favour us with peace therein.

CATHARINE PAYTON.

MARY PEMBERTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Sixth month 29th, 1757.

..... I marvel not at the low, stripping seasons thou hast experienced, since thy return from such an engagement; and indeed, it is a manifest token of the peculiar regard

* John Gurney died eighth month 2nd, 1779, aged sixty-one.

of Infinite Wisdom and mercy, to administer a balance of this sort to his children, who are indulged with large attainments, and blessed with precious endowments, that through every dispensation of his providence they may be preserved in an humble dependence upon the strength of His everlasting arm, whose faithfulness faileth not.

It was, dear friend, with a considerable degree of concern we heard of thy late illness; and I think, I may say for all thy friends, that I do believe there never was a friend amongst us remembered with a greater degree of esteem, or more unfeigned love, than thyself. The aspect of our affairs appears more and more gloomy, and the Lord alone knows what will be the event of these commotions in the earth; in the midst of which, all that the humble have to hope for is, that they may see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be trodden down. He is sufficient to exalt his own name and power, by ways and means which are not to be comprehended by the finite, limited comprehensions of men, though the clouds are darkened by an impending storm.

Daniel Stanton desires to be particularly remembered to thee; thy letter to him was particularly acceptable and very serviceable, as it came in a needful time, and was expressive of that sympathy and regard which is truly an emanation of the Divine mind, and which that alone can inspire the soul with; it could not have been more suitably adapted had thou known his circumstances, he being then very low in mind.

MARY PEMBERTON.

In the sixth month, 1757, Samuel Fothergill attended the quarterly meeting at York, and the following circumstance is related of him. He had been largely engaged in the ministry, and was at that time in great repute among Friends every where; his company was much sought, and many appeared to strive who should show him most attention. He was earnestly pressed to stay and attend the meetings on the ensuing first-day. An aged woman, from the country, a plain, honest Friend, believing him to be in some danger from the caresses of the people, took him aside, and repeated the passage, When Jesus perceived that the people would take him by force and make him a king, he departed into the mountain himself alone. S. Fothergill saw the force and wisdom of the advice; he took his horse, and quietly departed towards home; and when afterwards adverting to the circumstance, he always spoke of it as an excellent admonition.

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CATHARINE PAYTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Norwich, Seventh month 6th, 1757.

I cannot quite easily leave the nation, without acknowledging the receipt of thy truly acceptable and seasonable salutation in this city, wherein I have indeed been partaker of the suffering of the righteous seed, which I fear is oppressed in the hearts of most of the professors of Truth. Our meetings are much frequented by many people of other societies, who have an ear open to the testimony of Truth, and some are convinced and settled amongst Friends, for divers of whom I hope well; but, alas! the numerous company of preachers is far from administering joy to me. I am afraid many of them are untimely births, and some bastards; and these, perhaps, make the greatest noise, and are in danger of hurting the few true born children, whose judgment has not yet acquired strength to distinguish from whence the voices which are uttered are; and seeing how some, who, I doubt, have little root in experience, appear great in the branches of doctrine, they may, on considering how little and foolish they appear, be discouraged from coming up in their services, or unwarily led to an imitation of that, which, to a discerning eye, is apparently some of the wares of mystery, Babylon.

I am now nearly clear of them, and hope I may say I have in a good degree discharged myself faithfully; for which, perhaps, I may not go uncensured; for I believe it appears somewhat strange and ungrateful to hear one cry, "A sword!" in opposition to such as have cried, "Peace!" But (or I am mistaken,) there is occasion for such doctrine, even to the chiefs amongst them, some of whom, I fear, are too much clothed with spiritual pride.

I delivered thy message of love to —, but not fully in thy own terms. I make no doubt of his having been of honourable descent, and of considerable service in the church; but if I feel aright, a renewed baptism is necessary for him. I should scarcely write thus, did I not fear that the knowledge of his standing in the relation with thee which thou expresses, would rather tend to exalt than humble him. I lodge at Henry Gurney's; I feel a considerable nearness of spirit to him, and to Edmund and his mother.

Although suffering is my lot, my good Master deals bountifully with me, in resigning my spirit to the various dispensations of his providence, and sometimes raising me, in his

own power, to testify to his eternal Truth. Oh! my dear friend, may I never forsake the way of his commandments, in which there is light, peace, and joy unspeakable. I can say truly, that I fear nothing so much as being debilitated for his service, by taking any crooked step through life. Let what will in the course of his unerring providence attend me, I am at present resigned thereto, if happily the mark of preservation may but be set upon me. It is true, as thou observest, "the conflicts of the passage are arduous." I need thy prayers, not only in the present weighty engagement, but perhaps more so in my future trials, and through mercy, I feel thou canst not withhold them, for the Lord has opened our hearts in intercession one for another, having singularly united us in the best relationship; may our eyes be kept attentive to that which alone can make us helpful to each other, and give an impartial judgment of our prospects and services.

CATHARINE PAYTON.

P. S.—I am this morning favoured with thine, which on thy own account affords me true satisfaction, although the low state thou art dipped into claims and obtains my sympathy; but as I doubt not its pointing to some further height of glory, or being placed as a defence on that wherewith Divine wisdom and mercy has already clothed thee, pardon me if I say, I rejoice in thy tribulation, as I have frequently done in my own. I heartily join thee in desiring that I may be preserved humble, and hope that He who knows best how to proportion the depths to the heights, for the salvation of his people, will administer baptisms effectual for that end. The secret strippings and fears which I pass through, are only known to him; they frequently breathe this language—I have nothing to glory in but my infirmities, and the Divine mercy.

C. P.

HENRY GURNEY* TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Norwich, Seventh month 9th, 1757.

Our worthy friends C. Payton and S. Hume, are still here, with A. Farrington and John Bradford. Their company has been much to the satisfaction of Friends in general, and very greatly to mine, who have the pleasure of entertaining them. I hope they have had some reason not to repent their visit to this place. Our meetings have been very large; probably C. P. may have given thee her sentiments of them, and therefore, I shall only say, her appearances therein have been like such as

seek not their own honour, but the glory of Him who hath called them, and I wish (not without faith,) that they may have their effect to stir up the negligent to diligence, and encourage those who have begun in the heavenly race, to persevere, without fainting to the end, where the prize of eternal life is to be obtained.

A. F. and his companion leave us this afternoon. The poor old man is sadly afflicted with pain in his head, and at times seems very low in his mind, lest he should thereby be rendered incapable of service. I accompanied him to two meetings this week, in both of which he bore powerful testimonies to Truth, I am persuaded to the edification of most present, in a manner much suited to their circumstances, and will not soon be forgotten. There is great need in this country of such skilful and laborious workmen, where, though there appears some greenness and life, the enemy is scattering his tares, and in many, yea, abundantly too many, the seed is choked, and in danger of being destroyed. How glad would some be to hear thou had drawings in thy mind to pay us a visit; but if that is not to be expected, yet let us be in thy remembrance, and when thou art favoured in the secret of thy heart to approach the throne of Divine Grace, intercede for our preservation, that we may hold fast the Truth, of which we are convinced, without wavering, and if it be the will of Providence, by example, and as He may otherwise appoint, contribute to promote his glory.

HENRY GURNEY.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO SAMUEL EMLÉN.

Warrington, Seventh month 25th, 1757.

True friendship, like its synonymous virtue, charity, is not restricted to the general forms of correspondence, but, whenever its sacred warmth is felt, discovers itself, though perhaps in weak productions. This, at present, is my apology to thee for writing.

I hope it is well with thee, though, if I judge right, in a situation rather painful than joyous: but I rejoice in thy tribulation, as it most certainly tends to produce experience to thyself, and a yet further establishment in that holy stability, which is the blessed fruit of suffering, when rightly digested.

Such are the times as to require the true sons of the immortal Father to enter into their chambers of mourning, and weep for themselves and Jerusalem's progeny; and even to adopt the prophet's wish, "Oh that my head were waters;" nevertheless, He, whose is the cause, the kingdom, the power, and the glory, is not unmindful of his distressed servants;

* Henry Gurney died fourth month 7th, 1777.

may, their sorrowful bemoanings are to him a very acceptable sacrifice; and a Divine fragrance attends them, as a part of that sweet odour which ever arises to perfume his holy habitation. Let not, therefore, thy disconsolate situation, in weakness, and in great poverty at times, dismay thee; neither lose thy hold, in humble, depending patience, for that love which is symbolically set forth as a woman to her sucking child is towards thee, and as thou abides in its holy relish, and lives in obedience to its holy dictates, thy borders, though now scarcely visible, will be laid with fair stones; thy windows, or the faculties of thy spiritual understanding, with agates, well polished or squared, according to the rules of unerring rectitude; and all thy gates, through which the will passes into action, of transparent carbuncles; all fitly framed together, as a receptacle for Him, who is glorious throughout all his name. Thus would the Holy One build thee up to his praise; and if he be the architect, no matter whether we are a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, or built up in the similitude of a palace; for both are necessary, in the appendage of the King of kings.

Repine not, therefore, dear friend, at the wise allotment of the great Master to thee, in the economy of the Holy household; infinitely wise is he who hath assigned it, and the future reward is proportioned rather to the fidelity of his servants, than to the sphere of their motion in dignity.

I sympathise with the afflicted from experience, yea, from my present lot, which is cast by the fountain of Marah. I may, perhaps, be preparing for some future service, but am, at present, as I believe is requisite for me, stripped of all. Some glimmerings of the Master's countenance at times appear, but in the general situation of my mind, I feel less than the least of all true disciples. May the name of my God be exalted, though I am abased in dust and ashes.

Farewell, dear Samuel, be vigilant and happy. Thine in truest affection,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

CATHARINE PAYTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Amsterdam, Eighth month 1st, 1757.

We arrived at Helvoetsluys on the 22nd ult., and proceeded by way of Rotterdam to this city, where we found a few under the profession of Truth, some of whom I hope and believe, are measurably in the possession thereof, although in some particulars not so strict as some Friends in England. By these we are gladly received, and also by some seeking people of other societies, especially amongst the Mennonists, who are a people greatly degene-

rated from that simplicity which in the beginning appeared amongst them. Yet there remains a remnant, who are near the kingdom of Christ, and who, I cannot help thinking, were there a solid body of Friends in this city, might be likely to settle with us. I find myself considerably straitened in conveying the mind of Truth to the people through an interpreter. John Vanderwerf acts in that capacity; he is the most suitable person we could meet with, having a pretty thorough understanding of the English and Dutch tongues, and being of a sober conversation, and not void of religious impressions. I believe he is very just in rendering the sense of what I say to the people, but for want of a greater depth in experience, the virtue seems to me to be in part lost, and the openings of Truth are choked. But notwithstanding this discouraging circumstance, to which I may add my being frequently stripped of the sensible enjoyment of the best good, and made to sit in bondage, under the humbling sense of human infirmities, which creates fears respecting my future standing; yet have I never been suffered to doubt my coming here was in the direction of Infinite Wisdom, who can, if he pleases, make effectual to his glory, means which to us appear very weak and imperfect. I am convinced that those who go on such errands as this, must be divested of seeking great things to themselves, and endeavour to keep in the patience of Jesus, which, if I am favoured to do, I hope, at least, to return with the evidence of having done what I could. I am not without apprehensions that this country has suffered much for want of being visited by weighty ministers: and indeed, I have often wondered that any part of the Lord's vineyard, wherein there are any plants of the true vine remaining, should be so much neglected; or that a country wherein liberty of conscience is allowed, and wherein some of the people are inquiring after truth, should have been no more visited of late years. Doubtless the difficulty I labour under has been a discouragement; but I cannot help thinking that had the visits of Friends been more frequent, that difficulty would have been less than it is.

CATHARINE PAYTON.

SAMUEL EMLEN TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Swansea, Eighth month 1st, 1757.

Thy acceptable letter furnished additional occasion of reverent thankfulness to thy God and Father, who, at times, brings to thy remembrance an object indeed unworthy the notice of his children, and in great kindness, through them, at times, as well as by his own

delectable presence, lets me know his gracious willingness for my help is not wholly withdrawn; notwithstanding the repeated backslidings, and departure of heart, which have been my sorrowful experience, would long ago, if his ways were like the ways of men, or his thoughts as the thoughts of the work of his hands, have caused a total withholding of benefits, and prevented any further offers of love so often disregarded.

I was yesterday at their meetings here, in both of which, an entire silence, as to the outward, was kept; and oh that I could have been more sensible of a joint inward labour and travail of spirit, for that sustenance which rightly nourisheth the soul, and preserves it vigorous, quick, and lively before God. But alas! poverty, weakness and want are such, as perhaps to bring so near death's door as to be scarcely sensible, sometimes, when good is stirring in meetings; though at other seasons, when quite alone, and separate from all outward company, the Lord of mercy, in melting goodness, graciously vouchsafes some touches of his love; and then doth my heart rejoice, and with humble gladness, concludes it is good for me to be here. Be it in whatsoever place it may, to feel the renewings of heavenly favour is really more worthy my anxious seeking than all visible things, some of which have been very desirable in my esteem, and with great solicitude cared for, at the expense of neglecting the invaluable precious, immortal part.

As the secrets of the Lord still continue to be with them that fear him, distance of place has not deprived thee of a sense of my condition, but the holy and all-knowing Intelligence, who hath heretofore communicated to thee a knowledge of the states of others, did, in mercy to me, again speak through thee unto me; and thy letters furnish some encouragement to endeavour after contentment in the Divine allotment, and faithful patience in his dealings with me; though for some weeks past the general situation of my mind hath been one of great distress and pain. A solitary path as to the outward, have I had to pass along, but my heart craves the guidance and direction of that wisdom which is infinite, and that power all-sufficient may attend. Under these feelings do I, at times, hope for stability and advancement in the too little frequented path of the tribulated followers of Jesus.

I am thankful for thy kind notice of me, and so long as I retain my right senses, shall be glad of its continuance; and by seeing some testimonials of it, either in very few or many lines, just as thou findest thy mind qualified by that Power which hath often

made thee an instrument of good to others, to his own glory and to thy peace. That his arm may keep thee in hours of difficulty and deep distress, on account of those who are unmindful of their true and chief good, is my great desire.

SAMUEL EMLEN, JUN.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Eighth month 18th, 1757.

I am, through mercy, restored to a tolerable degree of health, though not so fully confirmed as I could wish; but I desire patiently to acquiesce with the allotment of Providence, with the consciousness, that I have spent my strength and constitution in the best of causes, and I leave the event to Him who is infinitely wise.

I remember every branch of thy family with a peculiar tenderness; and not seldom I visit you in spirit, with a portion of that warmth I found when present, and which is not lost or extinguished by personal absence.

Worthy Thomas Brown, I hear, is removed to the full and everlasting fruition of that society amongst whom he happily conversed in his pilgrimage below, to abide with everlasting burnings in seraphic love, where he lighted his fire when he sacrificed before the congregation. Oh happy, desirable release from care and pain, to freedom and eternal certainty! The chilling winds of this world's care can no more obstruct his verdure and fragrance, but, planted on the banks of the river of life, his leaves and fruits will be ever produced, through all the duration of the everlasting year.

..... Excuse my incoherent letter; it is a copy of the present state of my mind, engaged in various and almost oppressive labour, yet at all times replenished with love to my friends, and amongst that number is very distinguishedly every branch of your family.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Warrington, Ninth month, 1757.

I salute thee and thine in true love. I have often felt it strong, and still perceive it is of that nature many waters cannot quench, nor can the distance of place impair it. And it is a most singular privilege the true born children enjoy in their mutual sense of, and access to, the table of good things, when the laws of matter and motion deprive them of personal intercourse. Oh that we may know the renewings of the Holy Ghost upon us, in such a manner as to qualify for a place in the Lord's house, and therein to abide, as sanctified vessels, empty or full, as his wisdom sees

meet. My lot hath been often among the empty vessels, in which allotment I wish a wise resignation, to guard me against impatience and insensibility. I have had several letters from my friends on your side of the water, which give me an account of things amongst you. I hope the trials permitted to attend you will tend to the help of many, though I believe them very severe and pinching. The desolations on your frontiers are very distressing, but the difference in Friends' judgment, the disunion within the gates of our Zion, affords more cause of mourning. I am glad to hear mutual condescension prevails amongst you, that ancient signal of best fellowship.

I nearly sympathize with the living amongst you in this time of deep probation. O, that you may all stand fast, and quit yourselves like men, for that testimony and faith once delivered, and now revived, to the saints. In this heavenly brotherhood I feel myself in spirit present with you in your land; not as having left aught undone which duty required, but in the sweet participation of the hope, patience, and tribulation of the Gospel and kingdom of Jesus our Lord. And if the church go into the wilderness, her place is prepared of God, whose eye looks towards, and his arm sustains, every part of his extensive family, both in heaven and earth. The mourning of his heritage is as audible to his ear, as hosannas of the fixed inhabitants of his holy mountain.

For our part, we seem (I mean the Society) to live in great union, but I fear the unity of the one ever blessed Spirit is not the source, but rather an agreement to let things go as they may or will, without much care about them; and if any are zealous for the testimony, rather to single them out as turners of the world upside down, and troublers of the church's quiet.

For my own part, I am very much like a disbanded soldier, or, I hope, more of an invalid, yet in some little pay, and commanded to do duty in a particular spot of ground; and let my Master's good pleasure be done, and let him send by whom he will, if I may but know my name is upon his roll, it is enough for me. We have lately had the company of a great stranger; my brother John spent a few weeks at Scarborough, and returned this way to London: his company was acceptable as a brother and as a friend. I hope it may contribute to his health, and the relaxation of his mind from a cumber, in which it is very difficult for the plant of renown to flourish.

I feel that I am exceedingly near you at this time in my spirit. I think your yearly meeting at Philadelphia begins this day; may the God and Father of sure mercies preside;

and as, in the allotment of his wisdom, he hath seen meet to prove you deeply, may wisdom and knowledge be the stability of your times. The establishment of a Meeting for Sufferings was by many amongst you little thought of, as you sat under your own vine and fig-tree; many of you have rejoiced in the flowings of worldly abundance, and not sung to the springing well of God's salvation, and it is consistent with his righteousness to vary his voice, and teach them by the things they suffer, what is due to his arm, and the weakness of our own.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

THOMAS GREER* TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Dungannon, Ninth month 9th, 1757.

I have often thought of thee of late, and I think, alway attended with strong desires that thou might be sent to visit us in this nation, which may truly be said to languish as to the life of religion, but am afraid to expect such a thing suddenly, when I consider the weight that lies on thy shoulders in your own land, a painful sense of which I have more than once felt, and in my small measure, have sympathized with thee and some others therein; indeed, if I have felt right, the number of those who are rightly baptized into the state of the church is few with you, as well as here, considering the number of professors; yea, and of those who lay claim to something of sacred embassy to the people. But, alas, many of them are too superficial to feel the states, and much less capable effectually to prescribe for the recovery from those things which weaken and afflict the body. It is indeed a cause of sorrow to behold the leanness and dryness that has overtaken many; and when a comparison is made between the present state of the church, and that healthful, active, green, fruit-bearing condition, which dignified our worthy predecessors, at, and after the breaking forth of truth amongst them, the declension from the life of religion, simplicity of the gospel, and nobility of mind, is very apparent. The making of such a comparison doth often affect my heart with pain, and strong are my desires that the few faithful, to whom it hath been given to see into the depths of Satan, may yet wax more mighty, in the wisdom and power of the Highest.

Dear Samuel, I am afraid to enlarge, not only as considering to whom I am writing, but also that it may not be lawful at all times to speak or write what we see or feel; but having often, as at present, felt the free circulation of

* Thomas Greer died in 1803, a minister upwards of fifty years.

that unity of spirit which the Father of lights hath vouchsafed to give to his children, as a bond of holy fellowship—by which, though dispersed in different lands, we are bound in one bundle of love, and notwithstanding far absent in body, yet present in spirit, being as epistles in each other's hearts—I thought I would venture to give thee these few lines.

THOMAS GREER.

CATHARINE PAYTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Kelvedon, Ninth month 10th, 1757.

I should some days ago have made thee a sharer of the satisfaction I felt on my return to my native land, resulting both from a sense of having been absent therefrom in the wise appointment of Heaven, and the gracious, supporting, preserving hand of the Most High having been with me, for which my soul bows in thankfulness, and I hope I may say, all within me worships His holy name, with desires to be devoted to his service through the residue of my life; but that this dispensation of life and peace was very quickly succeeded by its contrary, wherein I could not determine to address thee, rather choosing to commit the keeping of my soul to God, than to my fellow-servants. He no doubt, in the wise appointment of his providence, permits and appoints these alternations of light and darkness, as preservatives to his people.

I am now, through mercy, a little relieved, and I hope settled in my former service of ministering principally to the members of our own Society, which, being very different to that wherein I had been engaged on the other side of the water, it is no wonder that I must be immediately stripped of the clothes I then wore, and be clothed with a new suit, which I was ready to think, when first put on, were the plainest I ever wore, yet I hope suitable to the occasion and time wherein I am appointed to serve in the Lord's house, which appears to me to be a time wherein the people are not to be delighted with eloquent oratory, but instructed by plain, simple truths, suited to their states, in which ministration I ardently desire we may both grow. Doubtless I wanted to be washed, as well as to change my garments, having been long amongst men of unsanctified spirits, although perhaps not such as are looked upon by the world as the worst sort: but I have found by experience that it is exceedingly difficult to converse much with those whose desires are not subject to the yoke of Christ, without contracting a tincture of that infectious lightness which appears in the whole course of their conduct.

We were eight days wind-bound at Helvoetsluys, during which time we were in company with several who came in the same packet to

England, and but that I had some hope that it might some time be rendered serviceable to some of them, would have rendered our stay much more disagreeable. I know not but this little trial at the close of our journey might be profitable for us all, as it might further instruct us in the necessary lesson of patience, wherein I found I had need to be better learned.

My dear companion, Sophia Hume, left me this afternoon, being gone to London.

CATHARINE PAYTON.

JAMES PEMBERTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Ninth month 15th, 1757.

..... Public affairs on this Continent are remarkable for the confusion which attends them. None of the attempts in a military way have answered the expectations of the people, but, on the contrary, every thing they have yet prepared to do hath contributed to strengthen the French. I do not incline to be particular, further than to remark, that in proportion to the increase of these tumults, so, in some measure, advance the trials and probations of our poor Society. And, amidst all the gloomy prospects, I am at times led to conclude none occasions more sorrowful reflections, than the present state of the church, many of whose members, by a long enjoyment of ease and tranquillity, have become too insensible of the dignity of our calling, and in this day of trial start aside; which affords occasion to look back, and consider the close engagements and labours of the Lord's servants, who have been sent amongst us, to warn, and caution, and proclaim the necessity of being roused from the lethargy which hath prevailed, in order to prepare for such a time of trial as hath overtaken us; and happy would it have been, if more regard had been paid to such messages. The testimony of the Prince of Peace would be less violated than hath been too visibly the case lately, by evasions and temporising, of which there have been painful instances on a late occasion in the Jerseys, where the day of trial hath been more closely manifested than at any time during the late agitations; the unfaithfulness of some hath contributed to the burdens of the few who were concerned to stand their ground.

Amidst the present calamitous circumstances, it affords cause of thankfulness that the extendings of Divine regard are so signally manifested towards us, by the continuance of the messengers of the gospel, sent to labour amongst us; we have now six European Friends in these parts, the company of all of whom we expect at our approaching yearly

meeting. John Hunt hath spent most part of the summer in this province, where his ministry, and other Christian endeavours, have been attended with evidences of divine favour.

Our Meeting for Sufferings hath met pretty diligently since its establishment, and a variety of occurrences have presented; in the transaction whereof I hope nothing hath been done to the disadvantage of the cause of Truth.

I cannot but acknowledge how much I am obliged to thee for thy kind letter, which I shall endeavour duly to regard. It gives me some satisfaction to be so far noticed by the Lord's servants, and I am frequently desirous of so conducting as to be preserved at least from injuring the testimony, or of administering uneasiness to them.

I am, with much regard and affection, thy loving friend,

JAMES PEMBERTON.

SAMUEL EMLÉN TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Bristol, Ninth month 26th, 1757.

Thy affectionate lines I esteem an additional confirmation of the continuance of that friendship, wherein, so long as I am divinely assisted to be steadfast in the pursuit of true peace, I shall always have cause to rejoice. Sure I am, that notwithstanding the ties of nature in external affinity are strong, there seems to me to be in the Truth connexions much more firm, by which the really living in the body, whereof Christ Jesus is the holy head, are united one to another. As we are humbly and reverently engaged to keep in this unity, no greater joy will be experienced by any one of us than a confirmed sense of the increasing strength in ourselves and fellow-members, and the advancement of each individual in Divine favour.

Thy remark, that "to move in the line of Divine appointment, is our strength and safety," is, I doubt not, the language of well-grounded experience, and I trust will be at times profitably suggested to me when doubts and wavering surround my weak mind.

The Western yearly meeting, held at Milverton, was, in several of its sittings, greatly overshadowed with the life-giving presence and power of the Most High, to his own glory, and the comfort of many, who I believe have returned to their own habitations with peace and gladness. Isaac Sharpless, Edmund Peckover, Samuel Hopwood, John Fry, William Cookworthy, and six or eight other ministers were there; the service of the meeting was pretty much on the first two; there was a little company met early on the first-day morning preceding the meeting, and six or seven elders were desired to have the over-

sight of the ministry, and to caution privately where occasion might offer; I believe the meeting was upon the whole satisfactory, both to those of our Society and others. The people will be glad of future opportunities of this kind.

..... Be assured I am not insensible of my own condition, and of the need I have to be watched over as a child, and I think greater poverty and weakness seem to be my daily experience; that this dispensation may be patiently (not with supineness and indolence,) acquiesced in, that the will of the Highest may be thoroughly done, in and by me, is my earnest desire. I have been often brought to more than willingness to be what the Lord would have me to be, but under the operation of his hand there is need of patience, which, if he graciously furnish, it will be sufficient.

SAMUEL EMLÉN, JUN.

ANTHONY BENEZET* TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Tenth month 1st, 1757.

Nothing but the deepest sense of inward poverty could have so long prevented my writing to thee, my dear and near friend. But thus it hath been, that I have not dared to meddle with religious things; when I have done it, especially in writing, it has been with rebuke, and now I am at a loss what to add. That my love is as entire to thee as so low a creature is capable of, is fixed and certain. But what shall I say? O my leanness, my

* Of this virtuous, humble man, so well known for his philanthropy, and as an early and strenuous opposer of the Slave trade, little need be said here. He was born at St. Quintin in France, 1713. He was of a respectable family; his father, a wealthy man, was a Protestant, and, along with many others, was obliged, by the persecutions which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, to seek a shelter in a foreign land; he accordingly removed with his family to London, and afterwards to Philadelphia. His son Anthony joined the Society of Friends about the fourteenth year of his age, and for the greater part of his life pursued the useful occupation of a schoolmaster. A competent judge has pronounced him "one of the most zealous, vigilant, and active advocates which the cause of the oppressed Africans ever had."

After a life spent in endeavouring to serve God, and eminently devoted to the service of his fellow creatures, he died, aged seventy-one years, on the 3rd of fifth month, 1784.

At his interment the greatest concourse of persons, of all ranks and professions, was present, that had ever been witnessed on such an occasion in Philadelphia. Several hundred black people attended to testify their regard for this friend of their oppressed race, and of mankind at large.

leanness—it is beyond expression, and so sensibly felt by me, that I dare not as it were extend any further, lest I should defile God's jewels. Though a beggar may have a prospect of the order and beauty of God's house, and can even at a distance see, and apprehend he can distinguish the furniture of it, yet shall he presume, while clothed in rags, to enter therein? Will he not defile the same, and be the greater object of scorn, instead of pity? Perhaps a time may come when a washing and pulling off the filthy rags of nature may be known, and a better clothing experienced.

Thus far I have written, and that not without a rebuke, but could not longer delay expressing my sincere love to thee, dear friend. Why is it so with me?—if thou hast any comfort or counsel to communicate, do it I beseech thee. May the God of all consolation be with thee. From thy afflicted friend,

ANTHONY BENEZET.

ABRAHAM FARRINGTON TO SAMUEL AND
SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

York, Tenth month 1st, 1757.

This may just inform you that I yet live, although my suffering at times is considerable, both in head and heart. Indeed, such is the state of the church in general, that I think I am called to suffer with it, both in body and mind—the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. The mystery as well as the misery is, that so few lay it to heart, or seek relief. To have the earth cleave under us, or the sea overflowing us, would cause great lamentation and outcry; yet to see the world, earth and sea, swallowing up almost whole counties, in a religious sense, and we at ease, and thinking all is well, is surprising.

Thy letters were to my comfort—as a glass wherein we sometimes see one another—so excellent is this kind of correspondence to distant friends; sometimes like apples of gold in pictures of silver—pictures set up in our best room, *i. e.* the heart—or as nails in a sure place—or as goads, to prick one another forward, or to keep back; for poor oxen, old oxen, with a load, go heavily and dully up hill, and sometimes run too fast down. These epistles renew the epistles formerly written in our hearts; such have been thy kind letters with divers others from worthy friends. I received one from John Pemberton, and one from John Churchman, who says, “We are now going to an Indian treaty, to be held at Easton, in Bucks county, though we have been repeatedly informed by the governor that it was his desire we should not attend, as we had done

at sometimes heretofore, from an intimation which he had received from the Proprietary, that it was offensive to the Ministry in England. Our sense of duty in this affair, at this critical conjuncture, is too deeply impressed to be rubbed out by repulses, or disdainful flouts, arising from misconstructions of our intentions, which are pretty liberally bestowed on us at present; but our proceedings, manifesting the sincerity of our intentions, when they come to appear in public view, may set things in another light.”

Thus we see how that which lets will let, until it is taken out of the way; but, surely, if Friends keep their places in the Truth, there is no sword formed against it which will prosper, and every tongue rising against its judgment, will be condemned. And I am persuaded that stillness and patience, when we have done our duty honestly, are safest to abide in; and it will be seen that the Lord will make a way for his Truth and people, and their enemies will fall.

I came almost directly from the Northern dales to this place.

Let us not forget the rock, nor the hole of the pit from whence we were dug: it is a rugged place to get to and from—I left it too soon. If I should have my age renewed, and wings as an eagle, or as a giant refreshed with wine from the true Vine; or, in thy language, warmed with fire from above; or, if my Master would give the signal, and array me with his own livery, I would venture his pay. This, with dear love, from your poor old friend,

ABRAHAM FARRINGTON.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Tenth month 3rd, 1757.

I am poor, very poor: I have a fund of affection and tenderness, but even that is at times almost inaccessible, and then how can I bring it forth? I may claim thy affectionate sympathy, and perhaps, if at any painful hour the like may attend thee, it may suggest relief, in that thou art not alone. The alternations of light and darkness are necessarily appointed; in the first creation of this world, night intervened betwixt the days; if so, in the days of purity and innocence, what may not be expected, when transgression and offences have brought an interruption of order and harmony? Nay, if the Almighty Former have renewed into newness of nature, the day and the night remain in Divine wisdom, in the necessary variety of the new creation, that each may show forth their wonders, and speak his praise who ordained them. Thus, beloved sister, friend, and fellow traveller to-

wards the mountain where the Lord rests, having finished his work to perfection, we may learn to rejoice in tribulation, sustained by a lively hope that neither heights nor depths, things past, present, nor to come, shall separate us from that love which is stronger than death, though the trials thereof may be manifold.

..... I am relievingly sensible of best help and strength renewed to act and live to my own peace, and the advantage of others; as a person, embarrassed in a dark wilderness, without a path or light, beholds with joy the return of day, and the prospect of the dwellings of men, so hath my exercised spirit, after a painful, yet profitable baptism, again beheld His face in the Light, and found myself amongst his shepherds' tents; may the gain and glory be ascribed where it is ever due. I am, in the bonds of sincerest affection, thy loving brother,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

MARY PEMBERTON TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Tenth month 13th, 1757.

I am at times mercifully favoured with a degree of that united love, which in its Divine nature and efficacy cements the hearts of its true votaries, and makes them dear to each other, though personally unacquainted. It is in this sort that thou, my friend, hast been often brought to my mind, as well as a near remembrance of the deep travail and unwearied labour of thy dear husband in the glorious work of the gospel, in which my spirit hath frequently been greatly refreshed under a variety of exercises and close baptisms. And I doubt not but many besides myself do both now, and will hereafter, reap the advantage of excellent fruits produced by his ministry, as well as that of divers others of our valuable friends, eminently gifted and qualified and sent to us in an acceptable time, which to me seems an evident demonstration of heavenly regard, and that the everlasting Arm of Sufficiency is still stretched forth to gather a people, whose progenitors were not only blessed with the dew of heaven, but also with the fatness of the earth. Outward peace and tranquillity filled their borders, and the sound of war they were strangers to; but, alas! the scene is greatly changed, and I believe many of the offspring of those worthies, who are entered into their heavenly mansions, have too lightly esteemed their fathers' God, and the Rock of their salvation. Nevertheless, there is yet a number whose trust and confidence is in him alone, and these at times are favoured with the spirit of intercession, that the descendants of his people may not be cast

off, but that he may be graciously pleased yet to make choice of them, though it may be in the furnace of affliction.

This is designed to go by our valuable friend Thomas Gawthorp, whose visit has been very acceptable and serviceable, I believe in general, and in a particular manner to myself, having his company in the house at a time when nearly tried; my only daughter being visited with a dangerous illness, which reduced her so low, that for many days I despaired of her recovery, and she herself did not expect it. Though she had been a hopeful child, it was to her a season of deep probation, and a winnowing time, in which the Lord was pleased to manifest to her the emptiness of every temporal enjoyment without that of his Divine presence, for which she was in great distress; and as it hath pleased him to raise her, even from the brink of the grave, I hope, and earnestly desire, it may prove a lasting, profitable visitation to her. She, with the rest of our children, retain an affectionate remembrance of thy dear husband, and entertain, at times, a pleasing prospect of once more seeing him in Philadelphia, at which many beside them would rejoice.

MARY PEMBERTON.

JOHN CHURCHMAN TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

East Nottingham, Tenth month 15th, 1757.

..... I think that this yearly meeting, during the time of our sitting on the affairs of the Society, was as much favoured as any meeting I was ever in; which is, indeed, great cause of solemn thankfulness. We had the company of many of our youth, who sat with a reverent attention, and some spoke to the business to my admiration; so that, notwithstanding all our troubles, which are many, I dare not yet conclude that the Lord intends to destroy us, but rather to instruct by a rod of correction.

Dear Samuel, as to myself, I dare not say much, being never more sensible that of myself I am weakness altogether. I have known few times of greater purgation than of late, which has made way for a greater degree of purity for a time, and the text says—The pure in heart shall see God; and, indeed, it is only in a state of purity that the Lord reveals his secrets, and opens those things which to the world and its spirit have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.

..... In many places there is a young generation coming up, who will take the burden willingly upon them, not of constraint, but of a ready mind, and the work will prosper in their hands, though at present they may be reproached by such Sauls, who, at

times, know the anointing is upon the young, and the spirit is in *them*, though departed from themselves, because of disobedience : and who more jealous and spiteful than such at times are !

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

ANTHONY BENEZET TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Tenth month 17th, 1757.

I herewith send thee a new edition of John Everard's writings ; a book on the reading of which, often, light and a degree of life have been communicated. Doubtless thou art not unacquainted with it ; but, as it is scarce to be met with amongst you, I thought it might not be unacceptable to thee or thy neighbours. However, it is the best token I am at present capable of sending thee of my remembrance and love ; which is as sincere and entire as my poor weak heart is capable of. May the Almighty be thy guide and strength ! Painful in many, very many respects, is our situation, particularly mine, under an uncommon sense of poverty and desertion. O, the weakness, the instability, the self, the remains of a subtle pride that hangs about human nature, even of those that are esteemed good and wise in the main. How liable to change, waver, and run from one extreme to the other. Well, I hope I am cured from any more dependence and expectation from man. May I steadily seek comfort and establishment in God alone, by retirement, silence, and prayer !

I have often desired to write to thee at large, concerning the present situation of our affairs, but have been let hitherto, for want of a sufficient freedom thereto. Perhaps it is best it should be so. I may with pleasure say, there continues to be a great shaking amongst our dry bones ; the hearts of many amongst us, especially the youth, are touched with love and zeal for God ; may they abide the trial better than I have done, and escape the many snares which the enemy seems to strengthen himself to lay in their way. The world and the flesh allure on the one hand, and when that is in measure overcome, another dangerous snare presents, from a kind of enthusiastic spirit, which I apprehend very much prevails, and often, too often, presents itself amongst the sons of God, even in otherwise honest hearted ones. A mixed fire, in a great measure proceeding from the passions of the creature being warmed and raised by that which has the appearance of zeal, and even in some, I have feared, from the melody of their own voice, which makes the creature imagine it is as on the mount, when its fruits, its spirit, and its brethren's religious sense declare it is not. And this spirit, not being sufficiently learned by that meekness, diffidence and doubt, which accompanies the true

gospel, is impatient of contradiction, and very apt to smite at the honest fellow-servant, when put on re-examining its attainment, prospect, and foundation. From these two extremes, joined to my own great poverty, arise pain, and often deep anxiety. I need not desire thee to excuse my irregularity and freedom. I know thy sympathizing heart can bear with the poor and weak. Only I would desire that, as often as thou finds freedom, thou wouldest let me hear from thee.

I salute thee, dear friend, and thy wife, and in the nearest and dearest manner, bid thee farewell.

ANTHONY BENEZET.

CATHARINE PAYTON TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Dudley, Eleventh month 11th, 1757.

..... Our quarterly meeting is to be held at Worcester ; I should be truly glad of thy company, where perhaps it might be singularly serviceable, as nothing has been done in my absence, in America, towards the proper settlement of a meeting of ministers and elders, and it is hard for me to act single handed in such weighty affairs.

..... I am convinced that the bond of our friendship is purity, and a joint concern for the honour of God, and for the good of mankind ; and I have long thought, if we are mutually favoured to keep our places in the church militant, some singular good will accrue from it. It is the earnest, steadfast prayer of my soul, that the purposes of Him who has graciously called us into his vineyard, in the morning of our day, may be fulfilled by our steady advancement from stage to stage in our sacred employment, and acting in every station and relation appointed to us in life, to the honour of Him that has called us to glory and to virtue.

I can say truly, that for a series of years I have had nothing so much in view as the filling up that measure of righteousness whereunto I am called ; and if, in looking forward in life, I have been suffered to take in any prospect, which in the apprehension of some might savour of creaturely gratification, it has been in the simplicity of my heart, from its appearing with the face of rectitude, at the same time standing open to the immediate convictions of Truth, or the intermediate assistance of its servants in the suppression of delusion ; and if I am at last suffered to fall, it is with an anxious desire to stand, let the consequence, with regard to the body or things appertaining to this life, be what it may. To give up the world, even at the Divine command, and in exchange for an infinitely better inheritance, to a mind that is centered therein appears much, but to one

that can reap no satisfaction from any temporal good, but as it is received and used as the gift of God, it is a small matter; and as to partake of it affords to the one a delusive pleasure, so to the other pain and anxious care, which is only rendered easy or tolerable by a sense of being engaged therein, in and by the direction of Heaven: so true do we find by experience that assertion of our Lord, "In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me peace." My mind, dear friend, has been very humbly exercised for some days past, which may, perhaps, have fixed these thoughts rather deeper than usual.

In my late turn amongst you, I may say, with the Apostle, I was with you in weakness, in fear, and in much trembling of soul, and was more likely to conclude that I had lost, than gained strength and wisdom, in the exercise of the gift I am intrusted with; which humbling dispensation I know was profitable, at the close of a journey, wherein I had been sometimes remarkably favoured.

CATHARINE PAYTON.

In the eleventh month, 1757, Samuel Fothergill had a certificate from the monthly meeting, to visit the meetings of Friends in the city of London: no account of this visit remains, but some allusion is made to it in the following letter.

LYDIA LANCASTER TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Lancaster, Twelfth month 4th, 1757.

Thy lines were very acceptable to me indeed, joining so much in one with the concern of my own mind, in which I was ready to think I had been almost, if not altogether alone; and notwithstanding the weight we have laboured under, from the sorrowful apprehension and gloomy views we have had; from all which we have been deeply bowed in supplication, with the cry of—"Oh, Lord, spare thy people," and yet, still resigning all to an all-seeing, all-wise Providence, who only knows the turning of every heart, and the humiliation of every soul, and can divert his judgments as he will: in whose will and holy counsel may we ever stand fast! for I believe that what he suffers and brings to pass, in this nation, will turn out to his own praise and honour, and to the glory and enlargement of his church. I was truly glad on reading of thy visit to London. My spirit said "Amen" to it, yea, and prayer filled my soul to Him that hath all wisdom and power, that he might not only put thee forth, but also clearly give thee to see thy way, place, and service, in every meeting, preserving thee still within the bounds of thy commission, rather within than over, for a shortness is

easier to mend than an overplus, while sometimes the fervour of our spirits is ready, without steady care and watching, to take a flight, to the detriment of the whole: thou wilt bear with me, as an old friend, who has in measure learned to know the depths of Satan, and also some degree of the majesty of godliness. My love to thee runs parallel to that of my own soul. May the Rock of Israel's strength, safety, and refreshment be daily revealed, for thee to lean upon; that in body and soul, which are his, thou may be supported to finish thy service abroad, and to return with a weighty sheaf of peace, is the sincere desire of my soul.

It is not without difficulty that I write, having for two months past been more troubled with my old complaint, the asthma, than ever before; though I manage to get to meetings mostly, yet it is with much hardship, for my breathing is so obstructed, that I can speak but a few words together.

..... Farewell, my friend and brother in the nearest kindred.

LYDIA LANCASTER.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO TABITHA ECROYD.

Warrington, Second month 12th, 1758.

So strong and engaging is that precious unity, which is the bond and cement of the family in heaven and earth, as often to bring each other into fresh remembrance; the connexion is stronger than nature suggests: and in a fresh spring thereof, my mind this evening was a little warmed towards thee; though, indeed, such is my present poverty and leanness as to furnish little worth thy notice, unless it be agreeable to know that I feel a relation to thee in the tribulation of the gospel of Jesus; in which tribulation I can at times rejoice: so it behooves the gospel minister to follow his Captain and Lord, who was made perfect in the feelings of humanity, and if possible, added glory to his divinity, by suffering and crucifixion.

My house hath not been so ordered with God, but that I have administered too frequent occasion for anxiety and sorrow. I hope I have learned from the things I have suffered to be more vigilant for the future, and endeavour evermore to keep the holy fire alive and burning, to dress the daily sacrifice; for when that once ceases, abomination will stand in that place, which ought to be a receptacle for the Lord of purity and perfection.

I write it with a deeply feeling heart; I have nothing to glory in but in the Lord, and in his showing mercy and loving kindness; my goings in his service and sanctuary are imperfect; weakness and imbecility in his

work at times cover me with confusion, and in times of greatest help and blessed owning, I can say righteousness belongs to him, who only is holy, but unto me blushing and confusion of face.

It is a great and glorious thing to possess our vessels in sanctification and honour, meet for the reception of the oil of consolation; and to have our garments so unspotted from the dust, as to bear an invariable, uniform resemblance of that attire, which is a garment of praise throughout the extensive regions of our Lord and Master's empire.

I write this undesignedly, and without as much doubt of thee as of myself. O may we wait in the court of the temple the appointed time, for our admission into that which is within the veil, and improve to profit every revolution of the Lord's seasons, whether they are the singing of birds, the joyful chorus of souls raised at times above the clogs of mortality, or, with immaculate Purity and the Heir of Glory, breathe out, Eloi, lama sabachthani.

Few, very few, there are who are baptized into this cloud; there are many instructors, even amongst us, who had need to be afresh instructed in the oracles of religion; a superficial ministry in some places hath prevailed, and in others, imperfect births and deformed productions have proclaimed, in the ears of the intelligent, their remoteness from the Lord of order. If ministers are not baptized into the cloud—which, though dark and heavy, has in it the Divine rain—they cannot minister of its dew to others. Men, yea corrupt men, may hold their persons and gifts in admiration, and speak well of them, but praise of the uninitiated is a wound to the soul of the true servants, who seek their Master's praise, and not their own. Where the Lord hath dignified his servants, and made them angels indeed, they have been lusted after with disguised impurity, as the angels sent to Sodom were. It remains, therefore, for us, dear friend, to watch unto prayer, that we may stand in the trying day, and be enabled to fill up our places with dignity and usefulness, and close our race with peace.

I may just add, no time of my pilgrimage hath elapsed wherein I have found greater necessity to walk in daily reverence for my own keeping, and for the discharge of the portion of labour allotted me in the vineyard, fervently to petition, Lord, give me wisdom, for I am but a child. He who allots our stations in his service, points them also out to his servants in the visible church. There is great need to ask counsel of our Counsellor, in the various events attending these mortal

vessels, and especially in momentous affairs, where much of the well-being of life, and that in the highest sense, is concerned. There never was any offer made to thee (at least that I heard of,) which carried so much probability of being in Divine direction, as this now under thy consideration: the superiority of outward enjoyments which he possesses, preferably to the other offers, by no means decides with me: I believe there is a similarity of mind, and an engagement, in his measure, for the good cause, which propose an union and fellowship, all the riches of the world can never produce, but have often tended to destroy. As a member of this county, I regret thy removal from us; as a member of the church militant, I approve the placing a candle in a room where it seems much wanted: I believe, as thou waits in singleness of heart for wisdom and counsel, it will be duly administered.

Farewell, dear friend; let us be mindful of our father's God; he remains to be ours; and generation tells to generation his acts, and worships his everlasting arm.

I am, in the unmixed fellowship of gospel love, thy friend and brother in Jesus,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL,

ANN FOTHERGILL TO HER BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Third month 8th, 1758.

I sat down to write to thee with a degree of ease and serenity which promised some satisfaction; but this was soon interrupted by a dry frame of mind, that has indeed faded and dissipated every pleasing, comfortable sensation. I find no other way to a degree of stability and happiness, but to study to be quiet, and mind my own business; this I think includes acquiescence and resignation to every allotted dispensation; a steady adherence to this, through the assistance of Providence, may become more and more as a shelter and place of defence, against the violent assaults of many distressing and distracting cares and circumstances that daily present to busy and embondage the mind, the part to be rendered happy or miserable, and we apprized of it, and left to choose; and, though the conflict may be great, [there is] a promise of being made overcomers, if we faint not—the remembrance of which sometimes revives with a little hope and fresh vigour, when we are ready to sink.

..... Thy remarks on worthy Abraham Farrington* are affecting and just; but to re-

* This worthy friend had finished his earthly course, a short time before this was written, at the house of Thomas Jackson, in London, who

flect on the brightness of the setting sun, spreads over the mind, on his account, rather a pleasing sympathy with him in his happy change, than any painful regret, but for the loss we have sustained.

ANN FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Third month 9th, 1758.

Some person told me, before I left your country, that I should love your Friends better when I got home than I did when present with you; and I have found more in the remark than I at that time attended to. My spirit often has fled, on the wings of love and sympathy, to a region where it hath heretofore been warmed with an ardour no sublunary enjoyment could ever inspire. In which times I run from house to house, from one brother and sister to another. As usual, I seem to enter with an inquiry, the result of affection, not of formality, after their health, and depart with a most sincere farewell. In this view thou art familiar with me, and the frequent companion of my mind, distinguished from most in your land, with solicitude for thy health and establishment, through the many inclement seasons, as well as more flattering events, which in the course of thy pilgrimage fall to thy lot.

He in whose hands the winds are held, both the southern gale and the northern blast, hath caused the former to blow upon thee in the sight of the many; and the northern gale of pinching and trial hath also blown upon thee, and demanded the sympathy of the few, who, versed in the alternate revolutions of the Lord's year, praise him for summer's heat and winter's storms; for the stormy wind, fulfilling his word, was called upon, as well as the rolling stars of light, to declare his praise.

I have known times of sitting by the waters of Babylon, and weeping when I remembered Zion; but when I have looked into the holy sanctuary, I have seen afflictions and sorrow are more the result of our own conduct than the Divine intention. If we fully follow him in all his leadings, the Lord's way would, to many of us, be a plainer path than we find it. Great is the advantage of faithful obedience; it sweetens every cup, and speaks peace to the soul. Unmixed sincerity towards God is an excellent sweetener of all the cups

we drink of from the fountain of Marah; but where the secret consciousness of want of true resignation and humble following on, preys upon the mind, such cannot fly with boldness to the altar of God, where even the swallows have a place allotted. May best wisdom and fortitude be the clothing of thy mind, and peace, and the answer of "Well done," be thy portion for ever.

I sat down to tell thee that I remembered thee; my pen hath run on in a manner I did not expect, perhaps, in an improper one. However, this I know, love, stronger than death, seasons my spirit, in which I affectionately salute thee and all thy children; I love them nearly, and the Lord loves them, and would make them his in an everlasting covenant. O, that their hearts might but enough prize the blessed visitations of his mercy, and by an early choice of the paths of wisdom and truth, fill up their duty to their parents, their God, and his people, in this their day, that the diadem of peace might be with them for ever.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY YARNALL.

Warrington, Third month 9th, 1758.

I have not forgotten the relief which I at times met with when in your country, by Friends mitigating the inevitable pain of absence, by giving my wife some account of me, when I might be prevented doing it by such engagements as necessarily attended a sincere endeavour to discharge my duty in the service of our ever worthy Lord and Master. Experience hath taught me sympathy, and the very sincere regard I have for thy dear husband, thyself, and the children, demands a testimony of it on the present occasion. I was, by a slight indisposition, prevented accompanying him to a quarterly meeting in Cheshire, to which he set out this morning, accompanied by my wife and Samuel Emlen, and we expect him here again in a few days.

He is bravely in health, and inwardly and outwardly well, being preserved in that happy stability which is in the middle of the path of true judgment. His service is truly acceptable to the living; and by the haste he is allowed by his wise and gracious Master to make, may be expected to be clear sooner than many others that have come here from your land. The tender connexions of nature, confirmed by the yet stronger cement of Divine love, which establish your union, will doubtless often suggest a secret, anxious wish for his return to his beloved relatives; but whilst natural affection prompts to wish his return home, may a suitable deference ever

thus writes to Samuel Fothergill:—"All care, both by advice and nursing, was taken of our dear friend Abraham Farrington, as he lived, so he died, in great innocency and quietude, and no doubt, is gone to rest with the blessed."—T. J.

be paid to that direction which is wise, and in whose sacred allotment the joyous events of human life are sanctified, and the adverse rendered sweet. I early felt with and for thee, when he was suffered to fall into the hands of unreasonable men;* but He whom thy dear husband served set bounds to their wrath, and vouchsafed a speedy deliverance. And why may we not suppose the Lord of the harvest, perfectly wise, in now and then lighting a candle in those lands where darkness prevails? It is, doubtless, consistent with his sovereignty and goodness, who would bless the utmost borders of his ample empire, and make the place of his feet glorious. He who cares for the sparrow, and hath numbered the hairs of our heads, mercifully presides among his people, divides the spoil to those who, in his strength, go out to war, and allots a share to those who stay at home, in their duty filling up their places. I am persuaded, beyond a doubt, that the merciful Father cares for what we leave behind us, blesses often with prosperity, and always with patience, as we look towards Him. If outward affairs are not beneath his providential notice, how much more those to whom we stand in a nearer relation—those pledges of mutual love. The example of tender parents may be in measure vacated, yet the deficiency is made up by the interposition of the ever-present and all-sufficient Father. I remember, and at this time it is fresh with me, that in my honourable father's absence, he being in your land, the humbling, converting Hand effectually prevailed with me, to embrace the day of his visitation. And my heart is anxious that you, the beloved offspring of the Lord's servant, may be enriched with the same blessing, and that you may give up your names to be inserted in the roll of the Lord's servants, which is the Lamb's book of life. For this his prayers ascend, who, having proved the service of the Most High, has found it to be freedom and perfect liberty. May a holy union of spirit unite the whole together, that you may availingly follow after those things which make for your peace; and may innocent hands be put up to the Almighty, for a beloved father's return to you in safety, and with sheaves in his bosom.

With a heart replenished with unfeigned love, I salute thee, dear friend, and all the children capable of receiving it, and am thy very affectionate friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Third month 1st, 1758.

I received thy acceptable letter, and as I am often anxiously thoughtful about you, and solicitous for your establishment in the best things, the account thou gave me, confirmed by several others, of the gracious continuance of best help towards you in the last yearly meeting was truly acceptable. May the wisdom which is from above, with all its train of divine companions—faith, meekness, stability, and charity—be more the clothing of our spirits; and then shall we know a right improvement of mercies past, and a meetness for those yet within the veil. And when I consider the extent of unmerited condescension towards our Society in general, and to many particulars in an especial manner, for their own help, and the substantial edification of the body, my heart almost dissolves within me, and fervently begs protection and preservation for all in the heavenly hierarchy, that they may bear, without a mixture, in their countenances, the resemblance of kings' sons, waiting for the renewed discovery of their part in the universal tribute of obedience and praise, and strength to yield it; that nothing may ever prevail, either in the latent source of our conduct, or be admitted at all to tincture it, that is not of the Lamb, or distort our features with the emotions of passions repugnant to those of the heavenly family. I know we have great need often to have recourse to the pool, and to come under the turning of that hand that hath distinguished us from many of our brethren. Oh let humility be our dwelling place, and the uniform rule of our conduct; so shall the slippery path through time be trod with safety, and our feet at last stand firmly within the gates of salvation.

I have spent some time agreeably with worthy Thomas Gawthorp since his return home, having paid him a visit at his own house. He hath not lost ground by his journey amongst you, though his lot hath been in suffering since his return; yet the answer of "Well done," seems as a pearl in his field, most surely there, though often concealed from view.

In all cases where contrary sentiments occur, and where we are required earnestly to contend for the faith, the more the meekness of the Lamb is adopted and abode in, the more indisputably He is known to be the Lion of Judah's tribe, going forth conquering and to conquer. I sympathise nearly with such amongst you who dare not turn aside from the directions of Heaven, but follow the

* Mordecai Yarnall, whilst on his passage from America to Europe, was captured by the French, but was soon released.

ark into Jordan. May the holy covering of peace and meekness be upon them, and it will be in the end a garment of praise.

I have never yet seen cause to recede from the judgment of Friends who signed the Epistle of Love and Caution, and I believe our yearly meeting will scarcely decide the point, or meddle with it.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Third month 10th, 1758.

That affectionate regard that lived with me towards thee from our very first acquaintance, is by no means impaired by absence, for it is derived from that which doth not change; in which I affectionately salute thee, earnestly desiring thy perseverance and growth into a measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; being sensible that He who hath called thee by his grace, and whose gifts and calling are without repentance, would lead on towards perfection his children, whom he hath begot by his own power; and although their path may be through the region of the shadow of death, he is able to keep unto salvation.

Many, very many, are the obstructions in our way to the kingdom, but our greatest enemies are those of our own heart; the corrupt, selfish will, that wills not the things of God, is apt to get up, and wants not its disguises to deceive and multiply sorrow. It would choose and refuse, according to its own conception; and as it is not subject to the Divine law, it cannot enjoy a place in the holy family, who with one accord say, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." Dear John, how many sorrowful hours hath this revolting heart cost some of us, in our wearisome pilgrimage, let experience testify. On the contrary, when we seek singly the accomplishment of the Divine will, in and by us, peace springs and flows like a river; our strength is renewed, and our youth, like the eagle's. An increase in heavenly knowledge, from the Alpha throughout the Divine progressive alphabet, from one letter to another, even from the first to the last, is vouchsafed, and the glory redounds to the ever worthy name. In humbling, stripping times, we can kiss the rod, and be instructed in patience and faith, in vigilance and holy fear. Being well content with our allotment, if we have a place in His house, it is enough, however low the station. Permit me tenderly to suggest the query, whether thou hast not covered thy face with ashes in mourning, at times, through a disposition to choose thy service, and to refuse it when prompt obedience was thine incumbent duty? Yet the Lord of living

mercy is mindful of thee for good; his hand is underneath, though at times invisibly, in order to establish in peace and holy tranquillity. But peace is sown for the truly obedient, and will, after the revolutions of the appointed seasons, produce the desired fruit.

I nearly sympathise with the living amongst you, in this dark and gloomy day that hath come upon your land; and oh, saith my soul, that you may all stand, with your loins girt about, having on the complete armour of light. Thus innocence and fortitude will render these finally victorious, and whatever may attend, your reward will be sure.

I am, through mercy, pretty well in health, and not idle, finding work in my own vineyard, and according to my measure, in the church of Christ. My wife is as well as for several years, and joins me in the tenders of dear love to thy worthy, honourable mother and thyself.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JAMES PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Third month 20th, 1758.

I was well pleased with the receipt of thine, containing a circumstantial account of affairs amongst you, together with some reflections upon several things which were just and proper. These testimonies of regard and affection are allowably pleasing to me, who often am present in spirit with many of you, and rejoice in every event which promotes the real prosperity of that once happy land, and am as sensibly pained with those occurrences which tend to its hurt. Though, indeed, we are short sighted creatures; we see not the wheel within the wheel, and often form a hasty judgment of those things we do see and feel. Thus present afflictions are accounted evils, and the shaking of the rod of the Highest over a forgetful people is more attended to, and greater endeavours used to obviate it, than to search out the cause, even the backsliding of the people, the constant spring of distress; and no power can separate this effect from its original cause. I trust many look into that which is within the veil, and properly improve the present dispensation, that they may be prepared to bear with benefit a relaxation of present sorrow, or, what perhaps is nearer, the letting loose of the Lord's hand in terrible judgment. I remark with joy the continuance of Divine favour towards you, in repeated offers of his love by his servants. Oh that each soul, sensible of these favours, may improve them to profit; for to many, the dew of heaven is as water spilt upon a stone, from not considering that they are mercies to be accounted for in the day of recompense.

The weakness, wickedness, and insince-

city of your principal people in power, are subjects of sorrowful consideration, and seem to me to threaten desolation, instead of protection and help. For when government, instituted for salutary purposes, becomes either lax or perverted to repugnant purposes, it is a presage of calamity, and made an engine of oppression. But in the cloud is the way of the Sovereign of the world, as surely as in the paths of light. I meddle little with the public transactions of Europe, but think the nations are as a boiling pot. Wars, commotions, and bloodshed fill the awful scene, and a spirit is let loose which breathes destruction. I am sorry to hear of the defection and cowardice of some in the Jerseys, in flinching from their testimony. Alas! what have we that we have not received? and can we ever part with any portion of it for a better use, than for His sake who giveth us all things richly to enjoy? I sincerely wish all Friends may abide in the innocent quiet, where counsel springs up in the needful hour, as it is sought in singleness of heart. I find an increasing reluctance in several minds against the payment of the land tax here. Peradventure the time may approach, in which the command may run thus,—Speak to my people that they go forward. And perhaps the faithful amongst you may form the van.

Of worthy A. Farrington's departure, thou hast doubtless heard. He finished his course well and bright; and that is enough, whenever the appointed hour comes.

Thy sister Sarah Lloyd, is the frequent companion of my very affectionate remembrance. Her portion is afflicting; to be cut off from the satisfactions of life, innocent in their nature, and even laudable when rightly enjoyed, and to remain in a constant state of indisposition, makes nature shudder. But if the satisfactions, merely human, are much gone, its temptations are also weakened; and no confinement so close, but he who entered, "the doors being shut," can find admission there. The salutation of kind and tender love reaches to her, and may the Holy One speak comfortably to her. Thy assured, affectionate friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HANNAH LOGAN.*

Warrington, 1758.

Neither time nor distance hath effaced thee out of my remembrance and near regard, though perhaps, thou mayest almost have thought

so. Thou hast been the frequent companion of my mind, with desires for thy growth and stability in those things which are most excellent; and well assured I am, thy morning light would be beautified with additional degrees of splendour, if no unfaithfulness or want of right care on thy part defeat the sacred design of that merciful one, who is the Lord of perfection, and would have his sons and daughters like himself, according to their age and growth. That his blessed resemblance may be impressed upon thee, is my earnest prayer; and in order thereto, permit me to suggest a few such hints and cautions as may arise in a mind anxious for thy good, and warmed with the best love.

Study to be quiet, and mind thine own business, is one useful, necessary direction to all who would thrive at home. There is an active enemy, who seeks to draw out the mind after other people's business, to the neglect of our own; whereby hurt and loss attend, and the feet of the mind are gadding from house to house, and abide not within our own doors. The domestic affairs of the soul are neglected, the house gets unclean and confused; and when the holy Head of the family and Husband of the soul, comes, he finds things unmeet for his reception, and refuses to take up his residence. Here some bemoan his absence, which is chiefly or wholly owing to their want of care in having all things clean and in order, and being at home to receive him when he comes.

It is a common consequence of wandering much from home, to hear many reports, whereby the mind feeds on wind; this is also ruinous and destructive. It was not upon the mountains, or far off, that manna descended for Israel, but even about their tents; and the celestial bread, which hath been the staff of life to the living of all generations, is in our own houses; the vein of fine gold runs in our hearts, there let us dig, and patiently bear the refiner's hand. Blessed is that servant who is found thus abiding and waiting at home; when his Master comes, he will accept him, and make him ruler in his stead. Here stands the power and ability of being rightly useful in the cause of truth, whether in the church, or in our own families. In this authority, the tender connexions of nature, improved by grace and confirmed by prudence, become a threefold cord, that cannot easily be broken; and if we instantly see not the desire of our souls, we shall not assume the Divine prerogative in fixing judgment, or decline our patient waiting until our Lord comes, who can do all for us, yea more abundantly than we dare expect or ask.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

* Wife of William Logan, and daughter of George and Mary Emlen.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Third month 30th, 1758.

I now write that I may not seem to forget thee long together; forget thee, I cannot. I have passed a laborious winter, unpleasant to myself in some respects, but I hope not altogether unprofitable; I mean not only with respect to temporal advantage—of this I might have as much as one in a private station ought to look for—but I gladly encourage the rising question, To what end? and I hope, in one respect or another, I am kept daily mindful, in degree, of the winding up of all things. Could I, by unwearied application, get myself more at liberty a few weeks hence, to sit down with my friends at our ensuing solemnity here, I should be glad; but of this I have not so much as the faintest hope. I shall see you now and then as a traveller, but if I can be kept so far alive as to rejoice when the will of heaven is done, I shall be satisfied, if nothing more is permitted to be my portion. I am, as much as ever, thy

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL EMLÉN TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Bristol, Fourth month 18th, 1758.

Our valuable friend Mordecai Yarnall and myself are both here, and through mercy, pretty well in health, and not insensible of the Divine vouchsafements of that help unto him, which ever attends the willing in Israel, though sometimes in seemingly less proportions than the creature may possibly desire, or, according to our present senses, may believe necessary for the advancement of that lovely cause in which we may, by becoming sufficiently passive, be made instrumental.

I fear sometimes, greatly, lest my failure to fill up properly the station unerring wisdom designs for my standing in, may yet prove not only ruinous to myself, but injurious to others, whom in unmerited mercy he has reached unto, and would bring forward towards a glorious rest, if the ascending path thitherward, from an unwise imagination of its insurmountable difficulties, be not declined. My footsteps are, I believe, marked oftener than I sometimes consider. O may they leave the beauteous print of those shoes with which our Heavenly Father guards the feet of his beloved children, and with inviting language persuade others of the mercifully visited yet to step forward.

On the 11th we came to Chepstow, where a meeting was held in the afternoon with the members of our Society. It was a season of favour to us. After this, some expected a select meeting of ministers and elders, but I

find they have not yet established such meetings in that principality; the other meetings for discipline evince that things relative thereto are very low. The three succeeding meetings for worship were very large.

I believe I am not alone in being pleased that the best qualified instruments at these meetings were so very little interrupted, or their intended service prevented, by the time being taken up by others. I do not remember any yearly meeting in which the minds of sensible Friends were less pained on this account. I believe it exceeded that at Milverton in this respect; but the minds of those ministered unto seemed less susceptible of profitable impressions, than those who have attended the Welsh yearly meetings allow to have been the case formerly; too many there appearing invariably fixed in their own opinions.

Samuel Neale and C. Payton had an opportunity at a crowded meeting here in the morning, both I hope well. She was really clothed with the best coat of mail, and furnished with the weapons necessary among such spirits; I hope to her own great humbling, as well as encouraging gladness, in being so dignified by the great Master, some of whose servants think it was a day of memorable distinction. I think she is made more and more honourable. O, may an increase of humility be her happy portion; then will an advancement in Divine favour be yet administered, notwithstanding the gradations she is already favoured with are indisputably great.

I wish, at the ensuing yearly meeting in London, to conclude as to my return home, so as to be quite easy in myself, and give no cause of pain to the minds of any of my true well-wishers, amongst whom I have abundant cause to rank thee; and therefore hope thou wilt look at this matter in thy own mind, when any interval of leisure for it presents to thee; and that, with a father's freedom, thy counsel may be made known before we meet each other. I desire honestly to attend to the dictates of best wisdom, if vouchsafed.

SAMUEL EMLÉN, JUN.

SAMUEL EMLÉN TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

Bristol, Seventh month 18th, 1758.

I have seldom heard children blamed for telling their parents, guardians, or friends where and how they are, and should therefore have been apt to send thee a line for this purpose before now, if my arrival at this place had been so early as I expected at the time of our parting at Warrington. As we purposed getting to Dudley meeting the next morning after leaving your town, and the

ride being pretty long, thou would probably think it full as much as my little body was able for; but to make this matter more easy, we took a post chaise about sixteen miles of the very rough road, and thereby easing ourselves and our horses, we were favoured to get near sixty miles the first day, and the next morning to Dudley meeting. We found our friends there bravely in health.

I was much pleased, and hope to be profited, with my late visit to that family, (C. Payton's). As it is now unlikely I shall ever see them more, it is indeed joyous to believe, that the Hand which has ever guarded and supported all that have been steadfast to the end, is yet evidently near for the continuance of their safety. May the stay of thy young years be diligently looked unto; and I then trust, notwithstanding fully as deep draughts of the bitter cup as nature is glad of, may be sometimes handed, they will not tend to weaken in best things, but thou wilt rather experience a happy increase in that Divine strength, which formerly was desirable more than temporary ease and pleasure, which might, perhaps, be greater if thy dear spouse's frequency from home did not interrupt. But thou art by no means so covetous of his company as to prefer thy own pleasure to public advantage, wherein his Master evidently helps him to be useful; and I think thee not ignorant that those that abide at home to give necessary attention to the stuff are not forgotten, but at times thou art plenteously rewarded by the holy replenishes, to thy comfort and cause of thankfulness.

John Storer is undetermined about the place of his embarking for America; here are vessels to sail for Philadelphia, New York, and Carolina, that he may have his choice. I want him to feel his own persuasion of mind in the matter; it is not my place to say much in so important a concern; he is not an entire stranger to that wisdom which is profitable to direct and mighty to save. May a diligent, honest attention to its direction be with him; then I think he will yet witness preservation, though his present state of mind seems not to be exaltation. SAMUEL EYLEN, JUN.

In the sixth month of this year, Samuel Fothergill had a certificate from the monthly meeting to pay a religious visit to Friends in the north of Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; and he soon afterwards proceeded upon the service.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Eighth month 7th, 1758.

Thy very acceptable lines to Scarborough came in course; the sympathy and instruc-

tion they express very strongly affected my mind, then deeply humbled under a sense of weakness and want, as a baptism preparative to the labour which opened before me, in which I find more and more the absolute necessity of resignation to His wise disposal who fills and empties, abases and favours, in the proportions of His most perfect wisdom. I have had additional proofs that all true sufficiency is in and of him, and that for every difficulty; either in the heights or depths, it is indeed a glorious sufficiency; may we lean upon it in every part of our race, and it will safely sustain to the end of all our variously dispensed allotments. I have been favoured with a good degree of inward and outward strength.

The meetings, as I have come along, have been generally very large, and often favoured eminently with good, so that I have reason to believe my coming was at the right time. I came from our quarterly meeting at Lancaster, through Wensleydale: I had meetings at Hawes, Counterside, Bainbridge, Aysgarth, Masham, Thirsk, Kirby-moorside, and Pickering, and to Scarborough, where I remained nine days, only made an excursion along with M. Yarnall to Burlington. From Scarborough I came by Stentondale, Whitby, Stockton, Durham, Sunderland, to this town, where were two very large and truly comfortable meetings. As they were much composed of other people, I have proposed a more select one of the members of the Society this afternoon, and propose to set out to-morrow morning direct for Cumberland, in which county I expect to stay some time. Thus, dear sister, is my lot cast in close and hard labour, both of body and mind; but every repining thought vanishes, when I consider it is a stewardship in that house in which I have been absolutely unworthy of the very lowest place.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Ninth month 7th, 1758.

If our Lord and Master vary the dispensations of his providence, it is for some good end. His plan, like his wisdom, is much more extensive than ours, and if the confusions and corruscations in our allotment be harbingers of some approaching manifestations of his own day, to a greater degree of lustre, let us be content with our lot, endeavouring after stability and dependence, that the Lord of the day may preside, and direct the work of it.

Our yearly meeting at London was large and satisfactory; the agreeable appearance of many youth comforted the souls of many who love Zion. I think I have known the stream

of the ministry rise higher, but the meetings for discipline were eminently favoured. There were several subjects considered and discussed, in all which Truth prevailed against those who wanted to introduce greater liberties.

Soon after my return from London, I set out on a visit to some parts of Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, from which laborious service I returned two days ago, and propose to set out early tomorrow morning for Kidderminster, where the Circular yearly meeting for the seven western counties begins on first-day next. My journey was very laborious to body and mind; many painful things are to be met with in such a journey, especially where ministers are led into the state of the church to whom they minister. Some secret causes of pain, and too many obvious ones, render it distressing to trace the state of that vineyard which the Almighty once planted in a fruitful hill.

Accept, my dear friend, to thyself and family, the salutes of that affection that remains through all the vicissitudes of my life, in the breast of thy affectionate, cordial friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

From the visit to the North of England, he returned with impaired health, and his journey to attend the Circular yearly meeting increased his indisposition. Total loss of appetite, want of rest, extensive inflammation of the lungs, an incessant cough, and other symptoms of consumption, caused serious apprehensions on his account, and it was feared that his continuance in this life would be of brief duration. His illness continued long, but it pleased his good and gracious Master to raise him up again, for further labour in his service. Being thus rendered unable to attend the monthly meeting, he returned his certificate with the following letter.

TO HARDSHAW MONTHLY MEETING.

Warrington, Eleventh month 21st, 1758.

Dear Friends,

It was my intention to have personally delivered to you the certificate, you were pleased to grant me in the sixth month last; but having been visited with a dangerous indisposition, from which I am not wholly recovered, I am obliged to send it in this manner.

Agreeable to the prospect of duty I had when I requested your certificate I was enabled to perform a visit to the meetings of Friends in some parts of the North of Yorkshire, the counties of Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. In the course of this visit I was often deeply affected with sorrow,

on account of the declension of many from the life and power of Truth, who yet value themselves upon a name; but the heavenly salt being lost, they are unsavoury, and have brought dishonour upon the principle of Truth and its professors. Yet often living encouragement to hope in ancient Help was administered, and the powerful, blessed effects of it made manifest in awakening a remnant throughout the churches to prefer Zion to every other joy, and to labour to build the Lord's house more than their own. I know not what I can profitably add but this humble acknowledgment, The Lord was with me, and overshadowed me often with the wing of his salvation.

I recommend you, dear Friends, to a steadfast adherence to the Word of Wisdom and true judgment; these times require it, for they are gloomy, and the mouths of multitudes are opened, and further opening, against us; and alas for the occasion administered, and the things found against too many of our members, not concerning the law of our God!

I remain your friend and brother in that which remains forever,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER AND SISTER.

Warrington, Eleventh month 26th, 1758.

This morning, about the fourth hour, dear sister Hannah* finished her course, which, in its conclusion, hath been uniform with her life, even, peaceful, and quiet: she may be truly said to have fallen asleep, after having in a happy degree served God in her generation. The interment is to be on third-day next. Your affection will lead you to sympathize with the afflicted family on the solemn occasion of the removal of a head from eight children, and a true helpmeet from a person enfeebled every way by indisposition, though I hope he is better than some time ago, and bears the stroke with a proper equanimity.

I continue better than I could expect: I can scarcely moderate my feelings for those who are left, and the gap that is made. I know it is best to be quiet, but my spirits are depressed by indisposition, and I cannot command them. The solemn peace and divine sweetness which evidently attended our sister, are abundant proofs to me that she has entered into that society whose rest is sure.

I am, dear brother and sister, with the strongest wishes for our preservation to that holy inheritance, your affectionate brother,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

* The wife of his brother Joseph Fothergill.

ANTHONY BENEZET TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Eleventh month 27th, 1758.

I have now for a long time been much closed up from writing, except where an apprehension of duty has made it necessary; and, indeed, my mind remains still much the same in that respect; yet I think it by no means proceeds from a want of real regard and love to my friends, for it is my chief consolation, that sincere love and affectionate fellowship seem to flow more than ever towards those who, in degree, bear the image, and abound in the love of our blessed Saviour. Yet now I find some freedom, and I apprehend somewhat of a necessity to lay my thoughts a little open to thee with respect to our youth, or I might rather say, the youth everywhere. It is amongst these that the seed of corruption first subtly insinuates itself most strongly; and notwithstanding exceptions to the contrary, yet Solomon's words will generally prove true, That the child trained up in the way that he should go, will not depart from it when old. We are apt to doubt the general truth of this saying, because experience shows us that the children of many good parents, who have been concerned for the welfare of their offspring, go much out of the way; and yet, if we consider what little effectual care is taken of the youth, even of too many of the best amongst us, we shall not wonder at our ill success. Some, doubtless, are really and vitally careful, but it is generally an indulgent and partial care; was it such a watchful care as the miser has to preserve and increase his wealth, or the ambitious to gain honours, with a fervent application to God for help, I doubt not that the effects would appear. Ought not the educating and training up of the youth, both with relation to time and eternity, next to our more immediate duty to God, to be the chief concern of every one that really desires the welfare and enlargement of the borders of Zion? I have often thought that, next to preaching the Gospel, the labour that is bestowed in preventing the influx of evil, and in watching over every opportunity of instilling noble and Christian principles into the tender minds of the youth, is the greatest and most acceptable sacrifice and service we can offer to the great Father and Head of the family of the whole earth, and the most exalted duty a Christian mind can be engaged in. And it is, I think, observable, that even those children who, notwithstanding great care has been taken in their education, have suffered sin to prevail, so as to rush violently into evil, yet even in these, the Christian la-

bour which was bestowed on them when young, has been as bread cast upon the waters, and found again after many days of vanity and sin. How many are there in the Society, of sufficient talents for educating the youth, who are so situated as that by a moderate addition to their fortune, which they might easily gain by this service, might live easily, and have a mite to spare for the poor. There are others whom God has so blessed with substance, that they have nothing to do but to spend the income of it; yea, time hangs heavy on their hands, and proves even a snare to themselves and others. And there are some who, though they have already a large affluence of wealth, yet are toiling hard to add thereto, without knowing wherefore they thus toil, and whether a wise man or a fool shall possess it after them. Many persons in these different situations are doubtless, in the main, honest souls, who, though they find no call to the ministry, yet think themselves willing, with one of old, to follow Christ wheresoever he goes. Why then do they stand so long idle, when so large a field lies before them? What account will many of these be able to give of their time, when every word, and consequently every inch of time, must expect to be called into judgment? What more beneficial employ, and more fruitful of comfort and joy in the end, than time spent in an honest labour for the properly educating these innocent souls, which the Almighty has clothed with flesh and blood, and by Divine help, to be so enabled to watch over them, as to frustrate the wiles and devices of the grand adversary, that so these youth might truly answer the end of their creation? What a beautiful and noble prospect do such thoughts open to the view of those whose eyes are not blinded with the love of pleasure, ease, or profit? Why do so many suffer the god of this world so to blind their eyes, and vitiate their reasonable as well as religious senses, as to suffer them to toil after gain, and think it a mighty thing, and themselves notably employed, if they can add £1,000 to £1,000, or £10,000 to £10,000, and that often by a trade far from being pure from defilement; as such gain often arises chiefly from the purchase and sale of things at least needless and vain, if not of a defiling nature. An instance of this I have often painfully observed amongst us, where it is frequent to see even Friends, toiling year after year, enriching themselves, and thus gathering fuel for their own and their children's vanity and corruption, by the importation and sale of large quantities of rum, &c., which, though good in its place, yet from the enchanting allurements it is of to nature, and from the excessive use of it, may

truly be said to be the greatest curse that ever befell the English nation, and if possible, yet more so to the poor natives of this land. That a man should labour to become rich, and amass wealth, a state which our Saviour declares to be accompanied with snares and lusts, which tend to destroy the soul—and that this should be attained by the increase and importation of a commodity or commodities, which, from the quantity already imported, proves the ruin of so many thousands; is this keeping clear from defilement, and washing our hands in innocency? Now, that such a person shall esteem himself, and be esteemed, a religious man, and perhaps be the more regarded, even by religious people, because he is rich and great, is a mere paradox; yet is it too often the case. Now, as this is so conspicuous a weakness, and much of this nature appears amongst many otherwise good people, will any thoughtful man, who is in earnest, desire to stay long in this vale of vanity and misery? Alas! no; but I believe it is best to waive these thoughts, and endeavour to centre in that charity which believeth and hopeth for the best. Perhaps this also often arises more from a wrong education, than from corruption of heart. Mean and low prejudices, imbibed for want of proper care when young, are doubtless the occasion of many of the weaknesses and inconsistencies which so much dim the beauty and lessen the service of many, whom God intends for great instruments in his vineyard. Well, my mind longs to see, in our well-minded Friends every where, especially the younger sort, a noble emulation for the welfare and well educating of the youth. If a number of such Friends, in their different allotments, would, as it were, shake hands with the world and all its enticing prospects, seeking and expecting nothing from it but bread and trouble, and would freely dedicate themselves to the care of the youth, not limiting themselves to the narrow views of fleshly ties, nor even to religious denominations, but looking upon themselves as fathers and brothers of all that want their help, taking more especial care to make the poor and helpless the first objects of such a care, not solely of necessity, but of a willing mind, what a blessing might they be, not only to our youth in particular, but also to mankind in general. And indeed it seems to me that our principles, which, in the present corrupt state of the world, seem to prohibit our meddling with offices, &c., naturally point out to us as a people, rather than others, to serve God and our country in the education of the youth. I will acknowledge that it is a situation which does not appear so desirable as some others,

nor so likely to procure riches, ease, or worldly honour. But alas! alas! what have we to do with these things? Shall we desire to be great and rich, when our Saviour has so plainly declared it a situation so very dangerous; and that his predominant choice is of the poor of this world? Is it now a time, or was it ever a time for the believer, who eyes and relies upon the promise—is it a time for such to seek for money, or olive yards, or oxen, &c.? And although by engaging in the education of the youth we should be deprived of some of those things so desirable to nature, which we might better enjoy and accumulate in the way of trade, and thereby look upon ourselves under affliction, yet may we not hope that it will be termed for righteousness' sake, and therefore should not we have thereat to rejoice, and be exceeding glad, and even leap for joy?

And I would further say, from years' experience, that it is a great mistake to think that the education of youth is toilsome and disagreeable; it is indeed not so, except to such who from a desire of gain, take upon them the care of more children than they ought, or neglect to bring them into that discipline which, with Divine help, and proper resolution, is generally not difficult. I do not know how it is amongst you, but here, any person of tolerable morals, who can read and write, is esteemed sufficiently qualified for a schoolmaster; when, indeed, the best and wisest men are but sufficient for so weighty a charge. If the governments of this world were influenced by true wisdom, they would make the proper education of youth their first and special care. I earnestly desire that our Friends, both here and amongst you, would consider of it, and hearken inwardly to what the great and common Father would suggest in this weighty matter. Many good and necessary works are omitted, solely because custom has allowed them to be passed over as not necessary, nor binding upon us; when, if we would give ourselves time to consider them, divested from custom and prejudice, we should see them to be weighty and indispensable duties. But I fear a proposal of this kind would prove to many as great a trial of the sincerity of their love, as the instance of the young man that came to Christ. Many appear to have a love to Christ, and would sell something for his service, especially if it was to serve him in some elevated and shining sphere; but to serve Christ in a station generally so little regarded, where the labour of love, though ever so deep and sincere, is much hid, and often, when the most impartial, but the more disliked, this is hard for flesh and blood to encounter.

Well, dear friend, I was not easy without thus laying before thee some part of my con-

cern and prospect. I apprehend, from my knowledge of thy generosity, I need make no apology either for the strangeness of the thought, or the incoherence of the style. Whether this matter will appear to thee or others in the weighty and extensive view it does to me, or not, I must leave, and remain thy friend,

ANTHONY BENEZET.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Warrington, 1759.

Many sympathize with their brethren amongst you, who suffer for conscience' sake, and have their sufferings augmented by being wounded in the house of their friends; what shall we say, but refer all to the wisdom of that Being, who best knows by what means to winnow away the chaff, and purify to himself a peculiar people? I trust, in and through all these things, the great Name will be exalted, and the church be more and more evidently built on that which cannot be removed. Strait is the way to life, and few there be that find it, is a remark which hath lost no part of its truth and weight by its antiquity.

The account of the promising prospect of the youth amongst you is to me cause of humble thankfulness to the ever blessed Helper, who will, in his own way and manner, carry on his own cause, and make the place of his feet glorious: I fully believe that it is his purpose, notwithstanding the day is dark and gloomy; and oh that the natural branches of our vine may never be plucked away for their unfruitfulness; but the will of the Lord be done.

I often nearly remember thee and thy situation, who hath a quicker sense of feeling than many others, and cannot with indifference behold the temple violated and polluted by contentious, apostatizing spirits; may healing balm and heavenly help be supplied, in every needful time. Farewell, beloved friend, let us remember each other when we can, *and carefully watch to the end.*

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Second month 1st, 1759.

I am indebted to thee for the affectionate tokens of thy remembrance, by which I am pleased and profited, and retain in my mind a very near and just regard for thee and thine; even that love which many waters cannot quench, or remoteness of place impair; in the spreading whereof I am often present in spirit

with the living among you, with whom I sympathize, and ardently wish for an eternal memorial, being well content with, and thankful for, a share in those probations which are wisely allotted by our Heavenly Father to his most favoured children, in this the house of our pilgrimage. The first-born amongst many brethren, the Son of the Highest, trod this anxious path; and the disciple ought not to wish to be above his Master. Dear friend, in this stands our peace and safety, in being baptized with his baptism, and drinking of his cup, as obedient children, fashioned after his image; though many secret and obvious scenes may attend, yet in suffering we shall be exalted, and reign by subjection.

It ever gives me a distinguished pleasure to hear of and from your family; gratitude for your kind hospitality is one, but not the strongest motive; there is a similarity in minds which cements a hidden union; wherever this is the case, the connection is strong and delicate, because it is founded in that which is divine and permanent. Thy dear children are often, very often, as fresh in my mind as if present with them; and I am persuaded they are under *His* notice who delights to perpetuate his blessings in the families of his servants, and transmit from generation to generation his mercy, goodness, and truth; may this inestimable blessing be precious in their eyes, and the humbling impressions be properly prized; so will peace and joy be spread around them, and the solicitude of their parents relieved by its end being effectually answered.

I am, through mercy, restored to a better state of health than I once expected I ever should, though not wholly freed from a weakness in my breast, the consequence of a too unguarded exertion of my voice: care is now necessary to attend to every circumstance which may conduce to the preservation of my health, so as to continue capable of any service, if any should be required.

I am well pleased with the agreeable accounts of the service of our European Friends amongst you; may the Lord make them a blessing to you, and clothe them with wisdom and power. I hope you will be kindly affectioned to them all, and administer convenient food in due season, though it may be reproof; your neglect of this freedom to some of us, to whom it was due, has not been attended with the best effects.

Whatever my heart is susceptible of, in the time of enlargement, to the family and my fellow believers, in that I most affectionately salute thee, thy dear husband, and children.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Fifth month 26th, 1759.

The friendship I had the great happiness to contract with thy dear husband and self, remains as entire and animated as ever; for an excellent reason it is so—the stream will flow while the fountain supplies it, and our fountain, I trust, will never fail. I often am present in spirit with thee, sometimes a companion of thy solitary hours, and as if I sometimes shared with thee apart in those baptisms which are necessarily and wisely allotted for the instruction of all states. A time will come, my dear friend, when we shall with Divine ardour and holy certainty, close our anthem with this acknowledgment, In wisdom hast thou made all thy works; until which event attend us, O may all the days of our pilgrimage be passed in vigilance and filial awe! It hath pleased Divine Providence to allot me the dispensation of a tedious indisposition, which hath held me all winter, and is not wholly removed; the formation of an abscess in my lungs was very dangerous in the ninth month last, and continued so for some time; released from that complaint, I enjoyed a month's half health, and was seized with something like the gout, which quickly increased to a violent degree. I got relief, but remain weak, and scarcely able to walk the streets, my limbs being much debilitated; yet, as moderate exercise is very serviceable to me, I intend setting out to-morrow for our approaching yearly meeting in London.

This humbling baptism of long sickness hath instructed me, and I earnestly pray it may be to refine me: the heavens were as brass, and the earth as iron; and I thought the waterfloods and terrors of the great deep came up into my soul; all comfort seemed removed—nay, the hope of salvation, at times, well nigh failed me. But though I walked through the valley of the shadow of death, the secret invincible Arm was underneath, when I durst not hope it, and brought me again to praise him in the land of the living. May a humble sense of his dealings, who is glorious throughout all his name, remain my covering all his days.

I have lately been favoured with the company of dear John Haslam, on his way to visit the church in Ireland. His bodily strength is as well as can be expected, respecting that which must decay; his spiritual strength, as well as could be desired; and all who have spiritual sense to discern with, (except himself,) see him very strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, but the same humble, diffident, lamb-like Christian he ever was,

though I think him more deep in heavenly mysteries than ever. Thy faithful friend,
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Seventh month 18th, 1759.

There is a union and converse of spirit whose language is too diffusive and tender to be thrown upon paper, in which communion, the ground of which is pure, I wish our increase and stability; and it is a prayer not unattended with faith, that preservation to the end may be our lot, though many exercising scenes, and painful, unaccompanied steps, through solitary paths, may be assigned, in a wisdom too great for us to comprehend. My dear sister, let us endeavour to possess our souls in patience, and hope in quietness; hereby an equanimity is attainable, that preserves all our spiritual and natural faculties clear and useful, neither dejecting into too deep distress, nor exalting into insecure tranquillity, nor yet relaxing the mind into forgetfulness of what is ever proper to attend to. How safe are the followers of Wisdom, who causeth those who love her to inherit substance, and leadeth them in the midst of the paths of judgment.

I am humbly thankful to the Author of all good, for the return of my health to a comfortable degree, and for the renewal of his gracious presence, for best health. It is a crowning mercy when he vouchsafes to favour with the light of his countenance, and give, if but an imperfect, yet real, glimpse of the seal of the covenant; may it be fresh upon us, in time and in eternity.

..... I am ready to hope the present situation of my mind is not remote from good, I feel such a degree of love for heaven, for those that dwell therein, and for those that are carefully seeking after an habitation there. As I mused this evening, the fire burned, and warmed me, and I felt thee, I think, (after the Author of good,) near, if not quite uppermost in my remembrance; and, though such language as I am capable of cannot point out the outlines of a friendship, though founded in nature, yet refined and strengthened by grace, and rendered strong, if I do not presume too much for myself, by a similarity of minds; yet I am most free and easy to tell thee I remember thee in that love which is not liable to change or decay, and renew the expression of my wishes for thy sure blessing every way. For my own part, I am quiet, I think not stupid; I am often very poor, but I remember Him who fasted forty days. I at times meet with hidden sorrow, but I call to mind that fair weather comes out of the north;

and if the present light afflictions have their proper effect, they will work for us an eternal weight of glory. A superficial view of my state may induce many to think I am remote from the vales of sorrow and disquietude; but I often tread the solemn, lonely path of secret mourning; I do not complain, I dare not, I ought not, for my Father who is in heaven, is wise, righteous, and good. O, may he renew my confidence in him, and be my refuge in the hour of need!

I am not out of love with myself, my state, or the world; I have at times an evidence renewed which makes it comfortable to meet my God in the cool of the evening, and that he cares for me; no uneasy disappointment disturbs my mind respecting temporal matters; I wish to climb above them, into the secret place of the Most High, and I feel his outstretched arm is near for the glorious purpose.

Farewell, my friend and companion in the solitary, safe way to peace; may we eye our guide, and follow him with diligence, and he will not fail us; let us not fly away on the wings of levity and folly, nor derogate from the rectitude of his allotments, by the glooms of nature. Remember me affectionately; tell me so when thou can, and be assured of my most affectionate regard from every motive.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In the autumn of 1759, Samuel Fothergill performed an extensive visit to Friends in many parts of the west of England, also in the city of Bristol, and some other places.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS WIFE.

St. Ives, Ninth month 2nd, 1759.

Through the gracious help of Providence, I have to send thee the account of my arrival here in good health. Yesterday and this day we have had two meetings here, very large, especially this afternoon, which we were obliged to hold upon the sea-shore, no place being large enough for the reception of the people, who were above three thousand, the country coming in for many miles round; the Lord of sure mercies was graciously near, and magnified his own name and Truth; to him be the praise of his own works, for they only can praise him.

My mind is comforted in being here, being assured I am in my place, and my health is much confirmed; I hope to use every prudent precaution to preserve it, though the weight of the service lays much upon me, there being none in the ministry but myself, besides a few of the members of the meeting. I long much to hear from thee. I hope to be at Plymouth

on fifth-day evening next, at Exeter on first-day, and Bristol on fourth.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO CATHARINE
PAYTON.

Warrington, Eleventh month 3rd, 1759.

Since my return home, I have been favoured with an acceptable letter from thee, and should have made several epistolary visits to thee, had every other circumstance been as favourable as my inclination, and sincere desire for thy preservation and stability in the best things. It is very acceptable to hear and feel that He who hath put forth goes before thee, and attends graciously with never-failing help. I am under an awful obligation to acknowledge his bounty and condescension, in supporting in my late laborious engagement, and we have both the greatest reason. He hath preserved us by the right hand of his power, and distinguished humility, obedience, and watchful fear is our alone place of safety; may we abide therein, that with unimpaired strength we may run our race and finish our course. And, dear friend, it hath often been the cause of humiliation and sorrow to me to behold the unprofitable state in which many remain, who hear the Truth with gladness, but lay not hold, fast hold, on eternal life; the ministry is to such a pleasant sound, but for want of rooting, their beauty is momentary, and succeeded by withering. I fear that island, as well as this, has too many of that superficial sort, even amongst those who think themselves to be something, and judge of their advance in life by their pleasures in hearing and talking. There is a remnant, with whom my soul is united in the heavenly covenant; these have one Father and head, and unto him is their eye directed; they know no man after the flesh, nor have trust in any thing short of the renewings of the Holy Ghost; and they well know nothing else can keep them steadfast and immovable in these degenerate days. My mind will be frequently with the seed in the approaching solemnity, with such strength of desire as I may be favoured with for the exaltation of the pure, holy Truth. May all the labourers in the Lord's service be clothed with the humility, meekness, wisdom, and strength of the Lamb; this will be victorious at last, when the zeal, will, and wrath of man must utterly fail.

Thy complaint of the state of the church in your parts is sorrowful, and it is much more so when the cultivation of the heavenly Hand hath been more abundantly known, and the former and latter rain have abun-

dantly descended, and I think this hath been the case of this county in a remarkable degree. I mean not the favours conveyed through the channel of my labours, but the many heavenly visitations immediately, and through others. The secret love of the world hath prevailed to weaken many hands the Lord would have made strong for himself; whereby the testimony is deserted and the cords slackened, immoral practices connived at, and very few, scarcely any, who dare stand in the gap. Many think better of us than we merit, and some think I may be strengthened much by a worthy assistant, who seems, at London, clothed with zeal, but is at home my greatest burden. May our minds, dear friend, cleave to the Preserver of men, that thereby strength may be renewed simply to suffer, and simply to stand in the counsel of God; then *how, where, and what* we are, will be perfectly right. The Lord direct thy steps in wisdom, prudence and zeal.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Eleventh month 13th, 1759.

Though neither my inclination nor capacity allow my engagements to be in some respects so arduous as thine, yet they are as many and as laborious as my strength of body and mind are equal to, and frequently so encumbering as to prevent my conversing with such Friends as the warmth of an affectionate heart would frequently recall to my near remembrance. Thyself and dear wife, from the motives of gratitude, union of spirit, and similarity of sentiment, are often present with me, and that friendship is not at all impaired which united us when together, and I hope, according to your Indian phrase, "The chain may be often brightened." And, dear Israel, thou well knowest what it is that unites to all the living, and preserves in the unity of the one Spirit, even that leaven of the kingdom, which, by a silent, solemn, and efficacious energy, begets into the Divine nature, and makes the whole lump congenial with itself and with the family. It is uniform in its operation, ever productive of one glorious end, though the objects on which it operates may be various. It animates the gloomy, regulates the unstable, and causes the volatility of the more vivacious to subside, and directs them to, and in, their respective services.

When I see the different tempers of men, I am confirmed in a strong assurance that in wisdom the Lord hath made them all, and that in the abundance of his mercy and truth he would direct them to his glory, and sanctify to his use and our comfort. May we be

so happy as to be completely his workmanship, which is beautiful, and the praise of the whole earth. I feel so great occasion for a jealousy over myself, and am so often humbled by one thorn or another, that I may, perhaps, from that feeling, be giving away my own bread to one that has less need of it than myself. But my soul is humbled within me, to crave inward establishment in the holy, hidden life of the Lamb, and that thence the complete similitude of the King's sons may be our happy experience. My situation is such as to exclude boasting and guard against despondency; and though I pass through various dispensations, their end I consider is one, and that is good, though the path to it may at times lie through the shadow of death; yet this evidence I have, and I hope never to lose, my daily desire and prayer is, in the language of the psalmist, "Let my heart be sound in thy statutes." As to the state of the church, I cannot say much; I think she is going into the wilderness, to the place her husband hath prepared for her there; she is seldom visible about the dwellings of her nominal professors; many make use of her name for fraudulent purposes and lucrative views, the filthy lucre of pre-eminence. I know them by this mark—they aspire to be great, and not, by becoming little, and the servants of all, patient toward all men. They say they are zealous, some think them so, but where the eye is not single, no zeal can be there that is of the right sort.

My business is not much in public affairs. Our nation is intoxicated with success. I cannot rejoice with their joy. Methinks there is yet behind the veil something to teach us righteousness. The commotions of this present day have not that instructive effect on the people. May the great Lord of heaven and earth magnify his own name and arm. I believe He will do it, and that the day is near at hand, that he will work his wonderful work. Oh that our names may be written in his book, enrolled in his army; so shall the strength of salvation and protection be our portion. Dear friend, all other vision is a dream, and all labour fruitless or worse, that hath not some tendency to promote this establishment. We are hastening fast through the scenes of time, and everlasting certainty is at hand. Oh, therefore, let our fervour be directed to that substance the wise of all ages have chosen, and leave the bustles of obstructing things, to sit at the feet of the Prince of Peace.

My love is to thy dear spouse; I love the remembrance of her: I wish I were rich in spiritual wealth, I would freely communicate some to her if I could, though she knows the

way to the place where all treasure is hid, and also who enables to partake thereof. I have every branch of thy family fresh in my affectionate regard, and salute them with unfeigned love; may the riches of all the righteous generations become their inheritance for ever. I by no means forget poor afflicted Mary Jordan; she has the just sympathy of my heart that feels for her, and what is infinitely better, the tender mercy of our Father who is in heaven, an appellation given to him from the heights and from the depths. Various are the snares attendant on unguarded health; the steps of youth are in slippery places; our stay is momentary, and more safe in the house of mourning than in the house of mirth.

As to my situation, it hath either been a scene of labour abroad, or sickness at home: I have been on the brink of the grave twice last winter. This, seems to promise better health, and, perhaps, a quiet rest at home. However it be, I am content, in humble confidence in the sure Helper of all who love and fear him. I will conclude with the assurance of sincere affection for you all, in that which remains through all the changes of time.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Twelfth month 2nd, 1759.

The emotions of pure friendship, which often warm my mind towards thee, render thy welfare and prosperity most desirable, and fill my mind with unfeigned sympathy in which I tenderly salute thee. From thine of 23rd of eighth month, I find those evidences of life which are incontestible, even want and anxiety; I wish they may ever continue directed towards the everlasting Supplier, who will in his own time lead to Rehoboth, where all sufficiency reveals itself to the humble, sincere soul. It is infinitely preferable to that state of death, and consequently insensibility, which many rejoice in as their principal good. We are under the continual notice of a merciful Father, who sees and pities us; when our backslidings correct us, he mitigates the severity due, and turns even our weaknesses into the means of renewing strength, and renews great occasion to hope all things shall work together for good. I often consider the situation of your province in this sifting day, in which a separation is made between the true-hearted followers of Christ, though in the way of the cross, and those whose building is upon the sand, in the spirit and temper of an unstable world. The suffering of the true seed is great, and the wormwood bitter. These things are permitted, and

may be the introduction to greater winnowing and exercise; but the Lamb and his followers will be finally victorious. May the righteous seed therefore be patient, and hope to the end, for faithful is He who hath called into this day of buffeting.

Our worthy friend Joseph White is about Durham. His service is not merely very acceptable, but solidly beneficial; I have known none more eminently favoured with the wisdom and authority of Truth. His health is not fully confirmed, though he is able to travel diligently.

Farewell, my dear friend; may the hand which hath supported in many concealed and obvious trials, and encouraged to hope in his salvation, be reverently waited for. If we, on our part, remember and follow as we ought, our Rock will not sell us, nor ever fail; the Lord our righteousness will make way for us, and exalt our drooping heads in his own time.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

CHAPTER X.

THE firm belief of SAMUEL FOTHERGILL in the great doctrines of the Christian religion, as held by the religious Society of which he was a member, and his entire conviction of the truth and propriety of the various testimonies of the Society, and of their accordance with the doctrines and precepts of the New Testament, were not in him the result of education or tradition. He had diligently examined for himself the grounds upon which they rested; for this examination, and the thorough conviction which it produced upon his mind, he was well enabled, through the grace and aid of the Holy Spirit, to recommend and to explain these principles, to advocate them as occasions arose, and to defend them when questioned or attacked.

This full acquaintance with the principles of the Society, and his well-known ability to explain and enforce them, together with the eminent station which he occupied as a minister, caused frequent applications to be made to him for advice and assistance; it introduced him into much correspondence, and an extended care over many parts of the Society.

For several years before his visit to America, and ever after his return, he was a constant attender, (when health permitted) of the yearly meeting in London, and, with his brother John, took a deep interest, and no inconsiderable share, in the transactions of, and various important concerns which came before that assembly. Several of the printed epistles during this period contain strong evidence, in their language and style, that portions of them were of his composition. From

the records of the yearly meeting in 1753, it appears that he then proposed the establishment of a yearly meeting of ministers and elders, and several minutes occur on the subject. The proposal made by our friend Samuel Fothergill respecting the establishment of a yearly meeting of ministers and elders, being reconsidered, was referred to the consideration of the committee for drawing up the epistle. John Fry, from the committee appointed to consider the proposal made by Samuel Fothergill with respect to the holding a general meeting for ministers and elders annually in this city, brought in a report, in which they say, That having solidly considered the proposition, it is their sense and judgment that it may contribute to the advantage of the Society to have such a meeting of ministers and elders established. The report was read and considered, and on the following day it was agreed that it should remain solidly on Friends' minds, and in the year following it was deliberately considered and concluded. The regulations proposed, and then agreed upon, for the said meeting, are nearly the same as at the present time.

In the same year, 1753, it is recorded that Samuel Fothergill brought in from the committee an epistle, to be sent in MS. to the several quarterly meetings; the epistle is fraught with excellent counsel.

Of the character adverted to in a preceding paragraph, are several of the following letters.

In the beginning of 1760, he was engaged in some correspondence with R. Selby, the clergyman of a neighbouring parish (Budworth.) The daughter of a Friend near that place had been married before this individual, and, previously to the ceremony of the marriage, he had insisted upon her submitting to the rite of water baptism. The marriage was one of peculiar aggravation and distress to her parents, who were treated with much unkindness by the clergyman; they applied for counsel and consolation to Samuel Fothergill, and the following extracts are from some of his letters to R. Selby on the occasion.

"I am convinced, by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, that the sprinkling of water upon the face of either adults or infants hath no warrant therein: it is neither the baptism of John, nor of our blessed Redeemer; but having no ground in Holy Writ, nor example nor precept therein, corroborating thy practice, and it appearing foreign to the nature of the religion of the Holy Jesus, I disclaim it, as being one of the inventions of men apostatized from the power and purity of the gospel. Had thy mind been happily subjected to the purifying effects of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, the baptism that now

saves, and of which the holy Jesus was and is the minister, I persuade myself thou wouldst have acted a different part."

..... "I suppose thy remark on S. C.* being an enemy to the religion of his country, is a reflection on our Society. I trust we are not enemies to true religion, which avails before God the Father. It is true, we think differently from some others respecting it, believing its chief emolument is sanctity of heart and the favour of God, and not lucrative advantages. We have reason to believe there yet remain men who suppose gain is godliness, and are more concerned to advocate their claims by temporal motives, than by the love of Christ; and from such we turn away."

In reply to some harsh and unjust expressions of his correspondent respecting himself, Samuel Fothergill writes thus:

"I am very free to tell thee I make not merchandise of religion: I amuse not the people with the false traffic of unfelt truths. I confess some of the earlier scenes of my life were passed in folly, vanity, and infidelity; but having found mercy with God, through Jesus Christ, and knowing the terrors of the Lord for sin, I endeavour to persuade others to be reconciled unto God, by forsaking every evil way, and turning to him in faith and prayer, with their whole hearts. This is the end of my labour, and its whole intention; for this I am willing to spend and to be spent, without any fee or reward from men. The Lord judge between me and thee in this matter."

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO R. OLIVER.†

Warrington, 1760.

My friend, Abraham Rawlinson, some time ago, gave me thine, dated 11th of April, which brought thy Commissary's remarks on the suffering case of the Websters, which Abraham Rawlinson had, at my request, put into thy hands some time since. A tedious indisposition, and a necessary inquiry into the truth of the Commissary's aspersions, have prevented my earlier attempt to suggest a few sentiments to thy consideration, on account of thy Commissary's letter: I hope for thy candour in doing it now.

Much might be said to his "concurrence in opinion, that every civil government ought highly to discourage every excuse and pretence which are alleged to be founded on

* The father of the young woman.

† Probably Robert Oliver, who was vicar of the parish of Warton, near Lancaster, from 1734 to 1775. I have not been able to collect any further particulars of the case named in this letter.—G. C.

principles of conscience, for a premeditated disobedience to the laws of their country;" as also to his charge of the most "perverse obstinacy." May I not query whether this is not a full justification of all the high discouragements the primitive church suffered from Jewish and Gentile governments, and those inflicted on the reformers from Popery, the founders of the Church of England! The hierarchy of those days called their invincible constancy, "the most perverse obstinacy." Hath not this been the language of a persecuting spirit, from the time of the accusation of our Saviour by the chief priests; both Jews and Gentiles, and those worst of Gentiles, persecutors professing the religion of the Prince of peace and love, and counteracting it to the utmost of their power by acts of cruelty and injustice? I apprehend the case in question is a proof of this unchristian disposition, and that it is in the first instance illegal and unjust, and that no law of our country subjects us to pay wages to a parish clerk; and I am ready to put it to the issue of common law. Perhaps this might be known to the prosecutor, and thence he was induced to put them into the Ecclesiastical Court, where they might be harassed and lured into a contempt, and subjected to every hardship a court hateful to God and man hath power to inflict. Their being sued there was for an illegal and unjust demand, and every act of that court was, and is, accumulated injustice. We have no reason to hope for any compliment to our religious scruples from chancellors and registrars. We have read of such officers and their conduct, in Queen Mary's days, and we apprehend succeeding times have only varied the object, not the nature of the people's zeal. I freely own we are entirely at ease with respect to any spiritual disadvantage accruing to us from excommunication. The Judge of the whole universe is not at the beck of any mercenary officer, whether civil or ecclesiastical, to execute his sentence of injustice and oppression, at the price of his own attributes of love and compassion. Nay, indeed, whilst such instruments of cruelty are found in the habitations of Simeon and Levi, may not thinking men say with old Jacob, "Oh my soul! come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united."

I was astonished at the account he gave me of two Quakers being lessees of wool and lambs, and suing as appellants, because the appellees had not made a sufficient tender, &c. I have heard of many instances, and known some, where Quakers being possessed of estates by inheritance or purchase, to

which tithes belonged, have, without any temporal consideration dismembered them from their estates, and in the strongest manner conveyed them to the land owners from whose estate they arose, being as conscientiously concerned against *receiving* as *paying* them; but never before heard of their suing for them. I procured an inquiry to be made into this matter, and were I disposed to give thy Commissary as hard words as he uses for Webster's conscientious dissent, I might keenly recriminate—but I spare him. Two Papists commenced such a suit, but that two Quakers did, I call upon him to prove. I have copies of two certificates, one from the plaintiff's solicitor, and one from the defendant's proctor, as my vouchers; the originals are in my hands. May I not call in question thy Commissary's claim to the epithets of "good and worthy," who can thus take up and make a false report, and impose upon thee with it.

I am much mistaken in the judgment I have formed of my friend Oliver, if these remarks are in his sight insignificant. I cannot think thy nature unfeeling, and am persuaded religion would improve every sentiment of sympathy with distress, especially where unjustly procured and unmerited. I, therefore appeal to the man, to the Christian, for redress, which I hope is in thy power to procure. For though we fear no spiritual damages from excommunication, as now prostituted, we know there are temporal ones which do affect the already injured, oppressed parties. I am thy real friend and well wisher,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Third month 23rd, 1760.

I am favoured with pretty good health, a blessing greatly to be prized, and in other respects quiet and content; I do not abound, nor am I wholly destitute; I have more than I have merited, and if I be stript, I acquiesce with His will, whom I think I can call my Father who is in heaven.

The revolving year brings nigh a season I look at with the alternate sensations of pleasure and sorrow, as these result from meeting with similar spirits, and being renewedly baptized with them for ourselves, for the living and the dead. It is pleasing beyond expression to renew a personal converse with those who are dear to me from every tie; and to see a brother and sister in the strongest union, conveys a pleasure which, like the connexion, is deeper than nature.

Yesterday, I received an invitation from Jonathan Laycock, of Halifax, to the burial

of his wife. To which an apprehension of duty obliges me to submit, though I confess not without reluctance. But I only ask to be right, and leave the what and the where. I expect little more rest. Our northern yearly meeting, that for Wales, and London, are coming fast on; I am thankful for the present share of ability, which I hope will continue proportioned to the labour of the day.

Our worthy ancient friends, Grace Chambers* and Lydia Lancaster, are about to set out on a long journey; I expect them here next week, and they intend for the Welsh yearly meeting, Bristol, Bath, and London.

Full of days and full of virtue, their spirits are refined, by long experience, into a meekness for the holy inheritance.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Fourth month 7th, 1760.

I was favoured with thine, and must acknowledge it was acceptable, though it brought me the tidings of thy daughter's† departure out of this troublesome world; and I doubt not but thy mind will be so favoured with that calm acquiescence with the present dispensation, as to be enabled to say, It is the Lord's doing, and let him work as it pleaseth him. It is a debt we must all pay, and we ought not to repine at the hour of our summons. Indeed, when the race is shortened, and a quicker transition to eternal peace is granted than through the long, laborious scenes of sorrow allotted to many, it may be considered and prized as a mercy, and doubtless will be so in the cool moments of sedate medita-

tion, when the mind is loosened from lower connexions, and reaching onwards to the immutable union and inseparable fellowship of the Lord's family. I was much comforted to observe in thine the happy, blessed end dear Mary was favoured with. I trust the remembrance of it will often solace her parents, and may it be memorably instructive to her surviving brothers and sisters, who know not how soon they must close their eyes to all visible things. Then, O then, a religious, watchful life, spent in the Divine fear, will appear as it really is, an absolutely necessary preparation to what, in a solemn hour, is eligible to all—even a happy conclusion. I nearly and affectionately sympathize with thee, in the various exercising steps thou hast assigned thee to tread. I doubt not but the present afflictions will work for thee a more exceeding weight of glory; and such times of favour will be renewed, as to enable thee to rejoice in tribulation. May the ancient Helper of his humble children graciously support thee, and lead forward in the way to true peace; that, in the obedience of faith, thou mayest be established, and all things work together under divine direction for thy comfort in hope.

I am about preparing a few instances of the great advantage and necessity of early piety, intending to print them, with some little introduction, believing they may be of some use. I think thy testimony concerning thy dear daughter will greatly add to the value and usefulness of such a performance; and I believe thou wilt not have any objection to my gathering up her valuable fragments.*

I am, through mercy, in a pretty good state of health. I have been much about home this winter, not wholly useless, nor idle; as the summer advances, it seems likely I may be more abroad, though I have no clear perception of any long journey. The visitation of the Shepherd of Israel seems extending itself, and in some places, with a blessed prevalence to the scattered sheep amongst us, bringing some near who have been afar off, as well as bringing here and there one to the saving knowledge of his own Truth. May his work prosper, and the place of his feet become more and more glorious.

Our worthy ancient friends, Grace Chambers, in her eighty-fourth year, and Lydia Lancaster, in her seventy-seventh, were lately with us, on a religious visit; they bent their course towards Bristol and some adjacent places, and thence to London. They are as

* Grace Chambers was born at Monkheselden, in the county of Durham; and about the year 1713, on being married, she removed to near Kendal. She was of strict, exemplary life and conversation, remarkable for her great plainness and simplicity of apparel, manners, and deportment, as well as for openness and generosity to her friends, and hospitality to all, especially to the poor. She had free access to many families of distinction, to whom her affectionate visits were acceptable, and of service. She possessed considerable skill in surgery, and in administering relief in many disorders; and this she did without fee or reward, and devoted much of her time to visiting the sick and those in affliction, to whom she was very helpful. As a minister, she was strong and lively in her testimonies, even when bodily ability had much abated. She finished a well spent life, at her own house at Sedgwick, near Kendal, in ninth month, 1762, aged eighty-five years; being favoured at last with a comfortable evidence of her gracious acceptance.

† Mary Jordan.

* What progress was made by S. Fothergill in this collection does not now appear. He did not publish any such work, and no remains of it were found after his decease.

well as can be expected, considering their great age, and bravely strong in the root of living virtue. O, desirable state indeed, to have run a bright and glorious race, and be enriched with treasure, ancient and new; green in old age, monuments of Almighty power and goodness, descending to the grave, as much of them as the grave can hold, but the immortal part renewed in holy ardour, and happy in the evident foretaste of everlasting felicity. I have not seen Joseph White for several months; his service in this land is truly acceptable and useful; his Master is eminently with him, and I trust will keep him in the simplicity and power of the gospel. Assure thyself of my most cordial affection being ever warm to thee and thine, in which I wish you all happiness, in this; in the salutation of near love, my wife joins with thy sincere friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Fourth month 10th, 1760.

..... As I tenderly love you, I rejoice in whatever attends you that is prosperous, particularly that our gracious Lord and Law-giver overshadows your meetings, when the body is collectively assembled for his service. He hath often limited the turbulent waves which contentious spirits have raised, and for his own name's sake made evidently bare his holy arm. I have often remarked it with admiration and worship of heart, and learned from it, that if we do the Lord's work in his spirit, no weapon formed against us shall prosper. I am thankful for the proofs repeatedly afforded, that we are brethren, and are in that spiritual fellowship which is not straitened by distance of place, and therein are capable of adapting matter suitable to your states in our annual assembly. Those epistles have required a vigilant eye, to prevent their being prejudicial instead of helpful; for there are too many amongst us, as well as you, who consider the approbation of men, more than the conformity to the pattern God clearly showed to the living amongst us in his holy mount.

..... I have just now received from London, the enclosed printed epistle. I thought for some time I had a concern to send Friends of Tortola a few hints, and I, therefore, threw together a few sentiments. I sent it up to my brother for his consideration; he laid it before the Morning meeting, who, with some little immaterial alteration in the words, directed it to the press, as it was considered that the transient reading of an epistle once in a meeting, might be of less use than printing such

a number as might supply every family with several. One hundred of them will be sent to Tortola.

My time hath been pretty much employed, in one little service or another, during the past winter; and I have got peace of mind, and that is very great riches. I am obliged to thee for the yearly epistle from Philadelphia. It contains profitable truths, and will, I doubt not, be of service. I think the artless simplicity of the gospel, unlaboured in point of diction, is most likely to add weight to these epistles; and perhaps, if you judge it necessary to continue the practice of printing yearly epistles, you may study simplicity and plainness of address. Though I suppose you will hardly judge it necessary to print every year, lest the wheels be clogged, and the frequency of instruction destroy its use.

I most sincerely wish thee every degree of essential happiness, and that peace and satisfaction which alone soothes the sorrows, and alleviates the distress of our probationary pilgrimage.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

The following is the epistle mentioned in the foregoing letter:—

TO FRIENDS OF THE ISLAND OF TORTOLA.

Warrington, Third month 17th, 1760.

Dear friends,

Though I am personally a stranger, and unknown to most of you, yet ye have been, of late time especially, so frequently the subject of close thoughtfulness to me, and with so much warmth as to engage my mind to visit you in a collective capacity with this epistle, from some apprehension of duty, and with a heart replenished with sincere good will, in which, I wish you the possession of that happiness which is everlasting.

It was tidings of great joy to the living body of Friends in this land, to hear that the Lord Almighty was at work in your island, to beget children to himself; and that the same substantial virtue which wrought upon many, in this and other nations, to redeem and purify them a people to the praise of his great Name, had also visited you with a day-spring from on high, and produced the same blessed fruits in measure, even a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness; and by the baptism of the Holy Ghost, brought them into the one spiritual body, whereof Christ is head. Oh the tenderness, the fear, and watchfulness, which attended some of your souls in that day!—a precious day of visitation, which ought for ever to be remembered; a day wherein the Lord allured some of you, and brought you into the wilderness, speaking

comfortably to you, and in his own time gave you vineyards from thence: some of you, I believe, have in remembrance those times of divine betrothing, and cannot but acknowledge it was the Lord's doing. Then the mind was humbled as in the dust, and a living concern arose, to walk in white, and to enter into covenant with the Lord your God; a covenant you then hoped would never be broken. In this simplicity of heart, the Lord's children are ever safest, Almighty power watching over them for good, and regarding with a Father's care. As individuals amongst you were thus engaged, the sympathy and fellowship of the one body spread over sea and land, and we became as epistles written in one another's hearts, and were baptized by the one Spirit into the one body, wherein is the bond of peace and unity of the saints. In this stood our rejoicing on your account; for it is not the accession of numbers to our name, but the gathering of souls to the everlasting Shepherd, which gives joy to the Lord's family in heaven and earth.

Now, dear Friends, is not the dew of your morning at times brought to recollection, and its heavenly relish remembered? Yet, hath not a loss sensibly attended you, and the once promising plantation amongst you become less fruitful and beautiful? If so, where shall we inquire for the cause? We shall not find any deficiency in Divine compassion; but the loss hath been occasioned by a neglect to follow on to know the Lord in his own way and leading, and a departure in heart from him hath ensued, whereby the work hath been marred, and that goodness, wherein the holy, unchangeable One would have established you, and rendered a permanent blessing and beauty to you, hath been to too many as a morning cloud, and as the early dew, it hath soon passed away. Such ever was the consequence of unfaithfulness to the discoveries of the pure light; weakness, revolt, and backsliding have ensued—and when people have forsaken the Fountain of living waters, which is open for sanctification and refreshment, all their labour and inventions have been as broken cisterns, that can hold no water; and the latter end of such, unless they return and repent, will be worse than their former unenlightened state. Bear with me, dear friends, in this freedom; my soul longs for your help and restoration, that by and through you the great Name may be exalted in those islands, and that part of the Lord's footstool may become glorious.

Let, I beseech you, the seeming foremost rank amongst you look closely to their own steps, and consider carefully, whether they have not by some means contributed to the

general decay of lively zeal and care, through their own declension and lukewarmness; for it is most certain, the faithfulness or unfaithfulness, of this rank, hath a very great influence over young and tender minds, as well as of those who may be more advanced in years and experience, and yet not void of a secret relish for heavenly matters. Return therefore, I beseech you, oh ye chiefs amongst the people, to your first love, and do your first works, lest greater desolation ensue, and He, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, come unto you quickly, and remove yours out of its place; for why should the candlestick remain, when the light and lustre of the candle is extinguished? And dearly beloved friends of the rising generation, and ye in the prime of life, suffer and receive the word of exhortation from one who tenderly loves you; remember your Creator and your Judge; let not the foolish amusements, or vain conversation, of this world prevail to turn you aside from your great and everlasting interest; remember there is not any thing of this world can lay the foundation of eternal peace; it is an earnest, humble seeking after the sanctifying Hand, and submission to its virtue, which can alone fashion you as vessels of honour, and fit you for the heavenly kingdom. Cherish the secret drawings of divine love; be not ashamed of its tendering, restraining effects; why should you sell your souls for a thing of naught? for such will be the smiles and frowns of this world in a day that is hastily approaching. Let not, therefore, the evil example of others, nor the reproach of the scornful, prevail to your hurt, but retain the fear of God, which will keep the heart clean, and be an excellent enduring treasure, when every thing else shall vanish as a vapour.

And it most certainly behooves you, friends, who were natives of this land, and have had your education amongst us as a people, and been frequently directed to the heavenly Monitor, to walk with great circumspection; ye are amongst a people who have been made partakers of the like precious faith with us, principally through the immediate reach of a Divine Hand. Will not their eyes be turned to look at your conduct, and to observe the fruits of your faith, by its prevalence in your lives and conversation? And if, instead of the blessed fruits of righteousness, the contrary should appear, and your conduct be the means of stumbling to any, and evil liberties pursued by you, to your own and others' hurt; to such I testify, in the name and under an awful sense of the authority of the Most High, it had been better for them never to have known the way of righteousness. Heavy,

very heavy, will be the weight of the complicated guilt of their own transgressions, and the transgressions of others made worse by their example. Wo, from a righteous and dreadful God, to those by whom such offences come. I make no doubt but there are amongst you an honest seed, an afflicted and poor people, some of the Lord's poor, who retain in some good degree, their first love, and bewail the hurt of Zion. I beseech such, stand fast in their own lots; abide in the faith and patience; be sober, and hope to the end: though the times are gloomy, the out-goings of the morning are of God, and he can, and will in his own time, cause the wilderness to become a fruitful field. Look not too much at the declension of others, lest your faith should fail; but steadfastly look to, and follow on to know the Lord Almighty, who remains for ever, and the defection of multitudes can by no means impair his unchangeable truth and righteousness.

In a sense of the fresh extending of ancient, all-sufficient Help, I most tenderly and affectionately salute you. May the scattered amongst you be brought home, and the negligent be roused to diligence, whilst yet a little day continues; let the tender breathings still remaining be cherished, that they may gather strength, and enter with holy prevalence the ear of the Lord and Father of his people: this is the sincere prayer of one concerned at heart for your restoration and stability in righteousness and peace for ever.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO SUSANNA HATTON.*

Sixth month 27th, 1760.

In some sense of that sympathy and union which renders the church of Christ a compact body, I tenderly and affectionately salute thee.

* This Friend was born at Grange, in the north of Ireland, in 1720. Very early in life, her mind was brought under the tender visitations of Divine love, and such was her zeal and her love for the Truth, that she generally went many miles on foot to attend meetings, and laboured hard in the service of her employer to make up for the time thus occupied. In the seventeenth year of her age, she received a gift in the ministry, and as one planted by the Master's hand, so rapid was her growth therein, that, with the unity of her friends, she paid a general visit, before she was eighteen years of age, to Friends on the continent of America, in company with Ruth Courtney. She was married in 1742, and for many years had to pass through many outward difficulties, as well as inward exercises and trials, for the cause and testimony she had espoused, and she was favoured to hold fast her integrity to the Truth. She travelled much as a minister in several parts of Great Britain and Ireland. In 1760, being then a

I most sincerely wish thee a good journey; good to thyself and so to others. I cannot doubt of the propriety of thy mission to that part of the Lord's vineyard; I had an evidence in myself, in solemn silence, that thou wast under the Master's appointment for that service, and I earnestly desire the wisdom and power of Truth may seal its own evidence on all thy labours; and dear friend, though I apprehend myself a younger brother, and now addressing myself to one who was in Christ before me, yet permit me to offer to thy thoughts a few sentiments, which have been sealed usefully on my heart.

First.—It is a most solemn and awful thing to assume the name of the Lord's ambassador; I believe thou considers it so. Thence ought we also to consider the high obligations we are under to receive from him, not only his instructions, but our credentials.

Secondly.—These will not be withheld, if we wait our Master's time; his sound will be certain, and his discoveries clear. We shall not say, like Ahimaaz, When I ran, there was a tumult; but distinctly receive and deliver our Master's message, in his own wisdom and spirit.

Thirdly.—In all our service, let us remember our Lord's dignity, and endeavour to maintain it according to the proportion of strength vouchsafed, both in purity of life, and singleness to him, in our ministerial capacity, being empty without him, and only filled with hisfulness.

Fourthly.—Let us learn to try the spirits, whether they are of God. I have seen a danger, especially in your sex, of being taken by the passions; the passionate preacher hath affected the passionate hearer; both have been in raptures, and neither of them profited. This is a place I would endeavour to guard thee in, my dear friend, as I am apprehensive the emotions of thy mind are sometimes strong and animated. Mistake not the warmth of passion for the gospel authority; the first is like the rattling thunder, which frights, but never hurts; the last is like the lightning from the east, which illuminates, and at times breaks through all opposition, and melts down every obstruction. I know the integrity of thy heart, and what is infinitely better, our Father

widow, she embarked on a second visit to America. She afterwards married Thomas Lightfoot, and they settled in Pennsylvania, where she continued to be a faithful labourer in the cause and service of Truth. She was a living and powerful minister, awful and weighty in prayer, careful to wait for the fresh anointing for right qualification. She departed this life on the 8th of fifth month, 1781, aged sixty-one, a minister forty-five years.

who is in heaven also knows it, and will not forget to be gracious; and, therefore, with the most unreserved freedom, I remind thee of these things. May thy Urim and Thummim be with thy Holy One, whom thou didst prove at Massah, which implies the hour of temptation, and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah, or strife. Look carefully to him in all thy goings, so shalt thou dip thy foot in oil, when thou treadest on high places, and the arms of thy hands will be strengthened by the mighty God of Jacob. If deep poverty be thy lot, be not disquieted, neither pour forth thy complaints to any mortal; have no confidant, but eternal Help. I never knew deeper poverty, nor more glorious riches, than in that land, but I found it safe to wear my sackcloth on my loins, and put on my best garments honestly and sparingly. Receive no obligation from that quarter, which thou can avoid, lest they say, "I have requited her labour," or make vain the purport of thy testimony.

In the course of thy passage, be courteous to all, unless restricted by secret direction with respect to any particular, which I have found my peculiar duty in some parts. Let not affability enervate thy mind, nor lead from the steady stability attending the faithful minister; and yet guard against a spirit which leads zealous people sometimes to say, "There is none righteous, no not one," and therein to overlook the hidden, suffering seed. Let thy eye be in thy head, so shall thy goings be ordered of the Lord, and be attended with peace to thyself, comfort to the living, and general usefulness to the church. Be not hasty to embrace the offer of any companion in service; try their spirits, and feel the liberty of Truth in it. I should rather choose to take one occasionally, as way might open, than engage for any considerable journey. I think it is still more necessary to press thy declining any companion from England or Europe, who might have a concern for themselves to discharge their own duty, without regard to thine, and so might another be oppressed by thee. Farewell, and may the Lord of all consolation be with thee in every trial, and support thee by his arm, enrich thee by his grace, replenish thee by his wisdom, and comfort thee by his rod and staff.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JANE CROSFIELD.

Warrington, Sixth month 28th, 1760.

I am concerned that it so falls out I cannot be at home personally to bid thee farewell and wish thee a good journey. However, the travail of my soul is for the help, strength, and safety of all our heavenly Father's chil-

dren, that they may be so wisely conducted in all things, as to know the returns of peace, and feel the unity of the spirit and of the body.

If we are little enough in our own eyes, we shall know divine strength in our weakness; but when any apprehension of our strength and wisdom possesses the mind, weakness and loss in every respect ensue. Thou hast my good wishes in thy present concern;* it is, indeed, a weighty undertaking, and requires a double portion of the Spirit to go through. Let thy dependence be upon the renewings of divine help, and all thy movements in the gospel spirit. Seek after the simplicity of Truth, and its littleness. Thou art going amongst a people, many of whom have understanding hearts, and can discern wisely between spirit and spirit, between sound and substance; this I mention for thy encouragement, if thou art single hearted.

May best wisdom direct thee in all thy steps, preserve thee solid in thy spirit, lively in thy ministry, wise and discerning in thy conduct towards all, and upright and exemplary in thy conversation!

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Jane Crosfield was the daughter of James Rowlandson, and wife of George Crosfield, of Preston Patrick, in Westmoreland. The following notice of her occurs in the journal of James Gough, date 1740:—"After meeting (at Height) I went with James Rowlandson's family to his house at Frith. His daughter Jane had, for a little while past, appeared at times in the public ministry, in our meetings. So much of tenderness and of inward fervency toward Christ, the beloved of her soul, prevailed in her as to make deep and lively impressions on my mind."

She received a gift in the ministry when about twenty-six years of age; and in the Christian exercise of it visited Scotland, North America, Ireland three times, and many parts of England several times; "She was enabled to labour honestly in the line of the gospel ministry, and made instrumental to the help and encouragement of many. She was often engaged in visiting the families of Friends, and had considerable service therein, being qualified to administer close and pertinent counsel and advice to their various states and conditions. In much tenderness and affection she was anxiously concerned to labour with the rising generation, that they might devote their early days to the Lord's service, and come up steadily, and at all times and in all places, in that plainness and sim-

* A visit to Friends in America.

plicity of dress and address, into which Truth ever leads its faithful followers; and not yield a temporizing conformity to the prevalent fashions and manners of the world, which expose to many dangers, and tend to alienate the mind from its best interests."

"Her conduct and conversation amongst mankind well corresponded with the doctrines which, as a minister of Christ, she was concerned to deliver; being an exemplary pattern of self-denial, moderation, and Christian simplicity, and much distinguished for her hospitality and openness of heart."

She departed this life on the 2nd of the second month, 1784, aged about seventy-one, a minister forty-four years.

This honourable woman, the editor's grandmother, is also mentioned by John Woolman, in his journal; he says, "Being now at George Crosfield's in the county of Westmoreland, I feel a concern to commit to writing that which to me hath been a case uncommon." And again, "I rested a few days, both in body and mind, with our friend Jane Crosfield, who was once in America." (Seventh month, 1772.)

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO GILBERT THOMPSON.

Warrington, Sixth month 29th, 1760.

Dear Cousin,

I believe I should be out of the way of my duty, if I did not impart to thee and thy sisters a dream or vision that was represented to me the last night, and perhaps the interpretation of it may be brought home to your own hearts.

I thought the great day of account was come, and all nations gathered to receive the irreversible sentence; I beheld a variety of states, and many clothed in different colours, many in white, which, nevertheless, was of different degrees of lustre and beauty. I saw many whom I knew, and amongst others thyself and sisters; I thought your garments appeared more white than many; and whilst I mused on the tremendous, yet glorious day, the trumpet sounded with a distinguishing energy, and seemed to say, Come, ye blessed. I beheld multitudes arise, as from the eminence of a mountain, and ascend triumphantly. My eye descended to the mountain whence many had risen, and in whose company I had seen thee and thy sisters. I thought I clearly saw you remain on the earth, clothed in garments measurably white. I queried in my heart, alas! how happens it that these are left behind? Immediately the white garments fell off, and each of you appeared in the common dress in which you usually appear. But I beheld chains which seemed fastened about your necks, and bound every limb and part of the body but the head, and these chains

were fastened to great rings in the earth, and held you so fast as to prevent any of you ascending to those who had taken wing and risen on high. Here I awaked in great concern of mind, and found an engagement to impart it immediately to thyself and sisters; none other knows the least title of it, nor shall, from your most affectionate

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL AND MARY PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Ninth month 8th, 1760.

Though the channel of personal and epistolary conversation with you may be at times interrupted by other occasions, which abundantly present themselves in the course of my labours in the heritage, yet the best springs of that love are often opened in my heart towards you and yours, in which I travail for your preservation in the way of righteousness, and increase in the saving knowledge of God, and his dear Son, the redemption of his family and people.

Dear friends, this generation, and we with it, are passing away fast; let us be careful to leave good footsteps to the next, that our memory may be sweet, and our peace flow as a river. We have our several probations to pass through, and our warfare to accomplish; various are the trials and besetments, some constitutional and some adventitious, so as to occasion a query, Who is sufficient for these things? I beheld a state to which salvation is ever extended; and that is true poverty: "This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles." Oh, the excellence of this state of poverty, and being stripped of every human dependence, when all flesh is silent before God, and confusion covers its face; then, indeed, the Lord arises in his holy habitation, made so by his refining Spirit. The longer I live, the more clearly I see, in emptiness is fulness, and that our capacity of service is in our deep submission; then will the Lord's arm awake, and lay hold on strength, and fill the bow with Ephraim.

My soul is humbly relieved in the fresh and feeling sense of His precious love and life, who is the strength and hope of his children; let yours be broken down before him, to be searched and then bound up, and the fresh renewing of covenant and holy zeal for his Truth become the girdle of your loins. So be it, O Father of all the living, amen.

And, dear children, beloved and longed for, my prayers are for you, and my wishes, as for my own soul, that you may acquaint yourselves with the power of an endless life, and be mindful of your privilege in being

descended from a line that Truth has made honourable, and would bless *you* in like manner. Let an early remembrance of your Creator possess your minds, and the cloud of witnesses to the glorious manifestation of Truth in the inward parts prevail with you to join their happy experience; let the peaceful, happy conclusion of your beloved sister be often remembered, and the blessed means of it, even her love to Truth, and obedience to its manifestations. This led her to fear and love God, and honour her parents; they mourned for her loss, but not without hope, as she entered into everlasting mansions of peace. But very different is the sorrow of religious parents which arises from undutiful conduct in children, who pierce the parents with bitter sorrow, and that exceedingly aggravated by a reflection that such conduct is offensive to a righteous, heavenly Judge, who will plead the cause of afflicted religious parents with their rebellious offspring. May other conduct from you furnish the well-grounded hope of a portion with the just of all generations.

At present I enjoy my health more uninterruptedly than for some time past; I have spent two weeks at Scarborough, to my advantage and satisfaction of mind. I propose setting out to-morrow towards the Circular yearly meeting for the seven western counties, to be held in a small town in Gloucestershire,* where are none of our Society.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In the foregoing letter, S. Fothergill mentions a visit of two weeks to Scarborough. He was accustomed to visit that place, both for the benefit to his health which he derived from it, and from the stronger motive of religious duty. It was then much frequented during the season, by many of the nobility and higher classes; amongst whom he was often largely engaged in the ministry, they being much in the practice of coming to Friends' meetings on such occasions. In one of his letters from this place he says—"I have been mercifully sustained by best help to labour in the gospel service, in several very large, crowded meetings, to which many people of distinction resort. This seems my principal business here, together with some more retired opportunities amongst Friends' families as occasions offer."

It was during his visit at this time that the following circumstance occurred, as was afterwards related by Samuel Fothergill himself to some Friends who accompanied him on his journey homewards from London. He

told them that during one of his visits to Scarborough, he observed that Admiral Tyrrell attended several meetings of Friends at that place; and he took particular notice of the solemnity and reverence of the Admiral's behaviour during the meetings, especially in the time of silence. One morning the Admiral came up to Samuel in the public room, before many of the nobility and gentry, and said—"Mr. Fothergill, I have a very high opinion of your people's principles and practices, especially the inwardness and spirituality of your silent worship." Samuel replied—"Admiral, I think such a testimony from thee, as a man of war, rather extraordinary, concerning us and our principles, which are for peace, and against all fighting." The other answered—"Sir, I am of your opinion in that particular, and fully believe that the time will come, when *nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more*: but as every dispensation of unerring wisdom must have a beginning, so this has had one amongst *you*, but has not yet reached *us*; and as to what *you* hold of a union and communion with the Divine Intelligence, I know, by happy experience, it is attainable in this life.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN GURNEY.

Warrington, Tenth month 11th, 1760.

..... A variety of engagements fill up my time; several journeys the last summer have fallen to my lot, yet the affection I bear to many individuals, thyself and dear wife amongst others, remain strong, though concealed in silence: may the holy flame of love be maintained, so shall we be made precious in the sight of our heavenly Father, and dear to his family. Its most certain effect is to purify the soul; some have received its lustre, and walked in the speculation formed from its light; these fail of its blessed fruits, and lie down in sorrow. But when the light of Israel becomes a fire, and his Holy One a flame, and our hearts truly subjected to its operation, our feet will be fixed steadily in the path, and our peace will flow as a river.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

Warrington, Eleventh month 12th, 1760.

The secret emotions of tender affection to thee and dear sister frequently and strongly bring you both to remembrance; and when I can, I pray for your preservation and establishment in the possession of every blessing; in particular, of hearts clothed with a holy sensibility of Divine favour, and an anxious

* Wootton-under-Edge, at least one hundred and fifty miles from his own habitation.

thirst of soul after still more and more worthiness; for gracious remembrance in every needful time, for such times will come; the smoothest passage is often mercifully thorny; and the kings and priests of God's own anointing, when a superficial eye views ensigns of royalty, have underneath sackcloth on their loins.

It is never better with me, than when I descend to bring up some fresh memorials from the hidden depths. Though the waves and billows may at times pass over my head, they are thy waves, oh, Father, and I will humbly look through them all towards thy holy temple.

I have thrown together some sentiments and remarks, by way of reply to the Sermon and Address I mentioned to thee in my last; as soon as I can, after they are transcribed, I think to send them to thee, and refer them to thy decision, whether to destroy them, or lay them before the Morning meeting. I think I shall be easy either way, though I sometimes think something of the kind, if well done, might be useful in those parts, about Litchfield, where the Address and Sermon is spread, and where there are very few Friends. I am not fond of controversy, still less of seeing my name in print, but I was not wholly void of an apprehension of duty.

The great event of the decease of the king hath manifestly proved Jacobitism to be at a low ebb; he is sincerely mourned for by many. I was considering what Friends would do on the present occasion; there seemed a duty to the Society which required instant attention, that is, to caution against the inconsistency of going into mourning. What is done in this respect I know not. I also thought the Society would consider itself obliged to address the successor. I knew not whether the Meeting for Sufferings would undertake it, or defer it to the yearly meeting; but a letter just received informs me that the Meeting for Sufferings have concluded to address the new king; in which, may best wisdom guide you. Though I cannot help you, I could almost wish to be present at your deliberations. As I was musing a little last night upon the subject, it came into my mind to offer one paragraph to thee; if the sentiment be improper, reject it,—if there be any thing in it worth a thought, thou knows how to improve it, and give it a proper turn. I know thou wilt make allowance for me if a warmth of heart surpass right judgment.

SAMUEL FOTHERSILL.

The suggested paragraph.—"May He who touched the mind of youthful Solomon, at an age similar to thine, with the love of

wisdom, which, at his accession to the throne of his royal father, he asked of God, bless thee, O king, with a wise and understanding heart, and add thereto riches, honour, and length of days."

N. B.—I believe Solomon's vision, in Gibeon, was in the twenty-third year of his age, the age of our present king. If the sentiment be too trifling, excuse me, and pass it by.
S. F.

In the preceding letter, S. Fothergill mentions some remarks which he had written upon a Sermon and Address delivered at Litchfield. His remarks were afterwards published, and led him into some controversy in defence of the doctrines of the Society of Friends on the subject of Water Baptism. His opponent was Edward Owen, at that time Rector of Warrington, and in much reputation as a learned man, and as an accomplished classical scholar.

The occasion of this controversy is thus described by S. Fothergill, in the introduction to his second pamphlet:—

"M. Pilkington, Prebendary of Litchfield, some time ago published a Sermon on the Nature and Necessity of Water Baptism, as an indispensable token of the Christian Covenant, &c. This he prefaced with an 'Address to the People called Quakers;' in which he called upon them to declare their sentiments, and pointed them out as in a state of exclusion from the covenant in Jesus Christ.

"This induced me to throw together a few reasons for our dissent: though I enter into controversy with reluctance, I would not decline a sober discussion of the things most surely believed amongst us as a people.

"This I hope will be sufficient excuse for my remarks on the Prebendary's arguments: I did not begin the dispute, but attempted to speak our sentiments in our own language, and remove the censures he had passed upon us, as it seemed consistent with the Apostle's advice, 'Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear, having a good conscience; that, whereas they speak evil of you as of evil doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ.' 1 Peter iii. 15, 16.

"Respecting the temper in which I wrote, I have this evidence in my own mind, that I felt no sensation inconsistent with the angelic song, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men!'

"An anonymous auxiliary to M. Pilkington, anticipates the reply with what he styles, 'a

temporary local antidote against the errors in my pamphlet,'..... and soon after a second part is published; the author no longer conceals his name, but signs, E. Owen. This pamphlet engageth my present attention, as he calls upon me to a review of the subject with this remark, 'An honest man owes so much to his Creator, the world, and his own conscience, that he ought to justify or retract his opinions.' As my opinions are not taken upon trust, nor merely the result of education, but arise from the evidence of what appears to me to be truth, I cannot recede from them without violence to my understanding and conscience. I stand open to conviction, and follow truth with suitable dispositions; in this pursuit I humbly confide in success and acceptance with an omniscient gracious Judge. I must, therefore, either be silent, or give a reason of the hope that is in me: the former seems a suppression of truth; the last I hope to perform with decency and candour, it being my principal design to vindicate the spiritual religion of the Holy Jesus, and a people who embrace it, though under the discouragement of popular prejudice."

The first publication was entitled, "Remarks on an Address to the people called Quakers; and a Sermon on the nature and necessity of being admitted into Covenant with Christ by Baptism; published by Matthew Pilkington, LL. B., and Prebendary of Litchfield; in a Letter to the Author, by S. Fothergill. To which are added, a few Observations, by J. Phipps. London, 1761."

This was answered by a pamphlet, in two parts, signed E. Owen; "The necessity of Water Baptism; a Discourse occasioned by a pamphlet lately published by Mr. Samuel Fothergill, of Warrington, in defence of the Quaker notion of Baptism." Liverpool, 1761.

Some time after this, S. Fothergill's second publication appeared, "A Reply to a pamphlet published, in two parts, by E. Owen, entitled, The Necessity of Water Baptism; by Samuel Fothergill." London, 1763.

Here the controversy ended. The subject was treated by S. Fothergill in a clear manner, the arguments and proofs he adduced in support of Friends' principles were close and forcible, and it was admitted, even by those who differed from him in sentiment, that he had much the best of the argument.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ELLEN EVANS.

Warrington, Second month 6th, 1761.

I am much indebted to thee for the tokens of thy remembrance of me, which I have lately received; there is room for renewed encouragement to seek after that Hand which

maketh fruitful in old age, even covers with verdure and plenty all the trees of the Lord's house, according to their degrees of growth. I am thankful to cultivate my acquaintance with these signal instances of the mercy and power of Him who is the preserver of his people; these have known him throughout all their day, from their beginning to advanced years; they can commemorate his kindness in youth, his strength in the meridian of life, and his tender regard when the shadows of the evening approach. I observe with pleasure thy happy experience of his regard; may it be thy covering through the valley of the shadow of death; and may the Everlasting Arms be open to receive thee when thy race here is accomplished! I have strong hopes that the ties of nature, the example of honourable parents, their solicitude, the weight of filial duty, the evidence of the beauty and usefulness of religion, and the importance of Divine favour, will combine to excite thy children, for whose welfare I am anxious, to renew their diligence and care to walk in that path, which all the generations of the righteous have trod, in their way to glory and peace. Not all the wisdom of the world, nor the fallacious promises of its favours, are able to direct to this path; the wayfaring man, who is on his pilgrimage, in weakness, besetments, and poverty, shall not err in his seeking, though he may be accounted simple; it is better to be a fool for Christ's sake, than wise in all the wisdom of this world!

I am, through mercy, preserved thus far, this winter, in a tolerably good state of health, mostly about home, and seldom idle; peace is my reward, and that is better than all the world. Dear Joseph White spent last week with us; he is well, and his Master is eminently with him; his bow abides in strength, and his hands are strong: the state of the church requires close labour, and in that is the reward of the faithful, as when they pour water out of their buckets. Farewell, dear friend; I love to hear from thee.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Second month 21st, 1761.

I remember thee frequently, with unabated affection, and never more nearly, and with greater sympathy, than of late, when one of the bitterest cups thou ever partook of has fallen to thy lot. I cannot enlarge upon it; I trust thou hast a secret resource to apply to on this occasion, and may the never-failing Helper support thee and thine, in this and every other probation. How greatly necessary is it for us all to wait diligently, to know

our minds and affections circumscribed within the holy limits, and an early government over our own spirits; thus the lamb and the lion can lie down together, and an habitation of peace and quietude is found in the mountain of God's holiness. Out of this subjection of spirit, is ruin and contention; and though we may detest imbruizing our hands in blood, yet we may destroy the hidden, innocent life in ourselves or others. May every dispensation instruct us, and may we be like the skilful, industrious bee, who gathers honey from flowers of almost every kind. I have in vain attempted to express my sympathy with thy dear wife, in a few lines I enclose; I wish her every thing I could petition Heaven for, on my own account, in the day of my distress. I remember thy children very tenderly, and scarcely forbear reminding them of the striking instruction resulting to them from their dear sister, who lived beloved of God and man. Instructed by her conduct and example, the incautious youth grew up in piety and honour, learned how to live, and met the languishments of sickness and the terrors of death with holy, humble fortitude; her last days were crowned with honour, and her conclusion was glorious. Such was her happy translation to a life exempt from sorrow and danger, and for ever to drink the heavenly wine unmixed in her Father's kingdom. An early acquaintance with the Lord of all power and goodness, who drew her by the engaging virtue of his love, and taught her to love his judgments, subjected her will, seasoned her spirit, and sanctified all to her. A humble, submissive, meek spirit rendered her amiable; due regard to her parents rendered her acceptable, and preserved her in righteousness. She knew the sting of death to be removed, and could commit her lamb-like spirit into the hands of the Lord of perfection and purity. But, alas! my heart is pained within me, to consider the opposite conduct of one united to her in the natural alliance of a brother. I cannot pursue the subject; I need not; you, dear children, are too sensible of it to need much explanation. Think not, I beseech you, especially dear Israel the younger, that it is possible to be safe any where but under the humbling hand of God. Let all proud, exalted, unmortified flesh tremble, for confusion in various forms attends it, in its loftiest, securest state. I most sincerely salute you all, elder and younger; may the blessings of the everlasting hills, whose foundations can never be shaken, rest upon you, is the humble prayer of, dear friends,

Yours, in tenderest affection,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEMBERTON,
ON THE DEATH OF HER SON.

Warrington, Second month 20th, 1761.

I never knew until lately, how near thou wast and art to my soul, though I thought I ever placed thee amongst those with whom I am not merely united, but bound up in the bundle of life, in such a covenant as will survive time, mortality, and all its troubles. The exquisite sympathy I feel with thee is not to be described; all language is baffled. I can sit down with thee in deep and solemn silence, and mingle my tears and sorrows with thine. I cannot attempt to suggest motives of comfort to thee; I believe, nay, I am assured, the Invisible Stay of all ages and nations is not far off to succour thee. When the tide of maternal sorrow rises to the highest, he can command its noise to be the voice of praise, and stay the tossed soul upon himself.

I cannot add much; my feelings exceed my utterance; I know dear Israel is now thy help-meet, and sharer in affliction. May the Lord of Heaven regard you and yours, and support in the closest trial.

My wife joins with me in tender affection and sympathy.

Dear Mary, thy afflicted friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ELIZABETH BAKER.*

Warrington, Second month 22nd, 1761.

Among the many wishes of thy friends for thy happiness, none desires it with more sincerity than myself, though more silent about it than some others; and as a testimony of my concern for thy welfare, I sit down to throw before thee a few hints, which may be useful to thee if attended to, even to render thy life easy and happy, and thy end honourable and peaceful.

First and principally, thy duty to the Almighty Lord and Maker of all things, by whom, and through whom, all things visible and invisible consist; the Author of all blessings. Let him be looked to and remembered by thee in this light, and be humbly engaged to seek his favour. Let nothing impair thy love to him. He it is that can blast every pleasing prospect, can wither every hope, and also sanctify every affliction. Be not ashamed to show thy trust in him, by humbly walking

* This letter was addressed to Elizabeth Baker, on her marriage with Joshua Sibson, of Lancaster. She afterwards married Thomas Whitwell, and died at Manchester, in Third month, 1826, aged 87.

before him. It is in vain to expect a total freedom from sorrowful events, but a great mercy to have the Staff of ages to lean upon.

Secondly; thy duty to thy husband, who, if I judge right from his tenderness and affection to thee, will be entitled to every degree of a mutual return; study his temper; accommodate thy own to it. I have seen great inconvenience arise through inattention, where the wife hesitates at the request of the husband, and yields at last a reluctant obedience. This diminishes that tender affection which is the life and comfort of the married state, gradually creates a distance, and then life may be uncomfortably dragged along, but not happily enjoyed. Cultivate in his mind, and in thy own, every religious sentiment; strengthen that part as much as possible: hereby a twofold cord of divine love and natural affection will unite you in a covenant never to be broken.

Third; towards Friends of the meeting into which thou art removing, let thy conduct be humble, affable, and exemplary, not assuming; preferring others, that others may prefer thee. Humility is the surest way to honour: let no emulation to be greater than some, and equal to the greatest, ever be harboured in thy breast; for this will raise displeasure, envy, and other disagreeable affections in the minds of others. Let thy dress be rather beneath, than on the level with thy circumstances; it will be to thy reputation.

Fourth; let it become thy constant watch to avoid that ruinous practice of tattling, talebearing, and secret reflection. These sources of division and mischief are hateful to God and man. This character sets itself as the object of general contempt; its hand is against every one, and every one's hand and heart will be against those who merit it. The concerns of one's own mind and family are sufficient to employ a prudent mind, without interfering unnecessarily in the business of others. Notwithstanding this, sacred reproof, where just, and immediately addressed to the party, is a beautiful, useful part of friendship.

Fifth; let thy husband's relations become dear to thee; cultivate every sentiment of friendship and affection for them, especially for his mother, with whose anxieties a son must sacredly sympathize.

Excuse, dear cousin, the freedom of these hints; they proceed not from any painful apprehension of a contrary conduct, but my affection for thee induces me to wish thou mayest be found in the way to blessing, even the blessing of Heaven above and of the earth beneath, the blessing of the ancient mountains and of the everlasting hills.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In 1761, Samuel Fothergill attended the Northerly yearly meeting held at Appleby; the individual to whom he addressed the following letter had occupied unseasonably a portion of the time of the meeting, and caused uneasiness in the minds of Friends present. It shows the care which he extended towards his fellow-labourers, and the honest and faithful way in which he handed counsel.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JONATHAN HARRISON.*

Settle, Fourth month 18th, 1761.

I wanted a little converse with thee at Appleby, but could not see how or where to get an opportunity; which induces me to make use of this method to make a few remarks to thee, in much good will to thee and the blessed cause of truth.

I have been some years conversant in the ministry, and not unacquainted with the wiles of our common enemy, who seeks to destroy the Lord's work by every stratagem, and adapts his snares to our various states. I know it from experience; when the living minister feels the holy flame to be kindled in his mind, then is the time to be very watchful, and humbly to wait to distinguish whether it be not a portion for himself, in order to burn up the hay, straw, and stubble effectually, to purge and render him more and more a true son of life. Now, if this holy flame be suffered to blaze out in the wandering uncertainty of even a mind disposed to do some good, it leaves the individual like a cake half baked; the work of true religion unperfected in his own mind; and consequently weak, and like a novice, ready to fall into the condemnation of the devil, who kept not his first estate, but becoming exalted, was cast down. I have clearly seen his working amongst the called, true ministers of God; thus to lead out of the patient abode under the purifying Hand, and into a form of religion, and promoting an inclination to labour any where, but where we ought. I confess I have for some time had a painful jealousy, lest after this manner he should work with thee. I wish thy escape, even if thou art desperately wounded and half dead. I have feared thy branches are too large for thy root; and I wish thou mayest centre down in thy mind, under the forming Hand, which will be thy alone safety; and if (as I believe will certainly be the case) thou shouldest be reduced to nothing, and have to begin again in the littleness and simplicity of a child, and die to the present show, mayest thou in humility submit

* Jonathan Harrison died in Twelfth month, 1792.

to it, and bear the turning of the Father's hand.

Thou art situated in a part where too few wise and judicious helpers are to be found; the life of the people seems to be in words, and the tempter works to confirm them in their barren state; and nothing seems more likely to bring this about than a noisy, floating ministry; and so the deceptableness of unrighteousness works, in the hearer and in the preacher, and the blind lead the blind. O that thy mind may be induced to ponder deeply, in the light, thy whole state, and be stirred up to wait for the Lord in the way of his judgment—then wilt thou take from the noise of the harp; but judgment will run down as a river, and more inward peace and right knowledge of straight stepping onwards towards the holy city, possess thy mind.

I was exceedingly distressed for thee at Appleby; the more sensibly so, as I am assured it was my proper place to have appeared at that time in prayer; the door of holy, humble access being sensibly and livingly set open before me; and what added to my affliction was, the pain thou gave to sensible Friends, by thy justifying that appearance, and seeming very stiff and high, whereby thou hast greatly suffered in the esteem of the sensible part of the body of Friends. I must be thus plain and honest to acquit myself; and earnestly request thee to study to be quiet, and mind thy own business, that therein thou may be helped to get out of thy present state, which appears to me to be much bewildered, and arise in the Lord's time, as his workmanship, formed to his praise, and in the true line of his service. I am not destitute of hope for thee; and may it be confirmed by thy careful return to the day of small things, that thence thou may be helped to be, and to act, for thy own peace, the church's help and the Lord's honour. Thy true well-wisher,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ANN PAYTON.*

London, Eleventh month 13th, 1761.

My mind hath deeply partaken with thee and thy children, upon the present affecting circumstance, the removal of thy daughter. The breach of such a tender connexion cannot fail of producing deep sorrow, in a mind less susceptible of tender impressions than thine; and when we reflect upon the amiable, endearing qualities of deceased relations, they

are as additional motives to bemoan our loss; but as they were prepared for a resting place beyond the limits of sorrow and calamity, the inducement to grief may be wisely considered as its alleviation. The debt of nature must be paid; we are but sojourners in a world of probation and exercise, and ought not to repine if it pleaseth the Author of all wisdom and mercy to bring to a glorious rest by a shorter path than a long succession of painful, weary steps through weakness and affliction, that often fill the cup of advanced years.

I know there are in the present case circumstances that aggravate the loss; a family of young children stripped of an affectionate mother, of a prudent Christian to instruct their tender minds in the ways of religion and virtue, and of a good example to walk before them, and lead them in the road to happiness. But there is an all-sufficient Hand of power, able and willing to guard and protect them in every state. And the offspring of the righteous share in its gracious offers, in a particular manner. I remember, with great warmth, some of the last expressions of my honourable mother to her afflicted husband, respecting him, her children, and herself. "*Thou* wilt be blessed, *they* will be cared for, and there is a place provided for *me*. They are not left under the tuition of a father, like too many now a days, who will neglect their true interests, but of one who, knowing from whence every good comes, will seek to the gracious, all-sufficient Father, for himself and for his children." Thou hast largely partaken of afflictions; many have been thy bitter cups; and, this added, in the decline of life, must be exceedingly painful. But I beseech thee, dear friend, to remember who it was that delivered in the sixth trouble, and rest in humble hope that he will not forsake in the seventh. My brother and sister unite in near sympathy with thee and thy children.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Second month 26th, 1762.

A warmth of sincere affection and friendship is lively and fresh upon my spirit towards thee, and every branch of the family; and I think I can safely and solemnly say, I have accompanied thee in thy deep distress, with sympathy and a participation of the wormwood and the gall; a secret, silent partaking with thee and the family, hath accompanied me in my solitude; I know not how to say, but I know how to feel. I hope the billows are rolled over in a great degree and the

* Ann Payton, of Dudley, died Eleventh month 1st, 1774, aged 91. Her daughter, here mentioned, was Hannah, the wife of William Young, of Leominster; she died Tenth month 30th, 1761.

peaceful voice of Him who rules the ocean, distinctly heard to bound its waves; and may the calming presence of the Prince of peace be experienced to prevail. O, the benefit of a hiding place from the storm, and protection in the hour of severe conflict.

The warm, animated sentiments of tender friendship and Christian fellowship I often feel towards thee and thy husband, tell me the ardour of friendship I felt at our parting, about five years ago, is not abated; a series of employments of various kinds have demanded my attention and stopped the channel of correspondence sometimes, but not destroyed or impaired the bonds of union. I am, through mercy, favoured with tolerably good health, employment in my Master's cause, and a good degree of qualification is extended in the needful time; herein I have cause to be most humbly thankful; that my Master hath called me into some part of his service, and furnished proportionable peace and strength. My weakness is great, my buffetings many, but the Lord is my strength, my sun, and my shield; of whom then shall I be afraid?

I am often solicitous in my mind about your children; I remember them with a tender affection, and run from one to another with a degree of solicitude, as if I viewed a race of youth connected to me in the ties of nearest natural alliance. How are they? are they thy comfort, as far as religion and virtue in offspring can be so to anxious parents? Oh, how grateful to me, how comfortable to thee and their dear father, how honourable to themselves might they become, if suitably humbled to seek and abide under the fashioning Hand, which alone makes vessels of sanctification and honour! What becomes of dear Charley? doth the softness and delicacy of tender years remain with him, and give reason to hope advance in years and piety will be proportionate to each other? Salute them all in my name; for my heart and eyes overflow in strong petitions and desires for every durable blessing to attend them, their parents, and the whole family.

Perhaps it will be acceptable to thy husband to know a visitation of divine virtue hath, by its own immediate operation, wrought to the conviction of several in the neighbourhood of Bolton, whence the family of the Pembrtons, I suppose, derive their origin; and that our Northern yearly meeting for the four counties of Chester, Lancaster, Westmoreland and Cumberland, is to be held there in the fourth month next.

Dear friend, thine in every Christian service,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

The yearly meeting at Bolton, mentioned in the preceding letter, was large, and attended by many valuable ministers, and a great number of sober inquiring people, to whom much was communicated, in gospel authority, to their comfort and instruction. From Bolton, Samuel Fothergill, in company with Catharine Payton and several other Friends, went to the yearly meeting for Wales, held this year at Bala. This also was a large and favoured meeting.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO CATHARINE PAYTON.

Warrington, Sixth month, 1762.

Few successive hours have elapsed for several weeks past, in which thou hast been out of my remembrance, with the affection and tenderness which accompanies friendship of the genuine kind, and earnest wishes for thy preservation and sure establishment upon the rock against which the gates of hell can never prevail. For myself I pray for it, even from the bottom of my soul, for I never had greater need. It is a comfort, when we are encouraged to remember the sufficiency and unchangeableness of the universal Father, who views us in every probation, and compassionately regards us, when destitute of every other helper, and perhaps receiving the bitter cup, when we might hope for some alleviation of sorrow; but what shall we say of the Lord Almighty, but just and true are all his ways? and what of ourselves, but unto us belong blushing and confusion of face. I was by no means unmindful of thee in my return from London, nor was ——— out of my thoughts: two reasons hastened me home —one, my wife's indisposition, the other, a want of that evidence of duty which was in measure necessary to encourage me to appoint a meeting. Indeed, such has been the situation of my mind as sometimes to induce me to cry in secret, with holy Job—"My days are extinct, the graves are ready for me." For some beneficial end hath a series of hidden distress attended me; I only beg it may promote my sanctification.

I was pleased to meet thy brother in London; I hope his mind is rightly baptized, at times, for his own and the Society's help; may he be blessed with sedate stability, and produce in patience, the peaceable fruits of righteousness. Several persons have come to our meetings since the meeting at Bolton, and from some account several are fully convinced, and would sit down with Friends if there was any meeting thereabouts. The like account I had from Bala, by a tender spirited young man, who called

upon me a few days ago; thus, I verily believe, the Lord's work is going forward. O may it possess the gates of his enemies, and effectually lay waste as well as smite all the corners of Moab.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

The yearly meeting held in London, in 1760, had appointed a committee to pay a visit to the quarterly and other meetings throughout the nation. Samuel Fothergill was one of that committee, and upon him, with Jonathan Raine, Isaac Wilson, and William Rathbone, devolved, in 1762, the important duty of performing this service in Ireland. They embarked in the eighth month, and were closely engaged, for nearly three months, in a general visit to the meetings for worship and discipline throughout that country.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

At Robert Lecky's, Kilnock, Tenth month, 1762.

..... Being detained a week later than we expected in England, hath rendered it necessary for us to be at meeting or on horseback, and frequently both every day except two, for fifty days successively, in order to finish our visit before the National meeting in Dublin. However, we have occasion to confess, with thankful hearts, that hitherto we have been remarkably and eminently helped to prosecute the object of our journey, and help every way hath been graciously extended to us, and health also, in such a degree as to render the journey practicable (though at times painful) to me; the other friends are well.

The state of the church is painful in many places. I think there is not a great decrease of number since I was first here, eighteen years ago, but most of the valuable ministers and elders are gone off the stage, and few, very few, are raised to fill their places, or even attempt it. But it hath been a renewed and eminent visitation of divine favour, from which I hope some effectual service will accrue to individuals, if not to the general. Our labour hath been close, searching, and salutary, and in the precious unction of divine love, at once to inform the judgment, and reach the oppressed seed. The living have unity with us, and the more distant part of the Society seem to approve of our labour, and see its intention and tendency. May the Lord of the heritage arise, and have mercy upon it.

Dublin, tenth month 9th.—We arrived here this evening; yesterday was the monthly meeting at Carlow, which was very large, and a

time, I hope, never to be forgotten by many besides myself. We came to worthy Abraham Shackleton's last night; he met us at Carlow, and I hope will accompany us on our whole visit. The monthly meeting for this city is to be held to-morrow, and is likely to be very large. I quietly hope in His aid who hath hitherto been our gracious helper.

A copy of Friends' Address to the King, was put into my hand this evening; it is pleasing to Friends here, and I think it a good one, but hope Friends will be cautious of making our incense to the throne too cheap.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Except the foregoing, there does not appear to be any letter extant, written during this visit to Ireland; but of the latter part of it, and of the labours of Samuel Fothergill in particular, an account was drawn up by Elizabeth, wife of Richard Shackleton, of Ballitore, an abridgement of which is here inserted.

1762, tenth month 8th.—Our friend Samuel Fothergill, with others, visited the monthly meeting held at Carlow. In the meeting for worship he was largely engaged in testimony, setting forth the doctrines of Christianity, and the foundation of it, at much length, for the information of those differing in name from us (for true religion is the same in all;) saying, that as we were a people who almost everywhere had been spoken against, sometimes through ignorance, and sometimes, he was afraid, through malevolence, he was willing to inform them what principles we held, and what our belief was concerning the fundamentals of Christianity; and that it was not being men of literature, nor of any natural or acquired ability as men and creatures, that could procure to us that substantial religion that would stand by us beyond the grave, by assisting us to renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world; but our humbly depending upon that sufficiency which is of God: He said he was sensible that many were prevented from coming to partake of the inestimable blessing of peace and serenity of soul by that monster, shame, so that they cannot bear ridicule from their acquaintance, which must be their lot if they are bent to live a Christian life. But the cross being as foolishness, and a stone of stumbling, men remain in darkness and ignorance, and answer not the end of their creation, and are prevented from coming to the knowledge of Him who has called us to glory and to virtue. This, he acknowledged, had been the case with himself in the early part of his life, when he lived in as loose and forgetful a manner as perhaps

any present, though often convicted in the secret of his soul for his folly. But shame would not allow him to submit to be accounted a fool, for he had extended pretty far in notion and speculation, and endeavoured to procure some knowledge in literature, but was made sensible it would avail nothing in that which pertains to life and godliness, through the knowledge of Him who has called us to glory and virtue. And as destruction from God was a terror to him, because of his highness and majesty, he could not endure, he was enabled in measure to conquer this shame, and submit to that power that could cleanse his heart, for which unmerited favour, all within him worshipped and praised Him that lives for ever. And having happily experienced the advantage of joining with wisdom's call, he was earnest in inviting others to join with it. For wisdom has extended and builded her house, and hewn her seven pillars, which he compared to the virtues to which the apostle exhorts and calls the believers, when he says, Add to your faith virtue, &c. And if we come thus to obey the call of wisdom, we shall dwell in a quiet habitation, in a covert from the storm in times of trial, when afflictions roll upon us, for these we must expect on this side the grave. He addressed himself particularly to those of our own profession, and much desired that we might be as lights in the world.

The meeting for worship being over, he with courtesy acknowledged the favour done to us by those of other societies giving us their company, and their having behaved in so becoming a manner; and informed them that as we had now some particulars to inquire into relative to our own Society only, he requested that those who were not of us, would, without taking offence, be pleased to withdraw, excepting that those who had at any time been members amongst us might remain on this particular occasion, so that they were not of scandalous lives, or notoriously bad. Afterwards, he described the nature of their visit; that they came not as severe censurers or rigid inquisitors, neither to lord it over the heritage; but in love, and in order to help and assist; and gave a close caution that such overseers as were to answer the queries, should consider well what they were going about, and give such answers as were just; adding, that those in such offices ought to be men of truth.

The first query being read, and an answer given by one from each meeting, he spoke upon it in his usual powerful manner, showing the necessity of the great duty of attending meetings for the worship of that Being to whom we owe all, in order to have our

strength renewed in Him; and if we were concerned thus to wait for it, we should not let trivial things prevent our attendance; and our conduct and behaviour when there would be becoming, and if the spirit of heaviness came over us, we should labour diligently to overcome it. But some men he thought there were, too big to enter in at the strait gate, and too great to be religious; and others too lazy to walk in the narrow way; but such are far from the little child's state, of whom is the kingdom. He enlarged upon the love and unity which ought to subsist between brethren, and how cautious they ought to be of saying anything detracting one of another—of saying, "Report, and we will report it;" and how great ought to be the care on the minds of Friends, lest at any time they should be led to speak in any way to lessen any elder, minister, or overseer, or any others, before their children, and of what hurtful consequence such conduct might be to the youth, in fixing prejudices in their minds that could not be easily removed. So he would have Friends keep to that wisdom which is from above, and then that implacable disposition would be removed, which insists upon whatever it thinks right, saying, "I will have rigid justice; I will be paid to the uttermost farthing;" and not giving up anything for peace's sake. He much desired that all such feelings might not have any place, and that none might give way to such a spirit of resentment, but be willing to suffer, and be losers, rather than to contend; this was the true way to live in peace. To enforce this, he mentioned an instance of two persons between whom a strong friendship had existed, but a misunderstanding arose, and was carried to a great length; it continued some years, till at last, he who thought himself the injured person, and who was the accused, to the hurt of his character, went to the other party, who was in much heat, and said, "My innocence supports me; take it to thyself; I will leave the decision to the great day; let the just Judge decide between us, only let there be peace between thee and me." This so melted the heart of the party addressed, that he said there *should* be no difference between them; and from that time peace was restored, and a true friendship, which continued to the end of their lives.

He expressed an earnest desire that parents, and such as have the charge of children and their education, might endeavour, by example and precept, to train them up in a godly conversation, and prevent them conforming to the world and its customs, but have them kept in a plainness of speech and deportment, out of superfluity in dress, which would be a

means of preserving them out of unsuitable company, to which a conformity to the fashions and customs of the world would much subject them.

He earnestly exhorted the rising youth not to give way to the foolish customs of the world, nor to let their minds be entangled by such things. He said he could well remember the tender care of one of the best of fathers, when he would take one child on one knee, and another upon the other, with others standing before him; how he bestowed upon them his tender and suitable counsel; and though he could not recollect the words, he could well remember the tears that fell from the cheeks of his venerable father upon theirs. He was much concerned that the elder branches of families of children should help their religious parents in taking care of the younger, by example and by precept, and mentioned an instance of care in one nearly related to him; what concern he had for those who were younger, and how he laboured for their good; and after finishing his labours, how that worthy youth was called to give up his charge, and enter into that rest prepared for him, and finished his course about the twelfth year of his age.* He would have all be encouraged to go on in a godly conversation, and shun destructive pride in *all* its appearances, for it is grounded in ignorance, and the want of a right knowledge and due consideration of what we are—poor dust and ashes. Some parents, he believed, were careful to provide for their families, and to teach them frugality, &c.; but he would recommend them to be also frugal of time, which is so precious that few know its value until it is too late. This he illustrated, by relating the case of a young man whom he had been with, at or near the time of his being called to give an account of how he had spent his days, and who would then have given all he was worth in the world, and he had large possessions, to have had a short time allowed him; so well did he know, at that trying moment, the value of time, which but a few days before he had been insensible of. He wished the youth might prize it, for time is short, and death is awful, and that parents might not only be diligent in making a good use of it, but also teach their children to be frugal of that, as well as of their outward substance, and so to endeavour to conduct themselves, that when inquisition is made for blood, they may stand clear before the just Judge.

He spoke of Friends being just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements. He thought that justice extended

further than many apprehended; and cautioned the young men that they ought to be punctual in their engagements, and not, as too many do, ungenerously endeavour to draw out, or engage the affections of young women, without having serious intentions towards them—this he accounted robbery. Concerning the care that should be taken to prevent young people joining in marriage contrary to our rules, he spoke persuasively to the youth, exhorting them in all such engagements to seek for the counsel of best Wisdom, and to follow its instructions, and to endeavour to have the best Guest present with them; to invite him, so that he might cause the water, which might sometimes be as the bitter waters of Marah, to be turned into wine, and sweeten the bitter cups of affliction that might be their lots, through the various changes of life; and thus to begin, he considered was the way to lay a foundation for social comfort and domestic happiness.

He spoke of the concern which had been upon his mind for several years past to pay a visit to this nation; and now as they went along from place to place, they had seen the situation of the various ranks amongst us, and they had beheld with sorrow that too generally we had not come forward, as it was intended we should—neither the elders, the middle aged, nor the youth. But still there was a living seed left, who were in measure preserved clean; and although the glory of the Lord had moved to the threshold of the door, and to the mountain hard by, yet it was not wholly departed from us, but the shout of a King was still amongst us, and we were not forsaken; and for this his heart was made thankful.

12th.—At Edenbury, in the meeting of discipline, he again enlarged on the education of youth, and how parents ought, by example and precept, to train up their children in a godly conversation, and what an indispensable duty it is, especially upon mothers, who have frequent opportunities to form the minds of their children, while the father might be engaged in the arduous duties of business abroad; and mentioned the great pains taken by the benighted inhabitants of this nation to instruct their children in superstition; and that we, who are called from darkness to light should not be destitute of the form and power, but be diligent, by example and precept, to train them up in a godly conversation; also in preventing destructive books from being read; and he laid before the youth, the nature and evil tendency of reading such books; as also of following the fantastic fashions that are in the world—such things introduce into improper company, and the friendship of the

* His brother William Fothergill.

world; and too many parents he was sensible, were negligent in the proper care of their children in education, though very assiduous in providing things for the body. He owned the nearness of the connexion, and the justice of such care, but he would that such should remember, that as they were instrumental in bringing them into life, they should be so also in nursing that part in them that is immortal, and keeping it from being hurt or killed. But instead of this, some conclude that they provide well for their offspring when they settle them well in the world, build their nests on high, above the reach of those difficulties to which many are subject, make their sons great men of the earth, form rich connexions for their daughters, but as to a godly conversation, let them look to that themselves, and are ready to bring the words of Scripture to justify their conduct—that he is worse than an infidel that does not provide for his family; not enough considering how far that extends. But to such earthly minded parents as are adding house to house, and field to field, he spoke closely, and said he had seen such disappointed in their designs; and a blast from heaven had often attended them; and that perhaps some there might live to see it, and he was ready to say would feel it—live to see themselves disappointed, surrounded with confusion, anxiety, and paleness of face, deserted of heaven and earth. He mentioned his knowledge of an instance of Almighty justice in one who had been visited when young, was an officer in the church, and likely to be made an instrument of use, had he been content with what was allotted him, and kept faithful to that which had visited him; but aspiring to be something in the world, he launched out beyond what he could compass, and having neglected what was committed to his care, a blight came over him, one sorrow and disappointment after another, so that he became darkened and wretched, and when near his close, he went to see him, to try if he could feel any thing near him that was good; but he found darkness and horror, and heard him cry out—That if he had been the Lord's freeman, he should not have been man's prisoner, but he was then deserted of heaven and earth, of God and man, and gave a shriek that pierced the hearts of those who heard it, and so departed out of this life. This he said deeply affected his mind, both at the time, and as often as he thought of it since, and he ardently desired of God, that he might be preserved and enabled to do his duty faithfully, and be clear of the blood of all men.

He spoke on the subject of tithes, that the priesthood which was to be maintained by

them was abrogated by the coming of Christ, who was the minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle which God hath pitched and not man; and said he believed that if he should actually pay towards maintaining a hireling ministry, he should forfeit his interest in *him*.

He spoke tenderly to the rising youth, to persuade them against spending their precious time in diversions; and expatiated upon the superior advantages of going to the house of mourning rather than to the house of mirth; and advised that they should accustom themselves to visit the sick and distressed, to witness the trials of the sick room, and the anxieties of the death-bed, which would be far more instructive than attending places of diversion; as by the sadness of the countenance the heart is sometimes made better. He was also earnest in his desires that the youth might be prudent concerning entering into the married state, that they should not hastily nor inconsiderately rush into it, and so bring sorrow for the rest of their days. This he thought, often led to a wretched dragging on of human life; but to be tenderly connected together in the covenant of life, was the true way to have domestic happiness and social comfort, and to be enabled to bear the variety of trials which are met with as we pass through this land of uncertainty, chequered with good and evil.

13th.—In the select meeting he spoke of a state which seemed much to prevail amongst Friends in this nation, even as amongst the royal tribe of Judah; a complaint that the strength of the bearers of burdens was ready to fail, because there is so much rubbish; but he recommended such not to give way to ineffectual bemoaning, but rather to be willing to rise up and work, to repair the breaches, and rebuild the walls, and they would find that the King would be with them, and amongst them, to help, and they would be furnished with a weapon of war in one hand, and an implement with which to work in another; so he desired such might not be discouraged, nor give way to lamentation over the state of the church, without endeavouring to labour for its help.

In the Province meeting he was led to speak of many excellent things. He reminded us of our deep obligations to a merciful, all-wise Providence, who had so wonderfully sheltered us from the devouring jaws of war and distress of various kinds, which others had so deeply felt, and put the question formerly used, "Or those eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them; think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay, but

except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." He wished us to be humbled, and endeavour to answer the end of so great mercy. He endeavoured to disengage the minds of the people from having a dependence on mortals, even upon those who might have laboured faithfully, as the Apostle did; the minds of the people are too apt to be drawn after that which is visible, so as to be ready to worship that which is not good: one says, I am of Paul; another, I am of Apollos; so, satan, knowing their weakness, disputed with the Archangel about the body of Moses, perhaps that he might deify it, and so delude this weak people, who had before while Moses was in the mount, made a calf to worship, and had such a veneration for Moses, that it is possible they would have worshipped his body, had not the Almighty, in his wisdom, buried him, where they knew not, and could not find him.

Afterwards, in the awfulness of power, he addressed in prayer Him who dwells in the clefts of the rock, and in the secret places of the stairs, that having witnessed the word of reconciliation, he was emboldened, though but dust and ashes, to intercede with him on account of his church and people at large, the workmanship of his hands, that being enamoured with his beauty, many might flock to him, as doves to the windows. He was fervently engaged for the strayed and lost sheep of the house of Israel, that they might be saved.

In the select meeting he spoke with clearness, and under a lively sense of the state of the meeting, a living power attending, to the humbling of the minds of many. He expressed how very sensible he felt of the great want there was of Friends being sufficiently deep and weighty in their waiting upon the Fountain of wisdom and strength, especially ministers, that they might indeed witness the springing up of the well of life, and being cleansed by it, be enabled to sing to it. This deep, inward waiting for the springing up of life is more wanting than words; and if Friends would diligently endeavour to be deep enough, they would find weight would be added to them, and their countenances would discover to others something of the concern of their hearts, and perhaps, stir up the pure mind in others also. He encouraged such to endeavour to be helpful to their friends and neighbours, to visit them as occasions offer, to drop a word here and a word there; it might be a means of sowing the good seed. He mentioned also a disposition apparent in some, which retards their journey forward in that strength they might otherwise possess; namely, a vivacity of constitution which they have, and which he found it to be necessary

in himself to guard against. He tenderly advised that such would be willing to let the girdle be drawn a little tighter, and to know the foal to be bound to the vine, and the ass's colt to the choice vine, that they might be strong to labour in the work. He spoke, as it had opened upon his mind, of the Feast of Tabernacles, how it was formerly held, and a holy convocation, that after they had gathered in their fruits, they were not unconcernedly to sit down and enjoy them, but to get boughs and make booths to dwell in for a season, and hold a holy convocation for the Feast of Tabernacles. So in this day we are not to take up a rest in the fruits we have gathered, but endeavour to be at liberty to attend to the service of Truth, in whatever way it may be pointed out to us; and if such were often to go to the bottom of Jordan, it should be for the washing and cleansing of them, and they would have to come up and bring their memorials with them; and some then present, he said, must bear twins; as it appeared to him, they must be concerned to maintain the discipline and good order in the church, they must also divide the word—they must bear twins.

In the select meeting at Lurgan, in order, as was supposed, to awaken the negligent to diligence before it was too late, he told them of a Friend related to himself, who, when young, was religiously concerned for his soul's salvation, and also for the good of others, and about that time had a dream, which he related to S. F. when in America. He was then in the decline of life, and in appearance not far from the conclusion of his time on earth, but was not in the state he formerly had been, having much neglected the gift bestowed upon him, and cared too much for the things of this life, how he should provide for his family, &c., had lost the good state, and was plunged into distress, darkness, and sorrow, the portion of the disobedient; and in this latter part of his life he had another dream. The first was, his being placed in a fine green field or pasture, walled round, and several lambs feeding in it, well favoured and in good order, and in the midst a pure clear spring for them to drink at; that a sharp axe was given him with which to guard the well, that nothing should muddy it, and to keep up the wall, and if any breaches were made in it that he must repair them. The latter dream was, that he saw himself in the same field, but it had lost its verdure, the lambs were distempered and disordered, the wall much broken down, the water muddy, and serpents in it hissing at him, which he could not destroy or overcome, having lost the weapon formerly given him, and that as he stood looking at the lambs, he

thought he heard a voice, saying—"All these will I require at thy hands."

Eleventh month 3rd.—At the concluding meeting in Dublin, he began with the salutation of the Apostle Paul to one of the churches; "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all, Amen!" He enlarged upon this, setting forth the efficacy of that grace, through the birth, life, sufferings, and death of our Lord Jesus Christ; and how wonderful was that grace, that he who was with the Father before the foundation of the world, rejoicing before him, who was heir of all things, should take upon him the form of a servant, and be clothed with the infirmities of human nature, and be like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, in that body which his Father had prepared for him to do his will in, as in the volume of the book it is written, in order to be a propitiatory sacrifice, not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world; that his coming should be so humble, though he came from the bosom of the Father, and being the brightness of his glory, as to be laid in a manger. This appearance was so mean in the eyes of the Jews, who expected it would have been in a splendid manner, that they could not receive it, but queried,—Is not this the carpenter's son?—And a Luciferian spirit was, he feared, too much given way to in this day, by such as are above his small appearance in their hearts. Yet how astonishing was this grace of our Lord Jesus Christ! who submitted to suffer temptation, reproach, distressing agony, when he trod the wine-press alone, and of the people there was none with him, as it was prophesied:—"Who is this that cometh from Edom? with dyed garments from Bozrah? this, that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save. Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the wine-fat? I have trodden the wine-press alone, and of the people there was none with me." And when the drops of sweat were like blood, he would, if it were possible, that the cup might pass from him, but, in resignation to the will of his Father, he gave up to drink it, and to feel that agonizing state, when he was stripped of all comfort, so as to cry out—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And all this that he might be offered as a sacrifice for our sins, and for the sins of the whole world: so that no state of life is exempted from the benefit of his sufferings and death, if it be not our own fault. He would not have such as might count themselves in a low state of

life, to be discouraged; for a state of sin and wickedness was what he esteemed low and despicable, and no other; for the favour of Heaven is not confined to any station in life; the good tidings of our Saviour's birth were proclaimed to the shepherds as well as to the wise men of the East. So that his earnest desire and concern was, that all ranks might witness the advantage intended by such admirable grace, extended by the compassion of the Father to his creature man, the workmanship of his hands. That as the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs and a piece of an ear, so shall the children of Israel be taken out, that dwell in Samaria, in the corner of a bed, and in Damascus in a couch. And although the form seems almost destroyed by the devourer, and it can scarcely be known what it was when complete, yet the good Shepherd was willing to save his people, and rescue them from destruction, though so entangled in snares that little remains of that ancient beauty that adorned our ancestors; and this for want of adhering to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and dwelling in the pure love of God, which would lead us into communion one with another, and with the Holy Ghost, which he desired might be with us all.

The account of the visit thus concludes: On the 4th of the eleventh month, our friends "set sail for Liverpool, and had a safe passage, and were undoubtedly kindly received by such as love the cause which they so nobly gave themselves up to maintain in our poor land; and if their extraordinary labours do not produce some good fruits, it seems as if it would add a heavy weight in the balance against us."

At the conclusion of their visit, the four Friends addressed an epistle to the National half-year's meeting held in Dublin, which was by that meeting directed to be printed and distributed to Friends throughout the nation. In their epistle, the committee gave a comment upon each of the eight queries which had been read and answered in the various meetings, and thus communicated their view of the state of the Society, adding much excellent counsel on the contents of the queries, and also on some other subjects.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO CATHARINE PAYTON.

Warrington, Second month 26th, 1763.

..... Thou art always, dear Friend, regarded with pure and tender friendship by me, though I have not always the power or opportunity to tell thee so, and my wishes for thy preservation and essential help are as strong as ever—I mean when I am favoured with

such a sense of life and strength, as to wish for any good thing for myself or others.

With regard to the state of my mind; I live by faith, and am thankful I have that to live on; and if I enjoy little, I hope a blessing rests upon that little. I was indisposed last week, but a messenger brought me an invitation to the funeral of Robert Abbatt, the elder, of Preston; and I found, upon looking at it, that duty required me to go. He was buried in that town, where never was a Friend interred before, he having very lately contracted for a piece of ground for that purpose.* The meeting was very large, and the latter part of it solid, weighty, and eminently favoured. I hope it was a meeting of memorable use. There are two young men who come amongst the few Friends in that place, and appear sober and hopeful, attend the meetings, first and week day, but have a deal to bear from their relations; they were so closely watched, the night I was at Preston, that they durst not come to converse with me. Thus, the Lord's work is going forward, and it will prosper in his own way and time, notwithstanding every discouragement, arising from within and without. Several are convinced at Bolton, some of whom have joined in society with Friends; and I hope the Truth gains ground in those parts, though too many of the children of Abraham revolt deeply, and may be thrown aside as useless, or unmeet for the great work of reformation.

I have received a letter from my brother; there are two circumstances mentioned in it, which are interesting to my affections:—our sister's indisposition, which had been severe, but was abated; the other take in his own words;—"Our worthy, steady friend, John Hayward, is now no more; he departed this life last night, at Plaistow, after a slow, and somewhat painful illness of some weeks. I am just come from thence this evening, and thought it would be proper to tell thee that our father's friend, and ours, retained his senses and integrity to the last. Full of love, full of hope, and satisfied that his work was done, and his house in order." Thus, dear friend, are we gradually deprived of the company of faithful elders. Oh may we silently and solemnly prostrate ourselves daily before the Preserver of men, that if old age be allotted us, it may be dignified with that steady, uniform virtue, which hath rendered to some the latest hours of life the best. With this sentiment fresh on my spirit, I conclude with the assurance of constant affection, in which my wife concurs.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL AND MARY PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Third month 14th, 1763.

In a fresh sense of undiminished friendship, I affectionately salute you, with strong and fervent wishes for your stability and increase in every substantial good; that you may be replenished with that peace and fruition of heavenly good, which in all ages have been the stay and strength of the faithful. The means conducive to this end have been clearly exhibited to you in various experience, in which, by the permission of our Father who is in heaven, you have been repeatedly exercised. I see a great deal of instruction in the words—"If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." To know the counsel of the Lord, is rendered an essential blessing only in proportion to our fidelity in correspondent practice; the simplicity of obedience is our best covering, and will stand us in stead when extensive knowledge and quickness of apprehension in unpractised truths, will only pierce the hand that grasps at them, as the principal dependence and treasure.

Dear friends, I am often present in spirit with you; I rejoice in every genuine joy you possess, and I sympathize with you in whatever afflictive scene opens to you; and to nothing better can I recommend you than a patient, quiet, steady attention to Him who forms day and night, directs the alternation of the seasons, and holds in his hand every wind that can possibly blow on the dwellings of men. I feel for your children that anxious concern which attends a solicitude for the preservation of those who are ranked in the near relation of most tender friends; they are now grown up to mature years, they have had many opportunities of knowing wherein the durable riches consist.

And you, beloved young people, descendants of such as have been zealous for the Lord's cause, I beseech you be ye helpers of their joy, strengthen their hands to labour, by evidencing to the world the influence of their example and instruction in yourselves, who are allied to them by the tenderest connexion. For it is a mournful circumstance when the Lord's servants are enfeebled by the transgressions of their own house, and that any children should call their parents fools, by acting contrary to their tender, affectionate advice, and parental authority.

My friendship for you is not transient, not warm only while I am writing to you, it often animates my mind when I have neither opportunity nor capacity to tell you so.

I am not idle, some employment or other

* A burying-ground for the Society of Friends.

often offers; I only beg preservation as an individual, and help to fill up my duty. I have been a laborious journey through Ireland, to my own peace. Immediately on my return, I was seized with an indisposition, which continued some weeks. I recovered my health; my wife was taken very ill and for some time imminent danger attended, but she is, through mercy, recovered. I would not be further tedious; I love you with great sincerity, and should be glad to find I am remembered by you in the same tender affection. Our mutual friend, John Stevenson, is sitting by me; I tell him I am writing to you; he desires to be affectionately remembered to you and your children. Farewell, and be assured I am your constant, cordial friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In the third month, 1763, he obtained the certificate of the monthly meeting to pay a religious visit to Friends in Essex, and some of the eastern counties; and in the eleventh month of the same year, he was engaged in a similar service in the city of London, and some neighbouring places.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN GURNEY.

Warrington, Eleventh month 10th, 1763.

I am sensible my silence hath borne the mark of ingratitude to a friend to whom I am much obliged, and for whom I retain the warmest sentiments of affection; but frequent avocations, indisposition of body, and feebleness of mind must plead my excuse; thou hast very frequently been the subject of my cordial remembrance, and the sincerest wishes for every thing prosperous to thee and thine accompany that remembrance.

I have been several journeys since my return from Norwich; twice into Yorkshire, and some in adjacent counties. I oftentimes feel the weight and burden of the concern for the church's welfare, and rejoice at times in the revival of the same concern on divers minds: may all such, to whom the interests of our Zion are precious, ever keep under the influence of that Hand which can alone preserve individuals alive and vigorous, and render useful for general edification. It is a singular favour to dwell near the Fountain of wisdom, and under the sense of the support of all-powerful Goodness. By this means, the good report which attended the faithful elders was obtained, and the durable riches of holy peace crowned their life and death; their faith, patience, and victory are inciting examples to the like-minded of the present generation, and oh that our lots may be cast in their goodly quarters! I see, methinks clearly,

the extending of an unchangeable virtue towards many amongst us, and it prevails so far as to excite strong desires for the honour of the glorious name and cause: too few, alas! so follow on in the most holy path, as to grow up to that degree of perfection in labour and understanding, that lies before us as the standard of religious growth. May thou and I, dear John, follow on to know the Lord with full purpose of heart, that we may fill up the duty of our day, and enjoy the reward of all the faithful. I am made often to remember, it is by the renewing of the Holy Ghost our salvation is perfected. Neither tradition, former experience, the most indubitable conviction of the nature of true religion, seated in the head, can ever effectually complete the work in us or others; but the renewed daily experience of redeeming, enlarging virtue, to build us up to His praise, who hath gathered us in measure to the morning, and to the advanced light of a blessed, heavenly day.

The same affectionate solicitude which warms and engages my mind on thy account, strongly prevails with me for thy dear wife, accompanied with hope for her preservation and sure establishment in Divine favour, which hath not failed her in many besetments in time past; and may every essential favour from Heaven be with you and your's for ever.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO GEORGE HARRISON.*

Warrington, First month 20th, 1764.

The agreeable impressions thy sobriety, and I hope religious conduct, made upon my mind, whilst thou wast at school at Penketh, remain with me, and my desires are very strong that they may ever remain upon thee, as the means of thy happiness, here and for ever. And the motions of true well-wishing are now so fresh upon my mind, as to induce me to give thee this proof of my affectionate friendship, and earnest desires on thy account, that so promising a morning may rise higher in lustre, to the full completion of His glorious purpose, who hath remembered thee with a precious visitation from on high.

We live, dear George, in a time wherein too many forget the end of their being—to glorify God on earth, and be glorified with him hereafter. Vanity, folly, and dissipation captivate the minds of most; oh that thou,

* George Harrison was a native of Kendal, resided for many years in London, and died at Wandsworth, in the third month, 1827, aged eighty years.

who hast seen into a more exalted end of thy being, may be preserved from such a deplorable state! And in order to rejoice in this experience, may thy mind dwell always under the influence of that circumscribing fear, which keeps the heart clean, whereby wisdom and knowledge will become the stability of thy times. Let thy heart be often lifted up to God in secret prayer for preservation, and keep within the bounds of his revealed will. Beware of departing, in the least, from that plainness, watchfulness, and simplicity of heart, which often drew my mind towards thee in tender love, and which, I am assured, also recommended thee to heavenly regard.

I understand thou goest to a school where the master is not a member of our Society, nor many, if any of the boys, thy school-fellows. Very serviceable mayst thou be in thy place, if thou art so subject to the power of that principle of grace and truth we profess, as to show forth its excellency by a good conversation coupled with true fear. This may be the happy means of affecting other youthful minds with the remembrance of their Creator in their youth; thou wilt then be rendered a happy instrument of advancing the kingdom of righteousness on earth, and enjoy the glorious reward; for they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever. I beseech thee be careful in all thy conduct; have a care how thou departs away in things deemed little. The boundaries of innocence once passed, it is difficult to say where people will stop. Daily seek after the favour of the Most High; let a morning and evening sacrifice arise to him from the soul; that being grounded and established in holy certainty of his presence, neither flattery nor derision may ever lead thee into the dark paths of infidelity; but that thou mayst ever rejoice, with joy unutterable and full of glory, in the knowledge of Him in whom thou hast believed.

I greatly tender thy welfare; I feel for thee sensations stronger than nature can suggest; and in the warmth of this best love, I commend thee to the protection of the Preserver of men. I earnestly wish thee a safe hiding-place, as under the hollow of His hand, and a hope in his salvation on thy account accompanies my wishes.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JAMES PEMBERTON.

London, Third month 28th, 1764.

Those warm sensations of friendship which I have entertained for thee, I with pleasure

often feel renewed in my mind, and afresh at this time. I make no other apology for my past silence than this—a variety of engagements have confined me very much to such as are necessary. The last winter hath been a state of confinement, through a tedious indisposition. I dedicated the first fruits of returning health to this city, to which I thought I owed a visit. I have been here three weeks, and though in a state of precarious health, yet upon the whole satisfied with my journey, believing, when I have done what I can, I have done what I ought.

I cannot but deeply interest myself in whatever attends a province and a people, to whom my mind is often united in the strong ties of brotherly union, and for whom I feel the warm attachment of that love, which, when present with you, was mutually and richly shed abroad in our hearts. There remain amongst you a number who will profit by these alarming circumstances, and quicken your minds to a frequent recourse to the strong Tower of all the righteous; a number who considered it their alone safety in days of prosperity, and were concerned in those seasons to cleave in soul to the never-failing Good, as their principal riches; and now, in the day of calamity and violent commotion, know the inestimable value of the Father and Friend of his people being their stay and succour. Oh that more of the minds of the divinely visited among you were centred in the calming virtue, and had been kept out of the hurries and bustle; surely the canopy of salvation would have eminently overshadowed many, and they would not now have been left to dispersion, and wandering as sheep without a shepherd. May the hitherto preserved of God dwell in the hiding place of His power, that if yet the skies gather more blackness, and the tempest break forth with redoubled violence, these may be kept under the hollow of an Omnipotent hand, until the storm be overpast.

Some reports have circulated here, that there hath appeared among many under our name, with you, a sorrowful defection from our religious testimony, by taking up arms; and this is affirmed concerning some, for whom I hoped much better things. If this be the case, it will be an additional affliction. I earnestly wish the minds of the living may be influenced by that wisdom which is from above, and put on fervent charity one towards another, endeavouring to restore in the spirit of love and meekness, but ever mindful of that testimony to the Prince of peace, which was delivered to us to maintain to the world. Thine affectionately.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HENRY
PORTSMOUTH.*

Warrington, Eighth month 16th, 1764.

Since our first acquaintance, which is now of many years' standing, thou hast possessed a share in my affectionate friendship, and a hope accompanied my earnest desire for thy preservation in the Truth as it is in Jesus to a happy conclusion. Great was my concern, therefore, when I had a manuscript transmitted to me, signed by thy name, and which I am since fully confirmed, was thy performance; a manuscript which militated against a material and fundamental testimony received amongst us as a people, and which, I fully believe, is of Divine original. But, inasmuch as reasoning and argument laid not the foundation of our dissent, but the secret influence of the pure, holy principle of truth and righteousness, it is not in my mind so much to attempt a refutation of thy arguments, as to endeavour to turn thy mind to that which first visited thy soul, and drew thee into communion with us. I beseech thee, call to mind the discoveries and impressions made in the days of tender inquiry after Truth and peace with God; what it led to, and what it led from; and diligently examine whether thou hast kept thy first love; whether the spirit of this world hath not entered, and allured thee from that holy, circumscribed frame of spirit, in which we can alone abide in safety, and witness the salvation of God to be as walls and bulwarks about us. A frequent, impartial scrutiny of this kind appears to me necessary for us all, lest, having run well for a time, we should unhappily miss our way, and stumble on the mountains of error, and fall to rise no more. Most necessary, therefore, is the advice, "Walk in the light," that ye may become children of the light, and of the day of God, and be preserved through the jeopardies of time, and from the deceivableness of unrighteousness, to a happy possession of that crown of life, which is reserved for all those who fight the good fight, and keep the faith. If, upon a most serious anticipation of that solemn day, when every secret shall be disclosed, and true judgment administered, thou findest not the testimony of Divine approbation sealed upon thy spirit, in this dissent from thy former friends, I entreat thee, by every consideration which happiness in time or in eternity can suggest, stand open to conviction. It is infinitely better to retract an error, though we may fall into the hands, or under

the censures of men, than to persist in any doctrine or practice repugnant to the holy Witness, and thereby incur Divine displeasure. If we fall upon the stone, which is a stone of offence to the wisdom of this world, it will break us to pieces; but if it fall upon us, it will grind us to powder. Oh, may thy mind be turned to the light, and witness the searching of heart for the divisions of Reuben, that natural might and strength, and boasting excellence which subtly spreads itself through the incautious mind, but God hath determined, that in his kingdom and work it never shall excel.

When I was last in London, I saw a long letter from thee, addressed to Jacob Hagen, which added to my sorrow on thy account; the intention of this letter seemed to be, to intimidate Friends from dealing with such amongst us as renounce the testimony we were raised up to maintain. I ever wish to see love, tenderness, and long-suffering exercised in the Society, one towards another; and as far as in my power, have endeavoured to promote it, that that which is weak may not be turned out of the way, but rather restored. Nevertheless, there is a necessity for a steady regard to be paid to the prime end of our being raised up as a people, viz: the supporting a testimony to the coming of the reign of the peaceable Saviour, whose kingdom is not of this world. Our worthy ancestors received this testimony, and were called to bear it; and harmonizing together in the truths of Christianity, they united in one body, being of one heart, and under the dominion of one spirit. A people thus formed for the Lord's use, in carrying on the work of glorious reformation in the earth, and whose testimony contradicted the received maxims of the world and its policy, had to expect the opposition and suffering which ensued; first, from the powers of the world, which raged at the birth of the Man-child, and sought to swallow him up; but He who had called them to show forth his salvation, and to step forward to the perfection of Christianity, supported them under cruel persecution, to his own praise, and the promotion of his name on earth. The second and most painful cause of distress and sorrow, was the apostacy of some, who kept not their habitations in the light, but departing from the union of the spirit, lost their places in the body, and became its most invidious opposers: their plea was liberty—their design licentiousness, to introduce confusion and anarchy, and sap the foundation on which our union stands, and rend the seamless garment of our Lord and Master. After much waiting and tender advice, the church testified to the world, that

* Henry Portsmouth died at Basingstoke, tenth month 17th, 1780, aged seventy-seven.

these were not of her. No injury was done to the person or persons who ceased to be of us, by disclaiming our essential principles; it was justice due to the testimony of Truth, and to the Society, to declare to the world that these first forsook us, and not we them.

Some part of thine to Jacob Hagen, seems to render it not improper to vindicate that part of the Society thou stylest zealots, from any imputation of endeavouring to lord it over their brethren's faith. I believe many of those Friends in Philadelphia, who precipitated by their fear in time of great alarm, took up arms, will, on cool reflection, and by tender dealing, be brought to see the inconsistency of their conduct, and return to their places in the house of the Prince of peace; and I doubt not the tenderness of their brethren towards them. But great is the difference between *these*, and a person who coolly and deliberately forsakes the testimony of Truth, and teaches, as far as he can, others to do so. The cause is not ours—it is not of the flesh, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God; the longer I live, the clearer I see it, and it is a testimony which will gain ground, and yet spread more and more amongst mankind. I am convinced of it as a most certain truth, not only from faith in the progress of the spirit and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, towards the redemption of the world, and beautifying the place of his feet, but even from the conversation I have had with some of eminent stations in the world. A person of high distinction as a warrior told me some time ago, that though he was a soldier, no part of our principles was more just in his apprehension, than our declining war in every respect. He said he believed the day would come when nation should not lift up sword against nation, and when they should not learn war any more. He remarked, that so mighty a change must be gradually brought about, and the morning of that glorious day had, he believed, dawned amongst us as a people. Happy are they who abide in their ranks in the Lord's service; they will mingle at length with the conquerors, and inherit all things.

I beseech thee, my friend, consider things deeply; if thou cease to be one of us, as a society raised for the purpose intimated above, why shouldst thou endeavour to draw others after thee from the Lord's cause? a work which on a dying bed will not be crowned with peace. Blame not Friends for their faithfulness to their avowed principles, and steady adherence to the cause of God. If the way is become too strait for thee to walk in, censure not those who dare not leave it, whatever suffering may arise, from the power of this

world, or the defection of such amongst us from whom we hoped better things. I cannot easily omit mentioning how my mind was struck on hearing thy name read in the correspondent book, the last yearly meeting, as a correspondent for Hampshire; how inconsistent this is, must at once appear to any considerate person. What advice couldst thou give to a tender Friend in distress on the militia law? or how couldst thou represent it, if necessary, to the Meeting for Sufferings in London, when thyself hast ceased to maintain that branch of our testimony? Surely, thy prudence as a man will suggest the propriety of having thy name discontinued. The bulk of this letter hath greatly exceeded my intention; I make no other apology than my true love for thee and thy family, and earnest desires for thy recovery and restoration; and this rests with me to add, that nothing but a close dwelling with the Spirit of judgment, and the holy fire which refines from dross and tin, can prevent thy farther declension and deviation from the way to the kingdom of rest. Other branches of our religious testimony will be called in question and despised, to the deep wounding of thy own soul, and to the grief of thy family and friends; but the cause of God, and his holy eternal Truth, will remain unhurt by the defection of those who forsake him; for the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal—The Lord knoweth them that are his. I am thy sincerely well-wishing friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In 1764, Samuel Fothergill was engaged in a general visit to the meetings of Friends in Scotland; in which he was accompanied by Isaac Wilson. This visit was not, like that to Ireland, two years previously, by appointment of the yearly meeting, yet it was somewhat of the same character, being to inquire into the state of the Society, and also in the present case to endeavour to improve and restore the discipline in that country, which was at that time reduced to a very low state. In several places, the monthly meetings had almost ceased to be held, and it could not be ascertained who were, and who were not, entitled to membership in the Society. This lamentable condition continued for about twenty years after this period; when, in 1784, the late John and Elizabeth Wigham, from a sense of religious duty, went to reside in Scotland. This tended much to the revival of the Society there; some other ministers were about the same time led to visit this nearly desolate part of the heritage; amongst these were George Dillwyn and Henry Tuke, who visited Scotland more than once about this

time; John Pemberton also was much engaged in that nation. Soon after this, the discipline was in good measure restored, and a few solid Friends were raised up to conduct the affairs of the Society.*

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

Old Meldrum, Ninth month 8th, 1764.

..... We staid first-day at Edinburgh. The meetings there are composed of a very few of our Society, and few, very few, of these worthy of the name. Several came in, and behaved civilly; the state of the meeting is indeed very low, but I need not particularize that place, the state of the Society in general is so, though I trust there is a little remnant preserved living. We went from Edinburgh to Stirling, where I appointed a meeting; the magistrates freely granted the town-hall, and mostly attended. The meeting was to good satisfaction, being favoured with the extension of heavenly, humbling virtue. We passed through Perth, Dundee, Montrose, and some other towns of less note, to Ury, visiting a few scattered, poor individuals, where we could find them, but had no concern but for the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

We had a meeting at Ury on fifth-day evening; the particular members of that meeting amount to about thirteen or fourteen. A sister of the late, and aunt to the present Robert Barclay, appears a steady, solid Friend. He is very kind. We propose to be here tomorrow, where is the largest body of Friends in Scotland.

Our visit will, I believe, be peaceful in the event to ourselves, comfortable to a very

small number, and a pleasant amusement to divers others, who would avail themselves of Truth being exalted, from motives of self-love. The prime end of our visit, the re-establishment of the discipline, and a close inspection into the state of the Society will scarcely be obtained. The Queries are sometimes read in the quarterly meetings, but rarely, if ever, considered in the monthly meetings, which are in several places reduced to three or four persons; but each having separate bequests are determined against any junction, and for the same reason the two yearly meetings are determined against a union, which we have urged upon them as much as prudence admiteth; for I would not exasperate, by pressing too vehemently a matter the active members are determined against; for I find W. M. and R. B. inflexibly bent against uniting the meetings.

It is not right to complain of the anxiety our prospects and feelings afford us daily; we ought to accompany the Seed, and it is in this nation much depressed. The division amongst the Presbyterians is great; Seceders, and Seceders, and Seceders from them, are almost daily making their appearance; I sometimes hope this is a previous step to better times, and that the commotions and overturnings may be a means to raise a sense of danger, and a secret cry for relief to Him who is alone able to afford it. How happy the lot of those who know the tried foundation, and with diligence and watchfulness wait to feel themselves established thereon. May it be our continued experience, until the time come that we shall never again be moved.

My companion, Isaac Wilson, is truly acceptable and helpful.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Tenth month 19th, 1764.

* At the time of S. Fothergill's visit, the meetings for discipline in Scotland were,

First, the yearly and quarterly meeting of Aberdeen, consisting of three monthly meetings, viz: Aberdeen, Kinmuck, and Urie. With Kinmuck was joined the meeting of Old Meldrum, and with Urie that of Stonehaven.

Second, the yearly and quarterly meeting of Edinburgh, also comprising three monthly meetings, viz: Edinburgh; consisting of the particular meetings of Edinburgh and Preston-pans; Glasford, Hamilton, and Garthshore; consisting of the meetings of Glasford, Douglas, Hamilton, Badcow, and afterwards Glasgow: Lessenden, formed of Lessenden and Kelso particular meetings.

They so continued until 1786, when a Special Epistle was received from the yearly meeting in London, confirming their being united under the name of the Half-year's Meeting of North Britain, to stand in the same position as the quarterly meetings in England; this was then concluded upon, and the first of such meetings, afterwards designated the General Meeting for Scotland, was held at Aberdeen, in the tenth month, 1786.

I have no conversation which furnishes equal satisfaction with that of now and then renewing an agreeable intercourse with thee and dear brother, and you are kind enough to accept in good part the proofs I sometimes give of my most affectionate remembrance. My late journey into Scotland hath furnished me with some experience, and I hope, improvement. I went in great weakness and simplicity. I seemed prepared for distress and sorrowful sympathy. I had a secret hope that it was not inconsistent with Christian charity to visit the small remains of the Society in that nation, though I could say or feel little of that injunction and duty which I have often felt for other services, but a secret draught of mind hath accompanied me for some time.

We were favoured with good weather, fine roads, and every accommodation necessary: and what is more to be valued, with the presence and help of that Helper who alone is able to stay and succour, under the pressure of every painful circumstance. May a deep sense of his mercy, and my constant need of such relief, ever possess my mind, and then I have grounds of hope in the descending of the *latter*, as well as in the trembling remembrance of the *former* rain. The state of the Society is very low in that kingdom; so low as to render it very difficult to see how to labour amongst them, with regard to the re-establishment of discipline; and such is the genius of the people, that overloading or overdriving would effectually defeat the intention of our visit. We have had divers opportunities of conference with the few Friends who remain, and hope to the help of some few individuals; the event must be left to the Disposer of all.

I went from our General meeting at Manchester directly to Kendal, where I arrived on second-day night, and found my mind engaged to stay the funeral there of a Friend, not unknown to the Doctor and me, when at Brigflatts school. Isaac Wilson and I reached Edinburgh by way of Carlisle, Langholm, Hawick, and Selkirk. On first-day we were at the meetings at Edinburgh, which were small and poor respecting Friends, but pretty many others came in, and we were favoured; and remarkably so in the evening, at the burial ground, on occasion of the interment of one under our name, who came to that city a few days before, and died suddenly. Next day we went to Stirling, and had a large and satisfactory meeting in the court-house. Isaac Wilson and I then proceeded to Ury, where we had a small meeting with the few of our Society. On first-day we went by Aberdeen to Old Meldrum, calling to visit some odd stragglers under our name by the way. At Old Meldrum and the neighbourhood is the largest body of Friends in Scotland. We had some close, beneficial opportunities with them, and left them with the evidence of having done what we found to do. On our return we had a very large meeting at Aberdeen, which was to good satisfaction. Our mutual friend, David Barclay was with us, at Ury and Aberdeen. He treated us with great affection, and was the means of great relief to my mind in procuring us a very large meeting at Aberdeen. I attempted, about eighteen years since, to see the inhabitants of that city, but none would then give me their company. With close travel we reached Edinburgh on the fifth-day evening, and stayed over the ensuing first-day, endeavouring to

spend our time not remote from the intention of our visit. We had a meeting, consisting of the members of our Society, to good satisfaction, as the result of faithful labour, though afflicted to see and feel the extremely low state of things amongst them; but, through Divine favour, the testimony was exalted, the disobedient warned, and the little which remained alive encouraged. But upon that city, a cloud of darkness and the shadow of death seems to me to remain in a distinguishable manner; and I think, though their number may amount to near thirty, there is scarcely one bound in heart to the testimony. We went to Glasgow, where we had a large, open meeting; many principal people of the city were there, and Truth mercifully owned us. We met with much civility there; the magistrates treated us with great regard, and in a manner I could not expect. Several of the principal people earnestly requested my longer stay, as they alleged they knew nothing of Quakers but through the medium of misrepresentation, and were astonished to find our principles so different from those which their ministers generally ascribed to us. But finding our minds clear, we left the place, and went to Edinburgh, and Guyle Kirk, and so to Kelso, where we had a pretty open meeting, amongst a few worthless people, under our name, accompanied by a few of other societies, who seemed nearer the kingdom. On seventh-day we reached Newcastle, and came thence to Kendal.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER AND SISTER.

Warrington, First month, 1765.

I am, through mercy, in good health, a cold excepted, which I got in our arduous labour of visiting families; it is not very troublesome, except when I write, or should sleep. I am content with this indication of a frail tabernacle, I know it will soon moulder to its original. I am thankful the loins of my mind are girded up, at least strongly to wish to run the race successfully, and finish in peace. I look towards a release from temporal concerns with increasing ease; I believe it is quite right I should dress my wings, to take my flight to the land of peace, through those paths of light which may be assigned, but not yet clearly unfolded.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

About this time, S. Fothergill retired from business altogether. His trade was that of a tea-dealer, with which he combined some other articles; and he had occasionally mer-

cantile transactions with America, sending out thither manufactured goods, and importing the produce of that country.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Lea Hall, Sixth month 28th, 1765.

..... I am thankful, repeatedly thankful, for this recess; it was not of my own contriving or willing; but I esteem it as I ought, a favourable prospect of escaping by degrees from labour next to oppression. Much I owe to the public, and honestly have I endeavoured to repay the obligation. May they never want persons better qualified than myself to serve them. To me the world has not frowned; I courted not its favours, nor feared the reverse. It is time, however, to think of getting into port, and as the wind serves, I hope to make use of it for the best of purposes—security. JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Lea Hall, whence the foregoing letter is dated, is about three miles from Middlewich: it was occupied by Dr. Fothergill for several years. His object and wish in thus occasionally secluding himself, he states in a letter to his brother Samuel, written in 1764.

“A desire has of late risen in my mind to retreat for a few months next summer, into Cheshire, and some part of the county not far from Middlewich appeared suitable; I wish by a few months’ recess to get some time to breathe, and to let the dependence that many have upon me here, gradually die away, rather than break it off abruptly. I can only look for quiet in a place where I have no acquaintance, yet not too far from those I most love. If we can procure some respectable abode, not far from a meeting, in a situation not unhealthy, nor very populous, where there is room comfortably to accommodate my sister, myself, and four or five servants, with a bed or two for our friends, I shall be satisfied. In this part, there is the forest (of Delamere) on one side, which is but thinly inhabited, and there is a meeting, and I can see you all occasionally.”

In pursuance of this plan, Lea Hall was engaged, and here with his sister, and frequently other relations and friends, he was accustomed to pass a part of every summer, for several years; enjoying in this retreat, a season of needful repose from the fatigues of his profession. In this retirement he had an opportunity, which his incessant engagements in London did not afford, of indulging in the pursuit of science, and more particularly in the study of Natural History, and Botany; to these he was much attached, and in various ways a munificent promoter of them. The

place, though much gone to decay, still bears in its ancient garden, marks of his love of, and taste in planting.

One day in each week he attended at the neighbouring town of Middlewich to give gratuitous advice to the poor.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Twelfth month 10th, 1765.

My correspondence on your side the water is almost dropt, owing principally to my incapacity of sustaining it as I could wish sometimes, for I am sure I often feel the same animated love of the brethren extend itself towards the children of the Father’s family, which was often my crown of rejoicing when amongst you. But as my engagements and labour become various and diffusive, my mind necessarily admits of various objects of solicitude, and the individual is swallowed up in the general. Thus I feel myself frequently, and am obliged to postpone the offices of private friendship, to the more urgent obligations of general duty. I would not have made so long an apology for my silence, had it not been the true state of my mind, and to remove any apprehensions of forgetfulness or neglect of a person and family I remember with great affection, and for every branch whereof my spirit ardently wishes every happiness. Dear friend, we are not strangers to the commotions of your land, the report whereof hath reached our ears, yea, and many of our hearts, whereby deep inward sympathy, as becomes brethren, has been raised, and a secret strong travail before the Lord of the whole earth, for the preservation of his family in this dispensation of the hour and power of darkness, which has come upon many amongst you, and is endeavouring to introduce ruin, and desolation, and every evil work. In such a season as this, it is next to impossible to stand neuter; the conflicting powers of light and darkness, according to their prevalence, enlist the spirits of the people under their respective banners; some to endeavour to build up and repair the breaches, and to be bound in heart to the holy testimony, and earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. Now, saith my soul, “Peace be to thee, O Zion, and peace to thine helpers; and may these evermore remember, it is the Lamb and his followers which shall have the victory.” Though this expression may have become trite by frequent repetition, yet it is a great, instructive and important truth. Neither the most ardent zeal of the cherub or the seraph, nor the sagacity of the living creature, though full of eyes before and behind, nor the strength

of the lion can overcome, unless the meekness, gentleness, and patience of the Lamb, suffering, yea slain, from the foundation of the world, have the ascendancy, and be diffused through all our labour. A vivacity of mind which is natural, and a solicitude of mind for the cause of Truth which is from a higher source, are, I believe, distinguishedly possessed by us both, and I feel, for myself, the absolute necessity of deep attention to His direction who has engaged me in his service, in order to experience him to put forth, having reduced the creaturely part into a humble dependence upon Him, whose is the power and the wisdom. We are now, my friend, arrived at a date of life when the *fierte* which attends youth may, by the laws of nature, be supposed to abate, and cool, deliberative wisdom, confirmed by experience and long observation, take its place; and I hope, we have not so lived and laboured, as to be destitute of a portion of Divine wisdom, to correct the mistakes and inadvertencies into which we may have been hurried in past time, which I acknowledge with regard to myself have been various. Oh that our minds may sufficiently cleave unto that Hand of power, which will effectually convert us from every error in judgment and practice, and then properly enable us to strengthen our brethren. Dear friend, I beseech thee, by the mercies of God, whereof thou hast largely partaken, abide in the quiet habitation, whose safety and beauty thou hast often beheld, and desired thy portion in it. Let neither the commotions without, nor defection within, carry thee away from the quiet rest; a greater degree of fitness and wisdom to act rightly, when necessary in both, will be hereby attained. I feel inexpressibly a sympathy of spirit with Friends in your parts; the faithful and unfaithful are the companions of my mind almost incessantly; to the former, I wish that wisdom and knowledge may become the stability of their times; for the latter, that through the prudence, patience, tender compassion, and steadiness of the faithful, they may be restored upon the proper foundation, and the holy testimony preserved inviolate. I have need to apologize for my freedom in thus expressing the feelings and ardent wishes of my mind towards thee, for whom I retain the longings of heart that friendship of the highest kind inspires; a similarity of natural disposition begets a peculiar attention, united in wishes for the prosperity of the great and mighty cause of religion and virtue. May we both seek the only means to obtain our wishes, and never be the means of defeating, by our haste and imprudence, the end we professedly and really aim at. With a heart

replenished with near affection and sympathy, I remember, and often in spirit visit, thy dear wife, my beloved friend; I have often essayed to write to her, but my feelings baffled expression. Heaven's peculiar favourites are often the most tried, that they may be rendered perfect, lacking nothing, and shining examples of every Christian virtue to others. Salute her in my name, and assure her of my tender and affectionate sympathy and remembrance. As to my health, it has for divers years been precarious; something of a gouty nature, but not the disorder regularly. I have been confined eleven weeks, and have scarcely strength to walk five minutes; yet I am slowly recovering, but very feeble; this has been the labour of almost a day, my hand being too weak to write many lines at once.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

Warrington, Twelfth month 16th, 1765.

..... I lately rode as far as Congleton, to the funeral of a person who had some relation to the Society, though not strictly a member; the journey was of use to me, for I travelled slowly. I was much favoured amongst a multitude of people, of various ranks; and humbly thankful I am for every instance of merciful regard extended to my own spirit, and the gracious extendings of Heavenly help to others. I feel time to slide away apace; little of it seems before me, until it change its name to eternity.

I am now just returned from paying the last solemn act of friendship to the memory and remains of our mutual valuable friend, Joseph Hobson,* who was yesterday interred. His death was occasioned by lying in a damp bed a few weeks ago. A very great number attended the solemn occasion, and the voice of the people proclaimed him a valuable, good man. I never saw a person more regretted; the eminent overshadowing of the Father of spirits gave room to hope human approbation is not his sole happiness. I have heard also of the decease of our worthy friend, David Coulson. I need not enlarge upon this breach into the near circle of our mutual friends and acquaintance; neither, indeed, doth the present collected state of my mind allow of much expression;—I feel more than I can write, and the bare account is sufficient to awaken and quicken every proper sentiment and resolution in thy mind. Others will soon, very soon, write the mournful account of our removal! Oh, may our minds receive the proper instruction, and be renew-

* Of Macclesfield.

ed in necessary assiduity, that our example and close may be happily instructive. May the work be accomplished, when the awful summons comes: I hope my whole heart is renewedly bent in fresh ardour to attain this important and most interesting prize. The situation of my health is comfortable, a constant soreness and weakness in my feet excepted; however, I am content and thankful, in an humbling sense that best health is renewed at times; and I wish no more, here or hereafter, than heavenly regard.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOSEPH BAKER,
JUN., OF WARRINGTON.*

1766?

A degree of anxious concern for thee induces me thus to address thee, and from the warmth of an affectionate heart, to open something for thy consideration, to which thy temporal and eternal welfare require thy attention. Notwithstanding many of our youth, and thyself among others, have despised the simplicity of a plain appearance, like Friends, yet I am satisfied, from the neglect of that distinction being maintained, they and thou have been laid open to the inducements of that destroying enemy who hath great power over the inhabitants of the earth, and then have leaned to an earthly spirit. Thou hast fatally found the truth of this remark: if thou hadst appeared like a religious, sober Friend, those companions who have exceedingly wounded thee, durst not have attempted to frequent thy company. Thou seest Henry Fothergill; his conduct and appearance are consistent and sober; none of those wicked young men dare approach him, such is the dignity of religion, and its superiority over vice and folly. I mention him, not for any partial regard for him as my kinsman, but as a person I have had frequent opportunities to remark. Thou knowest the esteem he has justly obtained, his usefulness in his father's family, and that he is more justly honoured than I think any young man in town. I mention him, not to upbraid thee, but to intreat thee; his manners are virtuous, his mind serene and peaceful; the contrary, thy own experience will tell thee, hath been thy lot, and it results from a conduct opposite to his; nevertheless, I am persuaded the regard of Divine Providence is not totally withdrawn from thee; his mercy is extended to recover thee, as from the gates of hell, and pluck thee as a brand out of the fire. My concern for thee, the kind reception thou hast met with at —, and the disposi-

tions of the worthy friends there in receiving thee, are to me proofs of the interposition of a providential hand yet stretched out to save; and these things ought to be humbly marvelous in thy eyes, and induce thee to walk answerably to the favours received. I earnestly wish thee to abstain from any company that may be improper. Thy resolutions are weak; the poison of evil company very ruinous. If thou hast no other inducement to alter thy dress, I beseech thee to do it, to keep the distinction our principles lead to, and to separate thee from *fools* and *fops*; at the same time that, by a prudent distinction in thy appearance, thou scatterest away those that are the bane of youth, thou wilt engage the attention of those whose company will be profitable and honourable to thee.

Thus, dear friend, my heart longs for thee and for thy help, that thou mayest improve the present providential allotment to the best purpose, that it may be of lasting advantage to thee. It will be good for thee to bear the yoke in thy youth; if thy mind be rightly subjected to it, thou mayest have cause to say, It was good for me that I was troubled. I beseech thee often to read the Holy Scriptures; remember the prodigal son, and imitate his penitent example, and the same gracious reception from the Everlasting Father will be thy portion. With what joy would thy anxious parent, thy affectionate sister, view thee reformed, steady, and prudent; but if, which God forbid, thou shouldest slight this providential opportunity of retrieving thyself, and relapse into those things which have hitherto ministered much to thy hurt, and if continued in, must effect thy total ruin, how shall I meet those friends to whose care I have been instrumental in committing thee? And what will be the sentence from despised mercy? I am shocked at the mere supposition; but what must be the suffering of such a state? Dear Joseph, what *shall* I say? what *can* I say, that will tend to thy help, but earnestly press thee to seek Him who is mighty to save, and to whom Jonah cried out of the belly of hell? Cherish every impression of good; place thyself frequently before that tremendous bar, to which thou art hastening, and bring every thought and action to judgment; be diligent and faithful in business, but above all, be diligent in making provision for thy poor soul. Farewell.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Sixth month 10th, 1766.

The enclosed is from the Countess of Huntingdon, and I apprehend it relates to the

* He died at Penketh, second month, 1809.
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convincement of a person high in her esteem, and a kind of recommendation of her to thy notice. I am informed that this is no sudden start, but has been gradually ripening some time. The countess saw her friend engaged, and went with her to the meeting the first time she gave up to join the Society. This circumstance, I mean the convincement of a person so peculiarly situated, will, no doubt, become the subject of much conversation, at least amongst ourselves, and I think we ought, as much as possible, to restrain the imprudent amongst us from acting imprudently. Thou wilt impart this to nobody; let the account spread by other means, not by ours: it is a lesson we ought to profit by, not to amuse; a simple, upright devotion of heart to do the will of Him, whom to serve is our interest and happiness. Great example! let us follow it; and those who do it most, will say the least about it. In dress, in conduct, she studies simplicity: perhaps, in the guise of zeal, an enemy may steal in, but the integrity of her heart will, I trust, befriend her. I know her not; I know some of her family: her husband allows her a sufficient support, so that interest has no share. About Brightelmstone, where she now is, there is a large number of those called Methodists, many of whom are dissatisfied where they are; if they follow on to know, whether they join us or not, they will be happy.

We were glad of thy safe arrival at home, and received thy kind intimations with the affection they deserve. If they produce the fruits thou wishes, they will be to our mutual happiness, and our own peculiar advantage. Create in me a right spirit, renew a clean heart, is oft, my wish; I know these are not the words as they stand, but I want to know the full completion.

When I tell thee that this is written after the incessant labour of seventeen hours, thou wilt readily excuse its defects, and think me, however weak, yet not wholly without a claim to the title of thy affectionate brother,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

In the seventh month, 1766, Susanna Fothergill again paid a religious visit to Scotland; she was accompanied by Joseph Harwood, of Manchester, also a minister. Near the close of the year, her husband was engaged in a religious visit to Friends of London. Whilst in that city, he was seized with an illness which obliged him to relinquish his engagement, and retire to his brother's country house at Upton; where, under the care of his sister, he was confined for some time.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Tenth month 18th, 1766.

I have been to Nottingham, and went by Manchester, where I found brother Isaac Crewdson very much indisposed, and every symptom of approaching dissolution, which ensued last first-day night. I was at his burial on fourth-day; it was large, and the opportunity was a favoured one. I cannot but regret his loss, though I fully believe his removal is a happy exchange, and agreeable to his own last intelligible words, "To rest, to rest, for evermore." What more desirable, my dear sister, than such an issue of our pilgrimage! May our minds be exerted to pursue this glorious mark, with a diligence proportioned in some degree to its unspeakable value. The circle of our acquaintance is almost daily invaded, and we, also, shall soon furnish the opportunity or occasion of instruction, now almost daily put into our hands. How safe is diffidence, even if obtained through chastisement for error!

I am, through mercy, bravely, my hand excepted, which is still sometimes weak, and often painful, but I am content and thankful. I have more good than I have merited, and less affliction than is justly due.

You are returned to the trammels again, I believe with reluctance; you can taste the sweets of retirement with pleasure, and dare be alone with yourselves. I hope never to result in indolence, but my love increases to solitude; not that I dislike converse with mankind, but I am very desirous to improve it with something I at times feel in myself. The silent, solemn step of time advanceth fast, and carries us along with it, to a place whence there is no return, to do or undo. May it become our chief concern—nay, I hope it is, and may we retain it—to have our accounts in readiness; and even then, mercy, not merit of ours, must be the ground of our hope in the ordinance of peace.

..... Lively are my desires for all our safety and establishment; desires wherein I know thou joins me, with an ardent mind; we have ground of hope that He who hath wrought the will, will also enable to do, as we cleave to him in simplicity and uprightness. But how much goes to constitute the character of *upright*! There is so great a mystery of iniquity in the transformations of seemingly laudable self, that I look upon it as the crown of true Christianity, and to exceed all the beauty of visibles, whether respecting religion or this world, to obtain this character.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO CATHARINE
PAYTON.

Warrington, Third month 25th, 1767.

..... With thee, my dear friend and sister in the pure Truth, I am more sympathetically united; as my own, I tender thy good, and preservation through the various vicissitudes of thy passage, whether relative to the temporal or spiritual probations which may be assigned thee, in either relation. Thou hast in many trials found the all-sufficiency of the divine Hand; and we have nothing else to rely upon, equal to the labour of the day. He who rides upon the wings of the wind, in his triumphant glory, dwells in the lowest valley of humiliation, and is there more sensibly experienced to sustain under every stripping, than distinctly discovered when he makes the clouds his chariot. I have, of later times, been very deeply exercised, and often in the most stripped poverty. I have, as yet, seen nothing clearly, respecting public service which may be required and this humbling season preparatory to it—but so it is; and may my heavenly Father's will be done, and issue in a still more enlarged degree of sanctification, though I wear sackcloth on my loins, until I am clothed upon from heaven with the garments of immortality.

..... And now, my dear friend, in the sense of that condescending goodness which hath mercifully favoured us, in calling us out of darkness into his marvellous light, and hath joined us to all the living, and been as our song and our strength; who has fed us with food, and remembered us in tender mercy; my spirit salutes thee; with earnest breathing for our preservation and increase in holiness and sanctification, that He who has called us may be honoured by us, and we, finally, honoured with him. SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Warrington, Fourth month 1st, 1767.

..... My affection remains undiminished. I love you all tenderly, and with equal solicitude desire your essential happiness, as when my leisure and bent of mind allowed me more frequent opportunities and occasions of telling you so. My health hath been precarious, or rather below that, generally impaired; and though my mental faculties may not be much affected, the corporeal powers seem not likely to continue to advanced years. My principal complaint is a weakness and pain in my right hand; I believe, owing to a fall from my horse several years ago. I cannot write much without respite, and this often breaks the chain of senti-

ment and sensation, which I ever wish to be the soul of my correspondence. For though I am often poor and debilitated, both in body and spirit, I feel an ardent desire to be preserved alive in the best things. My affection for Friends in Philadelphia is strong, and often of late revives with great animation. I run from house to house with sympathy; I rejoice with the few who can properly rejoice; I mourn with the many who pensively muse on the roll written within and without—Mourning, lamentation, and woe! What further respects you and me is at present behind the veil. My dear wife is cheerful, and not destitute of best health: that thine hath been favoured with health, is a pleasing account; I love her tenderly, and wish the consummation of every desire she forms for her own and others' good. Thine in undiminished regard and affection,
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Twelfth month 10th, 1767.

..... Samuel Emlen is here; a reputation to his country, a help to society, the pattern of innocence, wisdom, and simplicity.

..... I hope gradually to lessen both my business and all other incumbrances. I have been preserved through many dangers, and my life mercifully prolonged to this time; and it is not the least of the favours that I have to acknowledge, that I am kept in a degree, alive to gratitude.

..... Do not regard the expense; at our time of life, two years of exemption from great inconveniences are not to be valued at a low rate. Had we children dependent upon us, other considerations might justly take place. In the course of Providence, it is so ordered that we have none to look up to us, and call us father—an exemption from numberless anxieties. It is then, but justice that we use the favours of Providence granted to us, whether the fruits of our own industry, or, by a more special favour, of easy inheritance; to the proper purposes—for our own accommodation according to the station in which we are placed, the benefit of the community in general, and of our brethren in particular.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO SAMUEL EMLEN.

Warrington, Second month 1st, 1768.

Thy acceptable favour of the 19th of last month came safe to hand in course, and I had sooner acknowledged it, had not an event, daily expected for two weeks, suspended my writing till I saw the issue. Our worthy friend and kinsman, Gilbert Thompson, hath

been in a declining state for some time, and of late seemed to decay so very fast as to call in question his surviving for one day. He finished his course about mid-night, last sixth-day, and is to be interred to-morrow. I have often been with him to my humbling instruction; for some time his journeying was in the region of the shadow of death. I have sat by him, accompanied his spirit under the load of death, and the heavens as brass, sensible of deep distress, but seemingly excluded from good. This led to deep searching of heart, even, as he said, of holes and of corners he had not suspected; he saw that he had been short in the performance of that service Truth would have led him into, had he been fully dedicated in heart to know and to do his Master's will. But adorable condescension visited afresh, revived a degree of hope, fed him with a little bread when nigh to faint, and caused a part of that crystal stream, which is the satisfaction and consolation of the whole city of God, to arise in his soul, and it increased from time to time, until it became like the water Ezekiel saw issuing out from the threshold, a river to swim in, a river that cannot be passed. The holy canopy was often over our spirits when I visited him, which I often did to my comfort. I never, my dear friend, so fully understood the force of the expression, "If the righteous scarcely are saved:"—the applause and esteem of judicious and injudicious, regularity of conduct, his arrival at Bethel, the remembrance of many bedewing seasons, all proved insufficient for his repose, and were amongst the heavens that might be shaken, and must be removed, that *that* which cannot be shaken may remain.

He languished long, in much pain; great was the conflict previous to the separation of body and soul, and it feelingly opened to my mind, with the conviction of an audible voice, had his spirit been more disentangled from the love of lawful things, his warfare would have been sooner accomplished, the fetters of mortality more easily broken, and his spirit would sooner have risen triumphant over death, hell, and the grave, and on the wings of seraphic love ascended, with holy ease, to the realms of purity, peace, and love. But all is well—he is admitted to peace, and through *his* deep wadings, instruction is given to us, with diligence, yea with all diligence, to fill up the measure of revealed duty, and to stand on the watch for further discoveries, what is the will of the Lord our God respecting us. I may have been too prolix on the subject—but oh!—my heart is full—fuller than to obtain adequate vent by my pen.

I heard of thy being in London; it gave

me pleasure; may the Lord preserve thee to the end, in powerfully preserving simplicity, and direct all thy steps to peace. I cannot at present set thee at liberty to leave England. I feel something that desires thy longer stay, and I think it is something more weighty than the mere dictates of natural affection. I have little prospect of much absence during this or the next month; I believe it would tend to the confirmation of my health, now through mercy pretty well restored, could I spare two or three weeks to stay at Bristol; but much rests upon me by the removal of Gilbert Thompson. His place, as clerk of the monthly meeting, devolves on Henry Fothergill, who, I hope, grows in the best things, and will come up in service. Oh, that I could have the same hope for his often visited and highly favoured sister S——!

Need I add, I should be rejoiced to see thee here, as soon as is easy to thyself; here is some work to do; we have in prospect a visit to Friends in their families.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

GILBERT THOMPSON, whose last days are, in the preceding letter, so powerfully and pathetically described, was the son of Gilbert Thompson, mentioned at page 88. He assisted, and afterwards succeeded, his father, as master of the school at Penketh, over which he presided for nearly forty years with much reputation. He was a Friend greatly esteemed, and very useful in the Society; he was in the station of elder, and filled several other offices. Yet it appears from this letter, and from other allusions made to him, that he had not yielded so full an obedience as he ought, to that which the Lord had required at his hands, and that if he had made a more full surrender of all his talents, and had more fully kept that which he once possessed, it would have yielded him more peace at last; great, indeed, was the conflict through which he had to pass. He died at Penketh, first month 29th, 1768, aged sixty-eight years.

HENRY FOTHERGILL, mentioned in the foregoing letter, to succeed G. Thompson as clerk of Hardshaw monthly meeting, was the nephew of Samuel Fothergill, being the only son of his brother Joseph. On the death of his father, in 1761, the care of the business and of the family devolved upon Henry, then twenty-five years of age: these duties he discharged faithfully and affectionately; to his six sisters, all younger than himself, his care was truly paternal. He was, from his early youth, of an innocent, cheerful disposition, quiet and studious; he possessed good abilities, had made proficiency in the Latin and

Greek languages, and had a natural taste for poetry and drawing. As he advanced to manhood, he increased in seriousness of character, was of a grave and solid deportment, and of exemplary life and conversation. He was kind and helpful to all, and gave great promise of becoming very useful in civil and religious society; but his health failed; he was attacked with rapid consumption, and after an illness of a few weeks, he departed this life at Warrington, on the 15th of fifth month, 1769, at the early age of thirty-three years.

The following account of his last illness was drawn up by his sisters, who attended upon him with affectionate and anxious solicitude.

As the memory of our beloved and truly valuable brother, Henry Fothergill, must ever be precious to his near friends, we think it desirable to record some particulars, that (we hope) have made a lasting impression upon our minds, who were with him during his illness and last moments, that those allied to him may reap the advantage of his truly Christian example, and follow his footsteps; for we are assured they led to peace.

In the beginning of his illness, he had many deep and painful conflicts, and was very desirous, if it pleased the Almighty, that he might be restored to health. But that Power that knew the innocence, the integrity, and uprightness of his heart, after deep trials and searchings, was pleased to set his mind at liberty, and give him an earnest that all would be well. Oh, may we never forget with what calmness and resignation he looked forward towards that blessed hope that maketh not ashamed.

For some weeks he was perfectly sensible that he should not be long here, and once said, "he could not look beyond five weeks, and perhaps his time might be a good deal shorter, but he was quite easy;" and often tenderly desired his sisters not to afflict themselves. One of our brothers-in-law coming over to see him, he was much pleased, and spoke many comfortable things. He said that, for more than a year past he had a sense upon his mind that he should not live long; and the words that were sent to good king Hezekiah frequently passed through his mind, "Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live;" and added, he hoped his house was in order, both inwardly and outwardly, and that he had nothing to do but to pray for an easy passage. Seeing his sisters greatly affected, he cheerfully said, "Do not afflict yourselves, I hope Providence will care for you, and that he will be your God, as he hath been mine." The inexpressible sweetness and innocence that accompa-

nied his mind, particularly during the last week of his life, was highly consolatory, and though he had little absences and wanderings, the solemnity of his spirit was easily felt; he frequently, in the night, was quite melodious, and once particularly broke into expression, and said, as though speaking to himself, "I have many amiable engagements, but I must leave them; I cannot stay, and blessed be the name of the Lord, who has removed these things."

Four days before he died, he was much altered, and seemed to take little notice of any thing in this world. As he sat in his chair, with all that heavenly sweetness and serenity that were with him to the last, his voice, which was greatly broken and inward before, was suddenly exalted; and he said, with a kind of triumphant melody—"When, oh, my soul, shalt thou enter into rest; where peace and everlasting gladness shall be thy portion?" But no language can convey an adequate idea of the sweet serenity of his countenance. The following morning he came down stairs, but was so much worse that he was soon carried up again, and in the afternoon of that day he seemed to be very deep in his mind, and to feel more perturbation of spirit than we had ever before perceived; at length he broke out into lamentation, and seemed greatly agitated, saying—"I do not feel that virtue to arise in my mind I used to feel, and the pillars of my house are shaken, and I may go to the land of darkness." One of his sisters, against whom his head was leaned, deeply affected, said, "No, my dear brother, if thou be removed from us, it will, I believe, be to a land of light." He said—"Oh sister! thou dost not know what I feel, but pray for me! pray for me, sisters;" and clasping his hands together, he fervently uttered—"My God! my God!" The solemn appeal was, we believe, accepted, and after some pause, he said: "There is a house whose pillars are immovable, let us lay fast hold on their bases." He continued sweetly serene, now and then uttering an articulate word, which showed his conversation was in heaven; he frequently repeated, in a low voice—"Deep unto deep utters, deep unto deep utters." On first-day, he was extremely weak in body, and we thought he was going, but he again revived a little, and expressed great affection for his sisters. The following evening, being the 15th of the fifth month, 1769, he was very desirous to be got to bed, which was contrary to his usual inclination; he was placed there about eight o'clock, when a fresh eruption from the lungs came on, to a great extent, which totally subdued his small remaining strength. In that awful hour, the only alleviation of our deep

sorrow was to see him quite still; and after several times repeating, with great fervour: "Lord God Almighty?" he continued about half an hour, and though the difficulty of his breathing was great, he expired without a struggle, and is gone, we trust, to endless felicity and peace." "Let me die the death of the righteous," and may our life be like unto his, which can only entitle us to hope for the same happy conclusion.

The following "Reflections on Death" were found amongst his papers, after his decease:—

Oh death, how awful is even the remembrance of thee, at an uncertain period; how much more striking when thou certainly approaches, and by the vehicle of disease art near, to take possession of these tabernacles of clay, and about to consign them to the silent grave, never more to appear in the busy scenes of life, but, as we are told, our place will know us no more. O, what can give peace in the dreadful hour which will inevitably overtake all, sooner or later? The courage of man, his fortitude of heart, and all worldly comforts cannot support him in that moment, when the soul stands shuddering on the brink of eternity, ready to launch into that unknown state whence none return. Can riches bribe him? Will he respect the greatest titles? Can our friends do any thing but pour out their silent grief? What then can this world, and all things in it, do for us, to make the tyrant's approach be without horror, and a bed of languishing tolerable? Can human reason with all its boasted power and rectitude, give peace in that awful hour, when it is with difficulty that the body can support the pains of sickness, and preserve the mind free from its effects? Can reason alone? Can philosophy mitigate the pain both soul and body must feel, when ten thousand worlds would not avail to give a moment's peace to the soul? What then must help poor, frail man in that hour? and what has he to rely on, when time is about to close, and the veil of eternity to be opened? Religion, if truly practised, will then stand his friend, and peace of mind will accompany him to the last; not the religion which is of this world—airy speculations, shadowy forms, which, being of man, will perish with man; but real, practical religion, whereby the soul is lifted up to God through Jesus Christ, communicates with him, is enabled to pray to him, and to know the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire, to cleanse and purify our hearts, whereby we are strengthened to perform what is pleasing in his sight, and to take up the cross to our corrupt wills and inclinations, to walk righteously and soberly in this corrupt age, to keep ourselves unspotted from

the world, which, if adhered to, assuredly brings that peace of mind which will accompany us through this vale of existence, and cause us to tread the paths of life with safety and pleasure. It will support us when afflictions may be our lot, and a bed of languishing our portion; and finally, in that thrice awful period, when it may be said—"It is finished," and all the enjoyments that the mind could have wished for will terminate in empty nothings; then, then, it will be a fountain, never to be exhausted, of holy joy to the conscious soul; and enable it to triumph in the last moment, and say—"O, death, where is thy sting?" and "O, grave, where is thy victory?" and even accompany the soul to those immortal shores, where peace shall be its portion for ever.

HENRY FOTHERGILL.

CHAPTER XI.

ALTHOUGH in feeble health, Samuel Fothergill attended the yearly meeting in London, in 1768. He is thus mentioned by a Friend, who also attended that meeting: "Samuel Fothergill came to town this week; he is, indeed, greatly altered; I apprehend he will be able to attend the meetings but little. He was present this afternoon, and had a very fine and high opportunity, after the answers to the queries were gone through, on the state of the Society, and the duty of individuals. He is much more altered than I could suppose. Unless he gets better, his public service will be much lessened. He has a hollow cough, hoarse, and appears very feeble."—(*John Gurney, fifth month 24th, 1768.*)

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ABRAHAM SHACKLETON.*

Warrington, Sixth month 18th, 1768.

I send thee the salutation of my most sincere love, not without a sense of our heavenly

* Abraham Shackleton was born in Yorkshire, and was very early deprived by death of the care of his religious parents. Though then so young as eight years, he remembered, and used to commemorate, the tender concern of his pious father, in following him to his bedside, and on leaving him to repose, awfully recommending him to seek the Divine blessing. This blessing did remarkably attend him during the course of his life, and preserved him from evil in many times of temptation and danger, leading him aside from careless companions into solitary places, there to seek the Lord, who graciously nourished him by many precious visitations of Divine grace, and through various conflicts and exercises, formed and sanctified him for a vessel of honour in his house.

Having mental powers competent, he applied

Father's love, with which I hope thou art often comforted, now in thy declining years, and favoured with the evidence in thyself of having in thy measure, through Divine assistance, walked with God. I need not attempt to express to thee the importance of such an evidence, when the soul draws nigh her flight to the land from whence there is no return. It hath been the mark for the prize in thy view, and I am thankful to feel my heart stirred up to follow such examples; animated, by their success and the importance of the subject, to use all diligence to fill up my duty, that I may finish my course with joy. My shattered constitution often gives me instruction, and intimates the graves are ready; yet it hath been consistent with Divine mercy and wisdom to raise me up again, beyond my expectation; and I hope I am bettered by my affliction, not only in what belongs to me as an individual, but also in that wherein I am joined by all the living, in the view of the state of the church in most places. The use I would have us make of this view is, to gird up the loins of our minds, that our example may be a strong reproof to the unfaithful; and thus collected in spirit, we may deeply feel after the putting forth of the Divine hand in service; for though it can work effectually without instruments, yet it will also work by them; and if the visited of God were enough devoted in heart to his service, in all the manifestations of duty, we should have more useful instruments in the church. But alas! for many, who, if they have followed to Bethel, content themselves there, and attain not a double portion of that spirit, which those who steadily follow on, even through Jordan, are favoured with. This imperfect work bears

himself to literature, and was encouraged to remove to Ireland, where he undertook the tuition of Friends' children, in great simplicity of heart and awful fear, under which, as he humbly kept, he was enabled to discharge his important trust faithfully, his instruction and example tending much to improvement and edification. In a few years, he married a valuable and religious young woman from Yorkshire, and they opened a boarding-school at Ballitore, in which he conscientiously and successfully laboured for many years. He was solid and exemplary in demeanour, an eminent pattern of humility and temperance, much grieved when he beheld levity in any, often saying, there was a fear which would keep the heart clean—expressing his desires that his successors might be a generation to serve God. As age advanced, he found his spirit in a greater degree sequestered from the concerns of this life, and after the decease of his aged wife, he gave up house-keeping and went to live with a relation, where, tenderly cared for, he quietly departed this life in great peace, at Ballitore, the 24th of sixth month, 1771, aged seventy-four years.

undoubted traces of the Creator's hand; but, like half baked cakes, they seem to me to be no inconsiderable eclipse to Zion's beauty, and are often great obstructions in the way of others, as such who neither enter the kingdom of God themselves nor suffer others. Nevertheless, the God of the whole earth is mindful of his family, and eminently favoured us in our last yearly meeting in London, from which I returned with my mind replenished with precious dew.

Salute, in my name, thy son and daughter. May those who are of the younger class look to the business of the day! the building up of the Lord's house, more than their own. Unto him all our utmost dedication of spirit, time, and labour is justly due. My dear love attends you all.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO LYDIA
HAWKSWORTH.*

Warrington, Seventh month 11th, 1768.

It hath, my dear friend, often been my request to Him who hath the hearts of all men in his hands, that He would give me a sympathizing mind, and the effect of various exercises in the course of my pilgrimage hath been so far rendered useful, through his gracious help, as to obtain my earnest wish; and in this sympathizing sense, I have dropt the tribute of a tear to the dear memory of our beloved friend, now no more, and that of affectionate condolence with thee, who feels unspeakably the dissolution of the most tender tie. Religion authorizes the injunctions of nature to feel deeply on such occasions—it cannot be culpable in the sight of the Author of our being; for if the holy Jesus wept for Lazarus his friend, shall the tears of the widow, poured forth on the removal of a most affectionate husband, a tender friend, an agreeable companion, a friend with whom thou hast had sweet society, and gone up to the house of God in his company, be offensive in the sight of our Creator, who well

* She was the daughter of Samuel and Deborah Waring, of Alton, in Hampshire; and in 1768 was married to Abraham Richard Hawksworth, of Bristol, a Friend eminent for his usefulness and great benevolence. Their union was short, for in a few months he was removed by death, and at his interment, she, standing up and laying her hand upon the coffin which contained the remains of her beloved partner, bore her first public testimony as a minister. Having thus devoted herself to a service for which she had long been under preparation, she continued exercised in spirit, and humbly waiting for the renewal of power, by which she was made an able minister of the gospel. She departed this life in London, on the 17th of twelfth month, 1788, aged fifty-five years.

knows our frame, if an humble labour after acquiescence in sovereign disposal cover thy anxious, painful mind.

As a man, I feel and view with sorrow the mighty chasm his removal hath occasioned in various useful relations; my own particular affection hath lost a pleasing object, and the circle of my most near^d connexions in pure friendship is invaded.—Yet, my dear friend, let us look on the other side of the question—for whom we are afflicted! One now for ever free from it. Recollect we his memory? It is precious. His conduct in every station? It was uniform. He hath left this world crowned with a diadem of religion and virtue, and is gone before us, sooner than we wished it, to the rest of souls, and has cut off many meanders and intricate mazes in the pilgrimage through advanced years and old age, by a shorter passage to the New Jerusalem, than many others are exercised in.

Endeavour patiently to submit to His hand, whose wisdom is unsearchable, and who knows best what is essential to our happiness, and will ever promote it, with a wise and fatherly care, if we, as dutiful children, kiss the rod, and cast our care and confidence upon him. May thy mind be stayed in holy quietude and resignation, and thy hold confirmed on that All-sufficiency, wherein all the deficiencies attending mortals are made up. Walk thou before thy everlasting Helper in steady obedience, and He will be thy sun and thy shield.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Twelfth month 6th, 1768.

We can only acknowledge thy kind attention to us, in giving us such frequent intimations of thy health; to help it at present seems scarcely in my power. It was prudent to leave Buxton; a longer stay there would have been of no advantage, but much discomfort to thyself. Nor can I at any time advise thee to go thither under doubtful circumstances of health. This kind of remedies is more fit to establish good health, when it is recovered, than to recover it when lost.

When well, make it a rule to drink no wine before dinner, nor between meals, nor any other fermented liquor. I know the pernicious custom of the country in many places is to bring out these things, and urge their acceptance as a test of friendship; but it is a bad one. I don't say this as in the least doubting thy care in this respect, but to strengthen thy hands against imprudent importunity.

I have been twice this day at Clapham, twice in the city, from end to end, and have

not a moment's respite from intense thought the whole day, but while I get a little abstracted in passing through a crowd from place to place. Make, therefore, every allowance for me thou canst. I do this, because it seems at present unavoidable. I have no reason to doubt but what is best will follow, if I am happy enough to look after it.

Dr. Russel is no more;* and on seventh-day last, I was sent for, in great hurry, to Clapham, to see our friend C. H., who, from being quite well, was suddenly seized with a stroke of the palsy on his expressive faculty. He knows every body, has the power of sense and motion, but expresses himself very imperfectly. This is the effect of a most uniform, intense application of a capacity inferior to few.

I accept this as another hint to necessary care respecting myself; and I labour to abandon every pursuit that is not conducive to the purposes for which we ought to live. One friend, another companion, a third acquaintance, able, sensible, affectionate, all gliding from our sight! What have I lost within this year! Do not let this make thee melancholy. Let it cheer thee to think the brother whom thou lovest hates not instruction. Farewell, and tell us thou art better when thou canst.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

The health of Samuel Fothergill had, by very slow degrees, improved, and his strength was so far returned, as to enable him, in the first month, 1769, again to pay a religious visit to the city of London: and on this occasion he was engaged in the important service of visiting the families of Friends in Gracechurch street monthly meeting, in which he was accompanied by his friend Samuel Emlen. This engagement, with the attendance of the various meetings which occurred during the time, occupied twenty-eight days. The number of visits, according to a record kept, was one hundred and twenty-seven: afterwards, viz:—"On third-day, second month 25th, visited the Countess of Huntingdon and Lord Dartmouth, at Thomas Stackhouse's, several other religious persons were present." (*MS. written by Ann Fothergill.*)

DR. FOTHERGILL TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

London, First month 26th, 1769.

Just to save my brother the labour of writing, I take pen in hand to acquaint thee he is well.

* Author of the History of Aleppo, and an intimate friend of Dr. Fothergill, who wrote a sketch of his life, distinguished for the elegance of its language and the justness of its sentiments.

He has entered upon the service he came up for, and I trust with satisfaction to himself, and to the objects of his mission. He finds that Friends in general open both their doors and their hearts to the visit, and a more acceptable companion could not perhaps have been found than Samuel Emlen. We have both been labouring pretty hard to-day in our different vocations, but as I think his is of much greater moment than my own, so I should readily bring his cloak from Troas. Do not think that because I write he is not able or not willing to do it. He is both one and the other; but I thought it an agreeable employment, just to let thee see that neither my brother nor ourselves are forgetful of thee, though under a multiplicity of engagements. My chief solicitude is, that my brother may not be more in haste than he ought. I love diligence, and am not apt to discourage it; but there is such a thing as being too eager and earnest.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Third month 2nd, 1769.

We have received the account of thy return with great satisfaction. Remember the motto, *ne quid nimis*.* write it in capitals every where. I endeavour to attend to it, in the midst of seeming hurry. With grateful reverence I acknowledge it; not from myself, but I trust, from the secret motions of better help. I receive the intimation of it with thankfulness, and daily wish to *follow on to know*.

Thy health is the most material article. Be content with thy slow recovery. Whilst thou art acting the part thy best discretion directs, think it is for the best, and not an argument that nature is unhinged or inactive.

Thy remarks on addressing have had my attention. Previous to thy mentioning it, I have thought of a less exceptionable, more necessary, and more consistent measure. Let a strong paragraph be inserted in the printed Epistle, advising Friends to beware of entering into that warm party spirit that has sprung up, in this country and elsewhere; charging all to remember the obligations we are under to honour and obey the king, and especially the present royal family, from whose progenitors we have received so many favours. I leave the attempt to thy leisure,

* "Id arbitror

Ad prima in vitæ esse utile, *ne quid nimis*."—TERENCE.

"We should not pursue any object too far." No doubt intended by Dr. Fothergill as a caution to his brother, to restrain the natural energy of his character, and as a salutary advice to be careful of his little remaining strength.

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and think such a paragraph both proper and expedient.*

The space to be allowed us in the Scotch dictionary is six or seven folio pages, if we please. I am pleased that it engages thy attention, and I shall do more at Lea Hall, when thou hast sketched the plan.† I would not advise thee to go to Kirby Lonsdale, to the Northern yearly meeting there, unless thou cannot help it. I know the consequence, if otherwise.

May a person who needs advice as much as most, and at the same time does not profit by it so much as he ought, presume to give any? Thy affection for me will throw a mantle of oblivion over me, if I say any thing that does not correspond with thy own reflections. Be short in supplication; use no words not of common use, and the same words as seldom as possible. The ineffable majesty of Heaven is enough to dazzle all human conception; yet the "Our Father which art in heaven," is indeed a complete model. Stray from its simplicity as seldom as possible; but I speak with unhallowed lips, and therefore forgive me. My wish is strong that the Father of all mercies may long preserve thee, a choice instrument, a silver trumpet, that gives a certain sound, as thine is; that I may be conducted wisely through a thorny, slippery, arduous track, to safety and happiness at last. So let it be for us both, saith all within me.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

S. Fothergill attended the yearly meeting in London, in 1769, but became very unwell before its close, and was accompanied on his journey homewards by J. C. Lettsom, a young physician, to whom he was guardian. They travelled by short stages to Lea Hall.

From this period to the close of his life, the health of Samuel Fothergill became more and more precarious; his constitution failed rapidly; the attacks of his complaint were more severe, and returned at shorter intervals, leaving him on each succeeding occasion much reduced in strength. The effect produced upon his mind by these repeated trials, was a still larger growth in experience, in

* See the printed epistle from the yearly meeting in 1769.

† This relates to an account of the Society of Friends, in a dictionary, published at Edinburgh, which, as appears from this letter, was written by Samuel Fothergill and his brother. It was afterwards published separately, with this title,—“A brief account of the people called Quakers, their doctrines, and discipline, taken from a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, lately published at Edinburgh.”—London, 1772.

humility, and patience. It was the frequent remark of his friends, upon his re-assembling with them in their religious meetings after these afflictions, that whilst his ministry was more and more bright and instructive, humility was also the clothing of his spirit, and that he came forth from these painful seasons as one refined in the furnace.

In the autumn of this year, having regained a portion of strength, he again visited London with a certificate, and was engaged in a visit to the families of Friends in Horseleydown meeting, now Southwark, again having his friend Samuel Emlen as a companion. In the course of this service, upon visiting two young Friends, then recently married, he addressed them as follows:—

“As you are both young, and it is very probable, may be at times solicitous for your future advancement in life, I would just propose one thing to your serious consideration, without which no one was ever happy, or any one unhappy with it; which is Godliness: it is the soul’s health. Godliness is profitable in all things; it is profitable in health, it is profitable in sickness; it is profitable upon a languishing bed, it is profitable in death: it initiates us into the company of glorified spirits, in the boundless and beatific regions of immortality. And, my dear young friends, I earnestly address you on this occasion, with a degree of the tenderest affection, sincerely desiring your happy introduction therein, when these few fleeting moments of your existence shall terminate, and you shall be summoned from this stage of action, to appear before the tribunal of immaculate purity. You are placed here only as delegated stewards; accountable beings to your bountiful Creator for every talent committed to your care; and your eternal interest depends upon your consecrating those talents here to his service, who created you as vessels for his honour, and to whose guidance and protection I warmly and affectionately recommend you, my beloved friends; sincerely wishing your establishment and growth in the blessed and unchangeable truth, through the bounty and favour of our Father who is in heaven. Godliness is profitable in all things, and I most earnestly intreat and recommend you to a due consideration of the importance of it; seek, in your early days, seek a friend that will never forsake you; for if you apply to him in sincerity, he will be found of you. His Divine goodness will preserve you as in the hollow of his hand, and conduct you through the various difficulties and dangers of a tempestuous world, to an everlasting habitation in glory. Oh! seek him early, above every consideration; he will be a father and

a friend, when no terrestrial objects can administer the least consolation, and every pleasant picture shall be stained in your view. Godliness is profitable in all things. It is the soul’s health, it is the never-fading support of the righteous under every difficulty, and the sovereign antidote to the evils of life. I could wish our dear youth were more generally engaged in pursuit after substantial happiness; that they would cultivate an acquaintance with their Creator as in the morning of their day; for the sands of life are hastening to a close, and the coming of death is approaching with unremitting swiftness. Alas! alas! what are the riches and the splendours of these perishing, sublunary objects, in comparison of our everlasting well-being hereafter? The one is transient, fleeting, and momentary, and altogether uncertain; the other is the permanent fruition of uninterrupted felicity forever, amongst an innumerable company of saints and angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, continuing the inexhaustible theme of praises, dominion, and worship, to the sovereign Lord of the whole universe.

“I have had to remark, in passing through divers parts of this city, many loitering as upon the skirts of the camp; and the sword of Amalek hath destroyed numbers. I beseech you, my beloved friends, let your eye be unto godliness; and though it falls not to the godly to be always gifted with the affluence of worldly riches, yet you will assuredly find unspeakable consolation resulting from the Divine favour and goodness towards you, which will abundantly counterbalance every worldly consideration. Be not of this world, but let your views be directed towards a better country, even, a pure, undefiled, holy habitation, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Seek not after riches—suffer not your attention to be diverted from the pursuit of virtue, nor be desirous after the vain, foolish, transitory amusements of a degenerate age; for all these things will terminate in sorrow and distress of mind, and riches make to themselves wings and flee away; but godliness is profitable in all things: it will be your support in every trial, your never-failing consolation under every difficulty, and ultimately afford you a comfortable evidence of admission into the permanent joys of eternity, in a glorious and unfading recompense, which the Father and Fountain of unlimited mercy and goodness has prepared for all those who diligently seek him. Therefore, my dear young friends, suffer me once more strongly to recommend you, in the early part of your life, to seek the God of your fathers, the never-failing help of those who seek him in sincerity. And I will say this for your encouragement,

that though the heavens should pass away, and the earth should be removed out of its place, the lofty mountains should dissolve and be no more, yet the promises of the Lord are amply verified to them that fear him. It is a blessing which makes truly rich, and adds no sorrow with it; it will assuredly attend the humble efforts of a life dedicated to his service, administer comfort under every trying dispensation of his providence, and be your exceeding great reward; for godliness is riches in poverty—it is profitable in all things.”

His friends, in speaking of these services, have given the following testimony—“He was divinely strengthened, and enabled to extend a helping hand to many, in close and necessary labour, for their increasing care to live and act consistently with our holy profession, to the comfort of many, and to his own peace of mind.”

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Twelfth month 11th, 1769.

I may tell thee that I am favoured with the lively hope, that in my late labour I have been in the service of him who is a rewarder of feeble, well-intended service, for the promotion of his good cause; and I am comforted in the hope that I have done what I ought in my late visit to your city. I am thankful to feel the chain of fraternal and Christian union, brightened by the spreading of best love upon it. May no spot of rust ever impair its lustre. I have been, with respect to my health, much as when in London, until last week, when my complaint fastened on my ancle and foot, not without some considerable uneasiness in my breast. But I was enabled to get a little about. On seventh-day last, I got in a post chaise to Penketh, to the burial of Ann, the wife of Joseph Key; she finished, I hope, well. This forenoon, our worthy, innocent old acquaintance, Esther Key, was removed from us; I have no doubt that she had clean hands and a pure heart, and that she has ascended the hill of the Lord, and stands in his holy place. Thus are the ranks of our acquaintance thinning fast, and from many occasions we may hear the summons—“Prepare to meet thy God.”

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

Warrington, First month 20th, 1770.

..... With respect to the present agitated state of the nation, I am pleased and thankful when my own mind, and those that I love, are kept from its vortex, and quietly staid on him, who makes the clouds his chariot, and walks on

the wings of the wind. He knows best how to fix instruction on the minds of people deaf to the language of multiplied mercies. I love my native country, and ardently wish for its sake, and our own as a people, that we might be found amongst the interceding righteous, for whose sake the day of national safety might be protracted.

I rejoice in thy account of a revival in Gracechurch street monthly meeting. I often feel a warmth towards your city, which unaided nature cannot raise, and a hope is vouchsafed, at times, that a precious divinely prevalent visitation of good will better many amongst you; and animate to shake yourselves from the dust, and put on the beautiful garments of sincerity and godly zeal. May the Lord of all power, in his own time, thus prosper his great and good work; and if individuals walk in the light with full purpose of heart, their walking will terminate in their own security and the recompense of Well done, and be most signally useful to encourage others. Thy time is precious, I will not much further encroach upon it; thou needs not information, thou knowest these things. If by a happy collision we may fetch out the sparks of divine fire from each other, and preserve the everlasting fire in its genuine nature, it will be mutually beneficial. But such powers, times, and seasons are not in our hands. My hand refuses more labour than just to salute you all with the tenderest affection.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO S. L.

Warrington, Second month 13th, 1770.

Thou hast been very frequently the companion of my mind since I saw thee last, with hope and secret fear so tempered together, as furnish me with a solicitude on thy account, distinguished from what I have felt for almost any other. And as I believe the Lord of all our sure mercies hath caused his blessed day to dawn upon thee, and I trust hath engaged thee sincerely to walk in it, permit me, from the motions of affection stronger than nature suggests, to offer thee such hints as occur to my mind. My hope is raised in this confirmed belief, that He who is the restitution of all things, and ever equal to perform his own work, hath visited thee for this end, even thy redemption, and hath measurably prevailed with thee to avow his work, by a degree of submission thereto. He is the Lord of perfection himself, and would make his sons and servants like him; would beautify them with his salvation, and make them strong for himself. I am unquestionably assured He would thus work effectually with and in thee, to

establish his own kingdom in thy heart, and bless, not only with the glimpse of his salvation, but the stability thereof, and dignify with a possession therein for ever.

But what are the terms on which this treasure is attainable? They are expressed in the term *redemption*, that most necessary work for all men, without which there can be no possibility of admission amongst the saved of God. Here many have fatally stumbled, and turned back at the hard, yet true, sayings of Christ, to be reduced to death, and even annihilation, to the varied corruptions of flesh and spirit, that the old man with all his works may be put off, and the new man, Christ Jesus, put on; it is, indeed, putting the axe to the root of the tree, and alas! the place where many have gone sorrowfully away. Here my secret painful fear respecting thee hath kept my heart awake, at times, in prayer for thy establishment and perfect safety. Thou art favoured with a good understanding, mayest thou wait to have it replenished with best wisdom, nor admit a thought that He who hath the key of David hath delegated it to the wisdom of flesh and blood: in him are hid the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and he will be inquired after, and sought to, to open them. It was, and is, a truth of undeniable authority, that it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom, whether in affluence of riches, or superiority of understanding. The reason seems obvious—they have a tendency to lead from a single dependence on Him who fills heaven and earth with goodness and truth, and demands the tribute of love and obedience from all. No eye but that strengthened by faith can pierce through the clouds which cover this lower system, and intercept the prospect of more excellent riches on high. But the eye opened, by Him who gave sight to Bartimeus, sees its own weakness, and the imperfection of all that is finite; and looks with suitable expectation to Him who is infinite—his help in time, and his song for ever. I behold thee on a slippery sea of glass, yet mingled with fire; there is ability to stand thereon, and thereby be purified, but not consumed. Have a care of thy steps; wait to have them directed right, and they will issue in peace. I see thee surrounded by foxes, which want to nip the bud of that vine, which the Lord of the heritage hath planted, and which, if properly cultivated, and vigilantly guarded, will bring forth grapes productive of wine, even that wine which makes glad the heart of God and man. Methinks I see thee at times, allured by the attractions of Divine love, to a total surrender of all to the ever worthy Sovereign; at other times,

irresolute and wavering, reluctant about parting with the honours and greatness of this world, and its vain applause, even for His sake, who, for thine trod the wine-press alone, and suffered his sacred head to be crowned with thorns, to which, of proper right, belongs the diadem of heaven. Sometimes, the painful soliloquy may run on this wise—I will tread the middle path, and walk in all the lustre of moral rectitude, blameless to the most scrutinizing mortal eye; and—“Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?” cannot I be clean enough by washing in them? Here mystery Babylon presents itself, a transient rest, procured at less price than the rest of Zion, and lulls, by its deception, the unwary pilgrim into a rest short of the true rest. Peradventure, at other moments, distressing apprehensions of thy own imbecility may so prevail as to discourage and afflict, and perhaps, suggest a diffident thought, as though victory was not attainable; and thence the unwearied enemy would draw conclusions to drop the warfare, and content thyself with thy inevitable lot. Under all these besetments who can stand, and stand fast without fainting? The armour of our defence, human resolutions and conclusions, will vanish into empty air. Innocence towards God as well as man is impenetrable armour, and unmixed sincerity is the white linen of the saints. Sampson never met with more timely, substantial relief, than from the fountain proceeding from the jaw-bone of an ass; he cast it away at Ramath-lehi, but found it again at En-hakkore. My soul craves thy help and safety; may the Rock of Israel be thy refuge, and may thy mind be established in covenant with him. All earth will vanish, its glory be like a dissolving bubble, its connexions be fleeting as a dream; but the soul which patiently bears the turning of the redeeming Hand, and leaving momentary things, cleaves to that which is eternal, will be supported, and know its riches to be unchangeable in their nature, and eternal in their continuance.

Let the warmth of my heart plead my excuse for the incorrectness of my style. I write because I feel, and to be felt, and not for amusement. Farewell, dear S.; remember, life is short, its business arduous, the prize immortal glory, the failure eternal misery.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In 1770, the state of Samuel Fothergill's health did not permit him to attend the yearly meeting in London. The following letter relates to that meeting.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

London, Sixth month 4th, 1770.

I thought it would not be disagreeable to thee to hear from the camp. This afternoon we met at four, and proceeded in the business as usual. Henry Gurney is clerk, and is both an able and expeditious one. The committees are appointed as usual, and I think that of appeals is as well as we have had for some time. There is a large concourse of Friends, and most of the few ancients we have left are present. C. Payton is with us; Jonah Thompson is in town, J. Griffith, Is. Sharples, &c. The Epistles are laid upon proper shoulders. Before the meeting ended, I wished Friends to consider the value of their time, and the necessity of being collected, both in meetings and out of them, that they at their return, and we when we were left, might be able to look back with some degree of satisfaction. James Gough soon afterwards stood up, with a good degree of warmth, and I think this first sitting as solemn as many we have had. The appointment for the General Epistle is numerous, and of solid Friends. Joseph Phipps will have the compiling of it, and I trust that better help than our own will be afforded.

I should, *we should all*, have rejoiced in thy company; I know thy mind will be with us, though thy body, retarded by, perhaps, unreasonable services, is forced to submit to confinement. But there may be some instruction in it, and if we learn wisdom, acquire docility, abate of our natural impetuosity, and grow in patience, much advantage is reaped. We were at the Savoy yesterday; C. Payton was with us, J. Stephenson, Edmund Gurney, all appeared; all in a line, but all, I think, right; low, but as high as they ought to be—and convincing.

Farewell, dear brother; accept our united affectionate remembrance.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN COAKLEY LETT-
SOM, ON HIS MARRIAGE WITH ANN MIERS.

Eighth month, 1770.

I was duly favoured with thine by my sister at Lea Hall, and should have written sooner had ability and leisure united, for there has lived in my mind a salutation to thee, the object of my tender solicitude, and to thy wife, thy companion in every tender sense, the joint object of my affectionate well-wishing. I consider you as now entering upon the more arduous scenes of this life, and filling more important stations than in your

single state, and most earnestly desire you may now, on your first entering into the more arduous paths, be wisely directed, for much depends on this important crisis. With a heart replenished with the warmest affection, I recommend the Psalmist's words, representing the wise of all ages, "In the name of our God we will set up our banners." This is a proper allusion to your state, who have entered together into the most delicate and tender bonds of union, to be each other's help-mates, to soften every care, to enhance every comfort, to divide every burthen reciprocally and mutually, and to help each other in every temporal respect; and not only so, but to go up hand in hand together to the house of God, and to the mountain of his holiness, in order to enjoy this permanent felicity of the conjugal state. In the name of our God, now set up your banners; let nothing divert your minds from an humble, attentive care to put yourselves under his protection; implore his guardianship and tuition, he alone can help you in times of probation, and defend you in the perilous hour; guard you from the dangers of unsanctified seeming prosperity, and place his everlasting arm underneath in the time of adversity. Place in him your confidence, that you may not be moved. The world, with a variety of blandishments, will present its schemes of happiness, and make large promises of a good it has not in its power to bestow; but may you carefully remember, that in the world, or under the prevalence of its spirit, you will find disappointment and trouble, but in the name and under the banners of God, peace; peace flows as a river, and all the cross events and painful allotments are sanctified and sweetened. Beware, therefore, my dear friends, of rushing into the world of dissipation, which often attends a circumstance similar to yours; beware of a vain confidence in the smiles and caresses of men and women of this world's spirit. Beseech the protection and guidance of Him who ought to be placed supreme in families, and buildeth up a sure house to those who in all their ways acknowledge him, and cast themselves under his protection. I trust a holy visitation hath given you an understanding, what it is that makes for true peace; enter not into selfish deliberations how to avoid plain duty; protract not your stay in a land of jeopardy and danger, by taking counsel, but not of God, and covering yourselves with a covering, but not of his spirit. The state of the church in that city requires of you to come up to the help of the Lord, against the mighty inundation of folly and forgetfulness which prevails; there are no wages equal to those he gives his servants,

for surely the reward of the faithful labourer is exceeding great; peace, tranquillity, and glory are upon their heads for ever. Thus, beloved friends, my soul travails for you, for your present and everlasting welfare, that the solemn engagement you have mutually entered into, may be truly fulfilled, and your happiness established upon a most durable basis. The eye of passion, in the short-lived fever of the mind, sometimes improperly called love, flatters itself with objects of imagined amiableness and beauty; this is transient and mutable; but affection, founded on mutual esteem, for an object which religion and virtue have rendered truly estimable, hath a permanency in it equal to the causes which produced it. It is not in my mind to descend into every particular point of conduct necessary for your happiness; these will be clearly opened as occasion requires, and help administered to come up in every duty, to render you truly comfortable and happy, useful and honourable in the church and in the world, and objects of Divine favour and acceptance. But allow me to recommend a close attendance of meetings, both for worship and discipline; in this most reasonable service the soul has often been unexpectedly replenished with good, and its strength renewed to step forward in the holy path. Dare not to live without God in the world, lest he withdraw his blessings, and then who can make up the deficiency? My health continues precarious; my ancles and feet are weak; this is also the case with my right hand. I have been obliged to drop my pen several times in this essay to salute you, which may account for several inaccuracies besides those in writing; nevertheless, warm affection fills and strengthens my mind you-wards, in which I wish your present and everlasting welfare, with a tenderness as nearly paternal as I am capable of.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

J. C. Lettsom was the son of Edward Lettsom, the proprietor of three of those small islets or keys which surround the island of Tortola. On one of these, called the Little Vandyke, he was born on the 22nd of eleventh month, 1744. Here his father cultivated cotton, with the assistance of about fifty slaves, whose cottages were placed around the mansion of their master. Edward Lettsom was a member of the Society of Friends, and had dealings with Abraham and T. H. Rawlinson, of Lancaster, and to their care he consigned his son, when six years old. An early instance, probably the first from those islands, of this sacrifice on the part of the parent, for the benefit of the child, that the latter might receive the benefit of a European education.

It was at Lancaster, at the house of one of those Friends, that J. C. Lettsom first saw Samuel Fothergill, who afterwards, with John Pickering, of Tortola, became his guardian. The youth was placed at Penketh, and was several years a scholar there with Gilbert Thompson. The pupils, fifty or sixty in number, were most of them boarded out in the houses of Friends in the neighbourhood. The school-house was contiguous to the meeting-house, and continued, with some short intervals, to be used for the same purpose, down to the year 1828. This school, under the able government of Gilbert Thompson and his father, enjoyed a high reputation; and it is recorded, that during the forty years that the son "presided in this happy place, one death only had occurred amongst the scholars. This was Springett Penn, the son and heir of the then proprietor of Pennsylvania, and he, it is said, was consumptive, when he first entered the school."

When sixteen years of age, J. C. Lettsom was placed as an apprentice with Abraham Sutcliffe, a surgeon, at Settle. To this place he travelled, from Warrington, upon a pack-horse, which used to pass from Lancashire into Yorkshire. In after life he thus mentions the circumstance; "I went to Settle, a fatherless lad. I rode alone from the house of my guardian, Samuel Fothergill, at Warrington. When we parted, he addressed me thus: 'Please thy master; and if thou turnest out well, I will recommend thee to my brother, the doctor; and never forget, that to be good is to be happy.'"

On completing his apprenticeship, he went to London, and thence to the island of Tortola, where he practiced as a physician. He returned to England in 1768, and finally settled in London, where he commenced practice, under the protection of Dr. Fothergill, to whom his guardian had recommended him; and, by the introduction of the doctor, he advanced rapidly in his profession. In 1770, he was married to Ann Miers, with whom he received a considerable fortune. In 1774, Dr. Lettsom, Dr. Harvey, and a few others, formed the Humane Society, for the recovery of persons apparently drowned. Twenty-two years before this, Dr. Fothergill had addressed to the Royal Society a paper on the same subject, but it was not then pursued.

By the decease of Dr. Fothergill, in 1780, a great accession was made to the medical practice of Dr. Lettsom, who has acknowledged, in warm and grateful terms, how largely he was indebted to his departed friend and patron. He continued, for a long course of years, actively engaged as a physician, and in the establishment and management of vari-

ous medical, scientific, and benevolent institutions. To the popularity thus acquired, to the standing he so rapidly attained by the patronage of Dr. Fothergill, combined with his own kind and amiable temper, and the active benevolence of his character, may be ascribed the success which attended him, and the lucrative practice which he enjoyed for many years, rather than to the possession of great natural talents, much depth of medical knowledge, or peculiar skill in his profession.

He died in London, on the 1st of eleventh month, 1815, in the seventy-first year of his age.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO A. T.

Warrington, 1770.

Had my bodily ability been nearer equal to my affectionate solicitude for thee, and more particularly on thy late very dangerous illness, I had ere now paid thee a visit. Thou hast been the almost constant object of my attention, and as I feel a tenderness for thee as if my own child, permit me a little to relieve my thoughts, by an attempt at expression. Thy own reflections will instantly suggest the subject—that dangerous habit of drinking more strong liquor than nature requires, and than thy constitution can bear. A custom which hath grown upon thee, until it has become habitual, and which I, along with many others, look upon as the cause of those dangerous attacks in which thy life hath been imminently endangered. I have not been frequent in advice to thee on this head; I have silently observed it; and a hope hath at times arisen, that thy own good sense, aided by many a secret conviction of misconduct in this respect, by that Power which hath often and mercifully striven with thee, might have fully opened thy eyes, to see and to rouse all within thee to seek to avoid that wreck of peace, reputation, comfort, and happiness, to which intemperance inevitably leads. Thou hast not the plea which many others allege for it; domestic disturbance and infelicity. Thy wife is most affectionately disposed to make thy moments happy and peaceful, and to remove every occasion which might lead to seek a temporary relief by intemperance. Her relations love thee, as much as if the relation was by consanguinity: we know no difference; and with the utmost solicitude interest ourselves in thy happiness. The allurements of company, the progression of custom to habit, have been too prevalent, and almost rendered drinking necessary to thy constitution; at least induced thee to think so, and to act in consequence. Time after time, painful conviction of its tendency, by the decay of thy

health, hath attended; and I believe desires and resolutions have taken place, for wiser conduct in future time. But, alas! too fleeting have these proved, and returning health been sacrificed to the gratification of an irregular desire and the solicitations of companions. Bear with me in these remarks—thou knows they are too true. I want not to upbraid thee, but to aid and strengthen those wishes, which, I believe, thou entertains, after more peaceful times. This last affecting crisis hath united in it all the instruction and alarm which can possibly be given in time; a recovery from the brink of the grave—a reprieve from an eternal, unchangeable state—a restoration to thy family, thy friends, and thy connexions, now seems to us a pleasing prospect, and an opportunity, I trust, once more put into thy hands, to retrieve thy peace of mind, thy health, and reputation, all of which have been deeply affected. This seems to me like a new beginning. Thou hadst nearly paid the debt of nature—thou art unexpectedly raised up. Life or death, peace or dismay, honour or reproach, await thy choice. In this situation I view thee with the tender anxiety of a friend, nay, of a father, earnestly desirous thou may lay hold of offered mercy, and become so wise and steady, as to evince thy gratitude to a gracious Benefactor; that he who hath been thy resurrection, may also become thy life. Frequent, I believe, have been thy resolutions, and strong thy desires, in past times, for better conduct; but, alas! what is man, unaided by that Power from above, which alone is sufficiency, and who will be sought unto for his help, and with whom we must be co-workers, and take up the cross to those inclinations which lead to evil. May all within thee be excited to look up to Him, to beseech his protection, to walk in watchful care and diligence the residue of thy uncertain continuance here. This will certainly become thy duty, and present an eternal interest; and although it may expose thee to the disregard, perhaps derision, of some who glory in their shame, yet the Divine peace, the pure and pleasing evidence of well done, will make abundant amends. If ever we attain to sit down with the Captain of our salvation in his kingdom, we must, for the joy set before us, despise the shame and endure the cross. And oh! that through this path thou may secure what the world can neither give nor take away.

My heart is filled with love and strong desire for thee; my feeble hand is incapable of using my pen but for a short space of time: this may render the letter incoherent; but it is in truest affection. Oh! that it may please the Almighty to bless to thee thy escape from

death. May he give thee a heart to seek and fear him, lest, upon a relapse into indiscretion, a worse thing befall thee than hath hitherto proved thy lot. I am, in the greatest sincerity, thine in every bond of affection, natural and divine.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO THE MEETING FOR
SUFFERINGS.

Near Middlewich, Cheshire, Eighth
month 20th 1770.

Dear Friends,

As you are frequently in my thoughts when absent from you, an inclination seemed to arise in my mind, just to express the cordial regard I feel for you, both as a body and as individuals. Often have I been filled with thankfulness, that my lot has been cast amongst you. Much benefit have I received from the wisdom that hath been manifested in the conduct of your affairs; and I often consider you as an assembly of some of the most favoured people in the whole city, may I not say in the whole Society. It seldom escapes me, when I sit down with you, fervently to desire that we may always, when we meet, feel a degree of that solemn awe, which I am sure is often felt among you, and that none may go away without being the better for their meeting. I esteem it a signal mercy, that in the midst of so many unavoidable engagements, in the increase of which I think my heart has no delight, a desire is kept alive to be united nearer, if possible, to every tender mind amongst you; to profit by their example, and to be divested of every thing that might not contribute to the help of individuals, or advantage to the whole. May I just say, that I fervently wish an awful reverence may clothe every mind when we are collected together. The more closely and steadily we can unite here, the better we shall be enabled to judge properly, and act wisely, concerning the things that are brought before us.

It is not in my thoughts to esteem myself proper to give advice to such a body of sensible Friends, whom I honour in the truth; but it seems pleasingly to arise in my mind, to testify my brotherly remembrance by these few lines, and to be a kind of prompter, though at a distance, to consider your importance in regard to the well-being of the Society, as instruments in the hands of Providence for much good; and to consider what frame of mind such meetings should be held in. I know, from experience, that many of you come together with such dispositions; and that I may do so likewise, that others who may even be behind me may come up in the

same earnest endeavour to be what they should be, is now, and often has been, my desire.

It is not boastingly, but with a degree of humble gratitude, that I can mention, though absent from you, my heart is with you often. This favourable recess is not granted that it may be spent in dissipation or indolence. I wish to renew my strength both of body and mind, and to seek after that which can renew it properly. I salute you in much affection, and am your friend and brother,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

In the eighth month, 1770, Samuel Fothergill was again at Scarborough, and experienced some benefit to his health from the visit: he was as usual, much engaged in the ministry; he thus wrote to his wife:

..... "I got safely to this place, yesterday, and have borne my journey well, beyond my expectation, though the weakness continues in my hand and feet. I was enabled to attend the meetings here to-day, which were large, this afternoon especially; a great number of persons of distinction, from divers parts of the nation, were present, and it was a time of memorable favour. I am humbly thankful to feel reason to believe that I am where I ought to be; and of this I am assured, that if we forget not our God and ourselves, he will never leave us, but will be merciful, and will condescend as a tender father to our frailties."

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In the twelfth month, he was engaged in religious service in the city and neighbourhood of London; during which, accompanied by John Eliot, he visited the families of Friends in Westminster meeting. The number of visits on this occasion was upwards of fifty.

The visits thus paid, in three successive years, to the families of Friends in different meetings in London, may be regarded as, on his part, a sacrifice of dedication in the evening of his life, and as setting a seal to his former abundant labours in that city.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER AND
SISTER.

Warrington, Second month 2nd, 1771.

I have been prevented writing to either of you again, before now. And, indeed, I have silently fed on the pleasure arising from our late interview; something language cannot express hath often covered my spirit, in humble thankfulness to that Hand which hath preserved us hitherto, mutually dear to each other, and not strangers to the most durable

ties of the universal family of our Heavenly Father. May we carefully guard against every thing, however pleasing, of which the tendency is to enfeeble that life which is everlasting and precious. We are hastening through mutable to immutable things, and we have all great need to have the pure mind often stirred up, lest the Master of the house come, and find us either sleeping or ill employed. My return home was in much quiet; I endeavoured, in the course of my labour, to keep close company with the Seed. Few are the places where it reigns. I was thankful to feel I had not forgotten it in prison; and whatever may be the consequence to others, the peaceful evidence of the discharge of my duty sweetly stays on my own mind. I never felt more renewed in that love which is stronger than death, with a comfortable assurance that our father's God and ours is graciously mindful of us hitherto, and wills our preservation to our latest time. May a just sense of the value and necessity of this important favour ever rest so properly on our minds, as to quicken our diligence to know and to do his good and acceptable will, that we may arrive at the recompense of a happy reward. The times require labour; and it ought to be often on our minds, as a powerful inducement to it, that we have received from the Lord of the vineyard abilities for service, superior in some measure to some of our fellow servants; and where much is given, much will be required. There cannot be any employment or acquisition equally beneficial, to us and to the church, with that which results to a devoted mind, solicitous above all to fill up our duty in the highest service. May we ever consider it, and at the close of our time experience it as a most necessary truth.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN HUSTLER.*

Warrington, Fourth month, 1771.

The contents of thine respecting Cornelius Cayley, and the copy of his application to Friends of Leeds meeting, have been much

* John Hustler resided at Undercliff, near Bradford, and was distinguished by his usefulness and public spirit. Benevolent and indefatigable in his exertions to promote the interests of his fellow-men, to him the town of Bradford owed its public hall for the sale of worsted stuffs, the staple manufacture of the neighbourhood; and to him the nation is indebted for the project of uniting the Eastern and Western seas, by the formation of the Leeds and Liverpool canal, to the completion of which he devoted, with unwearied attention and perseverance, many years of his life. He died eleventh month 6th, 1790, aged seventy-five.

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in my thoughts. I have hitherto been a stranger to the person and his case. I read, some years ago, many of the journals of those exercised in endeavouring to promote the revival of Christianity, but there appeared to me so much of the nature of those things that the day of the Lord should come upon, so fully described—Isaiah ii. 10, to the end of the chapter, that I declined the search, in hopes that the winnowing power of Truth would separate the wheat from the chaff, in minds pure, upright, and sincere; and that the Power which prepared the eyes of the man blind from his birth, by spitting on the clay, and finishes his marvellous work by sending him to “the pool of Siloam,” or to the Sent, for washing, might, in the same line, and by the efficacy of the word of his mouth—which is as a two-edged sword, and whose entrance giveth light and life—have led them into that which is within the veil, and impenetrable to the eyes which have only been anointed with the spittle on their earth; and for this my soul hath often been baptized in humble, fervent prayer.

The person under immediate notice claims, and hath my sympathy; I believe him joined to all the living, through the quickening virtue of the life-giving word, and I earnestly pray for his complete formation, as a vessel meet for the Master's use. Yet a secret and painful jealousy affects me, that patience hath not had its perfect work, to lead him into all the unutterable depths of the Lord's preparing day, nor all the idols cast to the moles and to the bats; my jealousy arises from the activity of distinguished *self*, which loves the splendid, pleasant picture; an easy purchase, in comparison of the deep-hidden pearl of substantial Truth. We sorrowfully know that we have amongst us traditional formalists, having a name only, by outward inheritance; yet there remains a worm Jacob, the feeble, yet faithful wrestler with God amongst us, whose life is hid with Christ in God, and who, through the virtue of the sacred unction, have not an absolute need of man's teaching, but are gathered in spirit into the Lord's mountain, where the Lord of Hosts makes unto all his people a feast of fat things, and where he destroys the face of the covering, and the veil that is spread over all nations. But the formalists amongst us are in the same life, with all the family under the veil, and the face of the covering, and not having on the garment of needle-work, wrought in a course of experience, have not a right to this feast on the Lord's mountain, but feed on perishable husks; and a superficial ministry, of the same birth, and moving on the same ground, feeds itself with the like food, fills its belly

with the east wind, and empties its chilling qualities on the superficial dependents on human help.

The testimony given us as a people, in various branches, hath been a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, to many, who have wished for our crown, without our cross, and have overlooked and despised the peculiarity of our testimony, or the Lord's testimony by and through us. The language, fashions, and customs of the world, though by many esteemed indifferent, are not so to us, but are a part of the growth, the under-wood of the lofty Lebanon, which the day of the Lord is to come upon, as well as upon the tall cedars; and when that day comes, it will burn as an oven, indiscriminately, with prevailing heat, and leave them neither root nor branch. All who have entered into fellowship with us, through the baptism of Christ, the true door of entrance, have, not from imitation, but clear conviction, found this compliance their indispensable duty. We might have many preachers break in upon us, were we at liberty to admit them upon the partial foundation of general speculative truths, without their coming to the unity of the Spirit, which unites faithfulness to the Lord's statutes and testimonies to us, and by us to the world. How far the person in question may have seen into this testimony I know not, but this I know, many of those called Methodists, their preachers especially, rather condemn than approve this peculiar dispensation, which, the longer I live, the more clearly I see to be from Heaven, against that spirit which rules in all carnality, whether notorious in obvious evil, more concealed in the walks of formality, or more refined and fallacious in the outward court of the temple.

I cannot well omit a passage in C. C.'s letter, expressing that "the life begins to send up fresh sap into my dead earth, and the blind in me begins to see, the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak." I believe this is really the truth, and a strong description of an infantile state, a resurrection from being buried in a baptism of death, into a new life, and yet scarcely grown up into a capacity of preaching the everlasting gospel of salvation. The forty days' retreat into the desert, previous to the ministry of the Holy Jesus, seems to me not fully accomplished.

I feel much for C. C.; I love him; I wish to give him the right hand of fellowship in the Lord Jesus; his spirit is near my life; and oh that he may endure the Lord's preparing day! that he may come out of Egypt clear, and unmixed with any of those things which veil the beauty of the Lord's workmanship. I hope Friends will be tender towards him, yet,

for his own sake, and the testimony's, firm and steady, for this will be beneficial to him, if he ever come in *at the right door*. I recommend Friends concerned, and this person, to a deep inward attention to the great Minister of the sanctuary, that in his counsel and wisdom all may move, and the precious unity of the one Eternal Spirit may be known to run to the nethermost skirts of their garments.

I am, thy affectionate friend, in deep travail for Zion's beauty, that none who love her may fail of the salvation within her gates.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Cornelius Cayley, to whose case the foregoing letter relates, had addressed to Friends of Leeds, where he then resided, a letter setting forth his religious state and past experience, wherein he mentions, that for thirteen years he had preached whenever he could, "not having freedom to be in any particular connexion of people;" but, having been brought to a closer unity with the principles of Friends, he requested to be united with them in religious membership. Some visits were made to him by the Friends appointed, but after a few months he ceased to attend the meetings of Friends, and the case was therefore ended. S. Fothergill evidently had some fears that this individual was not yet clear of the activity of *self*. The views contained in his letter are deep, weighty and instructive; whilst his feelings and tenderness manifest that he was actuated by pure gospel love.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS SISTER.

Warrington, Fourth month 8th, 1771.

..... Our Northern yearly meeting at Chester approaches fast, and brings along with it an anxious travail that the good cause and glorious name may be magnified. It is the Lord's work, and his is the strength; and I believe, if all flesh be silent, and the will and wrath of man be thoroughly abased, he will pity his people, and arise for his own name's sake.

With respect to Ireland, I cannot see myself at liberty to be elsewhere than at Chester, the first-day after the yearly meeting there. If a good opportunity and a fair wind serve, we shall go down to Parkgate; otherwise, by Holyhead, and have no doubt of our being in Dublin time enough for their national meeting. But all this with filial, reverent submission to my Heavenly Father.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

The allusion made to Ireland, in the preceding letter, related to a visit which Samuel

Fothergill made about this time. He accompanied two of his nieces to Dublin; one of them, Mary Watson, having been then recently married, was on her way to her future residence, at Waterford. He attended, whilst in Dublin, the National meeting, and his services on that occasion are thus mentioned by Richard Shackleton.

"I would give thee a further detail of our meeting, if I could remember it; but, as one billow succeeds another, so one exercising opportunity follows so closely upon another, in my deep wadings and weary steppings along, that I cannot always retain particulars in my remembrance. The meetings have been uncommonly large and crowded. It has been almost wholly the lot of our friend, Samuel Fothergill, to *burn incense* publicly. He is indeed carried on wonderfully. His Master dignifies him, and exalts his testimony through him. He is made like the shew bread on the altar—some sacred symbol, that is eminently conspicuous, attended with a degree of glory, in order to attract and engage a people too much outward, and if possible, by instrumental means, enamour them with the beauty which is in the Truth. Such is the mercy and condescension of the Creator, who uses various means in wisdom, that his creatures may not perish for ever; and leaves all without excuse, that their perdition may be of themselves. The London queries, as proposed by S. Fothergill, were read and answered yesterday, in the meeting of conference of Friends of both sexes. Samuel was beautifully drawn forth upon this occasion, as usual. The public meeting to-day was very large, and he was concerned in testimony, also feelingly and fervently in supplication. I have had close employment upon committees, &c., so that, at home or abroad, there seems little rest to the sole of my foot. Neither is it in oil that I dip it when it *does* rest; but if it returns to the ark of the testimony, and sinks or swims along with it, I may be satisfied."—(*R. Shackleton to his father, Abraham Shackleton, fourth month 30th, 1771.*)

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO MARY WATSON.

Warrington, Sixth month 13th, 1771.

Often, very often, since we parted, hath my heart expanded in the tenderest affection towards thee, my dearly beloved niece, and all the affectionate feelings of a mind solicitous for thy happiness, from the united ties of nature and Divine love have been strong with me. Thou hast been the daily companion of my mind. Often have I wished to write to thee; as often, hitherto, prevented, by many inter-

vening avocations, and indeed, an incapacity of expressing what I feel, and what I want to say. My experience hath taught me to believe, that the lighter sensations of the mind flow from the tongue or pen with ease; but there is known to a delicate mind certain seasons, when all the powers of language are baffled, and the most copious expression is very imperfect.

For thee my beloved relative, this is much the state of my mind. Fervent beyond the force of mere nature are my desires for thy happiness, in the most extensive sense of the word; and a hope accompanies my wish that it may be granted thee. Let the language of the experience of thy progenitors powerfully prevail—let the language of truth to thy own mind in the cool of the day confirm it—that religion and happiness are synonymous terms. In the name of the God of heaven and earth set up thy banner. Now, in thine entrance on the public walks of life, seek carefully after the durable riches of righteousness—after the blessing of that Hand which builds up families on the solid foundation of unshaken peace, and sanctifies every dispensation, whether joyous or painful; for great is the necessity of having our prosperity sanctified, lest we grow full, and forget the giver, and prostitute his favours to purposes repugnant to his design and our essential good. Happy is the cabin of sorrow and penury, in comparison of the palace of unsanctified affluence. Thy mind happily established in the pursuit of the Divine blessing, thou wilt not be unmindful of thy duty as an individual, nor insensible of the obligation to fill it up before God and his church. Oh, that now in the bloom of youth, and having before thee the lengthening prospect of all the world calls good, thy mind might be turned steadily and fervently to His service, who hath called thee with a high and holy calling; that, by a religious dedication of all thy faculties, thou mayest be rendered an instrument of good, in these days wherein the gates of Zion do mourn.

Thy beloved companion, thy bosom friend, in an inexpressibly dear relation, claims thy help, thy sympathy, and thy assistance in the most interesting concern. Prudence, economy, and the domestic offices, are to be filled up with propriety, that thou mayest fill up the valuable relations, and be adorned with the qualities, so beautifully described, Prov. chap. xxxi. verse 12 to the end. And, above all, to promote his truest interest, for which I believe he is at times properly anxious to go hand in hand up to the house of the Lord, to the mountain of the house of the God of Jacob. Associate with such amongst you

who may strengthen thee in the best things; be diligent in the attendance of meetings for worship and discipline—make a point of it to attend week-day meetings. Evidence to others, my dear child, that the precepts I have wished to instil into thy mind have not been disbelieved, nor my anxious solicitude for thee an unavailing care.

Cherish the affection of thy dear companion with a delicate solicitude; give him no pain in things seemingly trivial; anticipate his desires with alacrity; this will secure mutual esteem, and establish reciprocal happiness. *Esteem* is looked upon as a cool word in comparison with many others, as relative to conjugal felicity; but if it seem not sufficiently ardent, it is the permanent basis of union. When the short-lived fervour of the passions hath subsided, and cool judgment opened its discerning eye, affection, deliberate, steady affection, hath selected that which is estimable as its treasure, and laid a deep foundation to build upon, which hath stood the shock of future trials, and supported in the various perturbations of life, and blessed in every allotment. But where an exterior hath been the chief good, and this not supported with really estimable qualities, short-lived hath the comfort of such been; for no mind can long love the object the judgment cannot esteem.

Imagine not, my dear Mary, that I write this from any jealousy of its being necessary for thy guard. I revive sentiments thou often entertains, and indulge myself with familiar conversations with one I love as a father does his child. I am, dear Mary, with the assurance of best affection, thy uncle, truly solicitous for thy welfare,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Mary Watson was the daughter of Joseph and Hannah Fothergill, and was born at Warrington, in 1750. Her parents both dying when she was young, she was much under the care and guardianship of her uncle Samuel, whose tender and religious concern for her welfare, added to the effect of his pious example, proved instrumental in turning her feet into that path wherein she afterwards so conspicuously walked. In very early life her mind was susceptible of the immediate influence of Divine grace, and she derived advantage from the perusal of the dying sayings of Friends. In the year 1771, she was united in marriage with Robert Watson, of Waterford, in which city she resided until her decease. In 1783, she was deprived by death of her husband; but in this and some other trials, through which she had to pass about the same time, she was enabled to cast

her care on Him who graciously condescended to sustain through all. About this period, it was sealed on her mind that she would be called to the work of the ministry, in which she first appeared in the year 1786, and being obedient to the call and requirings of her Heavenly Master, she became valiant in his service. She was recorded as a minister in 1789, and from that time, until within a few years of her decease, was diligently engaged in the work of the gospel, and travelled much therein, both in England and Ireland. She was gifted with a sound judgment, and although possessed of good natural abilities, she was often led to testify that it is only through the power of Christ that any can rightly labour in his church. For the last nine years of her life she was deprived of her eye-sight, a trial she was enabled to bear with Christian resignation and cheerfulness, and being endued with superior talents for conversation, united to much kindness, generosity, and the exercise of hospitality, she was greatly beloved by a large circle of friends, especially the young. Her expressions during the few weeks which preceded her close, evinced, that while the outward tabernacle declined, her spirit was strong in the faith; and that He who had been with her from early life, was still her support in advanced age. In the morning of the day of her decease, she audibly supplicated to be released, soon after which there was an evident sinking, yet she was still favoured with clearness of intellect, and apparently, in tranquil slumber, she quietly breathed her last, on the 20th of twelfth month, 1834, aged eighty-four years, having been a minister about forty-eight years.

Excepting William Fothergill, who died at Carr-End, in 1837, she was the last surviving grand-child of John Fothergill.

In the fifth month, 1771, Samuel Fothergill attended for the last time the yearly meeting in London.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Sixth month 7th, 1771.

..... A public Friend from North Carolina has arrived; his name William Hunt. I have an acceptable account of him from Thomas Nicholson and James Pemberton: he intends to visit the nation, and has got a safe retreat, at John Elliot's. If no particular service is before thee at present, let it be thy especial care to regard thy health; and consider how to repair the strength that has been so unremittingly expended, and lay up a little stock for the future. Let us waste as little as we can unnecessarily. I curb myself often,

however, seemingly, I am engaged. Let us hear from thee frequently; it does us all good, and draws us nearer together, and to the spring of all good. The publisher of thy declaration at Leeds has done thee great justice.* Neither be afraid to follow the Divine enlargements of thy heart in public service, nor fear to be little and simple, when the pure, holy language of Truth stops short. Let us animate one another (I need it much) to more fervency, more inwardness, and stronger wishes to be what we ought to be.

We are favoured with health, and a degree of contentment, feeling desires after a release from bondage, and a fuller enjoyment of true, spiritual liberty, which exceeds the temporal, as heaven is higher than the earth, or as eternity surpasses the limits of time. Often are we followed, inexpressibly followed, with gracious regard from above: may our hearts be as often humbled in reverence and gratitude to the source of every blessing. Farewell, dear brother.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JAMES JOLLEY.†

Warrington, Tenth month 9th, 1771.

Desires for thy welfare have frequently suggested sentiments, which indisposition or a variety of engagements have prevented my intimating to thee; this consideration has also prevailed—What can I say to him which he knows not, either with respect to his present or future well-being? The opportunities of information outwardly, and the impressions of essential truths inwardly, have foreclosed every plea of ignorance of duty, or of what makes for peace. But remember, that happiness consisteth not in knowledge; the words of our Lord are—"If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." My soul seeks earnestly that the blessing of faithfulness may accompany the privilege of knowledge; otherwise, the greater will be the condemnation.

Thy lot is changed from the warm bosom of society to a land of drought, where the distilling of heavenly doctrine outwardly as the dew, is little known, and with many, little

* A sermon publicly delivered at a meeting held in Leeds, 26th of sixth month, 1769. London, 4to., 1771. Several editions of the discourses of S. Fothergill have been published; the most complete is that of 1792, long since out of print. It was remarked, by some of those who had heard them delivered, that when in print their beauty and force were much lost.

† A Friend, of Warrington, then about to embark for the island of Tortola, where he soon afterwards died.

desired. Nevertheless, those who seek wisdom, so as to be made wise unto salvation, may find in themselves the flowings of that river which makes glad the whole city of God. Feel after this in thy own heart to preserve thee among the few names in that Sardis who walk in white, and have not defiled their garments; that so thy peace may be promoted, and others helped. Think of this awful query—What is a man profited, if he could gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?

The climate is often unhealthy; let it put thee upon thy guard, in every respect, and raise fervent care, that whenever the Master of the house cometh, he may not find thee sleeping, or worse employed.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In the tenth month, 1771, upon his return from the last quarterly meeting at Lancaster, which he ever attended, Samuel Fothergill was seized with an alarming illness: extreme faintness and loss of strength, under which it was thought he must have sunk, were succeeded by difficulty of breathing; his nights especially were, from this cause, alarming, and were nearly sleepless, or passed in broken slumbers, distressing to himself and his attendants. Some of the symptoms and particulars of his illness are mentioned in several of the following letters:—

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER AND SISTER.

Warrington, Twelfth month 2nd, 1771.

At the time I wrote you last, and for several days since, I thought there was little probability of my corresponding more with you, in a manner suited to our present state; and under the feeling of what neither tongue nor pen could express, I was enabled to offer my sacrifice on this manner, Into thine hands, O Lord, I commit our spirits: mine, for its refuge and hiding in safety; yours to fill up your militant allotment, that far distant years of faithful services may be by you accomplished, before you fully enter into your Master's rest. But the prospect seems rather more open with some expectation of longer continuance; in which I feel much resignation and quiet, my spirit being humbly committed into His disposal who cannot err.

I feel no external pain, nor any external strong pressure about my throat, yet a constant uneasiness affects the upper part of my stomach with heat and soreness, which is constant, more or less. I am restricted from most liquids for drink, and am thankful my occasion for them is less than at some other

times. My blisters confine me, they contract the vessels in that limb like the cramp: I cannot walk without two crutches, and that with pain. My sleepy disposition continues; I have had many nods over this, which I cannot continue with any ease to myself or you. Your affectionate
SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Addition by Sarah Taylor.

I came here to-day to see my justly beloved relation, your dear brother, and have passed the afternoon with him, much by ourselves. He is quiet, composed, and wholly resigned to Divine disposal, yet thinks, at times, a prospect opens towards some degree of health for a little future service, though he is much reduced, and labours under various complaints, quite out of my knowledge as to their nature or danger; yet, when I heard him intimate this, methought the feelings of my mind renewed some ground of hope that he may be spared a little longer for the church's sake; but if not, submission is our duty, without repining, or calling in question the rectitude of Divine Wisdom in his varied dispensations, though to us deeply cutting and afflictive; it is needless to say how trying and painful that will be to many of us, if ministered in our day; however, it behooves us to step, with humble care and fear, in the line of manifest duty, that we also may be ready for the solemn close, and may centre in that happy, peaceful rest which remains for the humble followers of the Lamb.

SARAH TAYLOR.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Twelfth month 7th, 1771.

We received thy lively and affecting remembrance of us with much thankfulness to the great Helper and Preserver of us all. We trust it will not soon be removed from our minds, but that we may grow in desires to be made fit receivers of such unmerited mercies. I trust thy health will be gradually re-established; the most formidable symptoms are at least at a stand. There are many, many Friends here very anxious for thy recovery, and often inquire after thee, I believe, with godly solicitude. At present, mind only the recovery of thy health, looking often, as I know thou dost, to the Arm that secretly sustains, and under much bodily weakness, vouchsafes to renew the holy covenant of love, to the increase of thy faith and thy further purification. Desire thy assistants, when they observe thee to begin to breathe with difficulty, when thou art asleep, to awake thee gently, and bring thee some sustenance

immediately. That terrible distress upon waking is the effect of weakness, and may be lessened much by awakening thee gently, when that struggle begins which will at length awake thee in a hurry not to be described.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

In the twelfth month, 1771, on account of the continued illness of her brother, Ann Fothergill went down to Warrington, to visit and assist in the care of him; and after her return, wrote the following letter.

ANN FOTHERGILL TO HER BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Second month 22nd, 1772.

..... I cannot well portray my feelings. I have revisited Warrington often in idea, and sympathized with thee in thy infirmities and various distresses. I am too distant to step in, and know the particulars of thy situation, whether thou hast gained even the least advantage, to observe it with proportionate satisfaction and thankfulness, or if the contrary, to represent it where I hope for aid. But what avails our solicitude or our anxiety? We are in the disposal of superior Power and Wisdom, who does all things right. 'Tis ours to study to co-operate, whether for the benefit of mind or body; doubtless both are under his gracious care and notice, with the means extended for our help and benefit; this brings to a quiet acquiescence and peace of mind, that supports in the deepest trials, and is aptly expressed "a rest to the soul," when we can, in a reverent sense of his power, love, and goodness, resign ourselves, and all we hold dear, into his hands, as the most faithful helper and everlasting sufficiency. May this be our ardent pursuit, and then it will be our support and quiet resting place.

ANN FOTHERGILL.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO ELIZABETH JOLLEY,*
ON THE DEATH OF HER BROTHER.

1772.

There is not one among thy sorrowful acquaintance, who hath felt the force of sympathy with thee, on the present afflicting occa-

* She afterwards became a minister in the Society, and was married to John Bludwick, of Warrington, a valuable elder. They were both much esteemed, for their conscientious endeavours to walk as became their religious profession, for their devotedness to the service of the Society, and their lively concern, for the support of its discipline.

She suffered much from bodily disease for several of the latter years of her life, with great patience and sweetness of spirit; and when near

sion, with greater tenderness than myself. I own, I seldom choose to meet the painful gush of sorrow with calm advice. I would rather mingle the tear of sympathy, and aid the solemn tribute due to those who are no more. Religion allows it—for his friend, Jesus wept. But it is now high time for the violence of sorrow to subside, and the mind to endeavour after a calm acquiescence in the disposition of unerring Wisdom, which hath numbered the hairs of our heads, and not one of them falls to the ground unnoticed of him. I know some mournful considerations urge for a place with thee: a beloved brother dead, on a distant shore, uncertain whether every act of tender assistance was yielded him. But remember, dear friend, the provision of the Highest reached him there; and that the everlasting arm supports and succours the islands afar off! I have not a doubt of his being admitted where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

Endeavour, therefore, to suppress the sigh and the tear, which border upon murmuring. Good is the Lord in all his works; he deals with his family in a wisdom we cannot comprehend. My heart is too full for language to discharge, and my feeble hand hardly sustains this labour. But I wanted to mingle with thee the tear of condolence, on account of the dear deceased; and to endeavour to lead to a calm resignation, and to a pursuit of riches, unchangeable in their nature, and everlasting in their duration. SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

ANN FOTHERGILL TO HER BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Fourth month 18th, 1772.

My brother is much engaged, he is mostly out from nine o'clock in the morning, until the same hour or later in the evening; when he comes home greatly fatigued, and not seldom in apparent anxiety and distress, from various causes. Yet it is neither in accumulating this world's knowledge, its various productions, the good things belonging to it, its friendships nor its flatteries. None of these things will afford lasting peace and comfort to the mind. I think they all tend from it, as they gain upon our inclinations and attention, if I know any thing of the way to solid peace. I find, for myself at least, the absolute need of more abstraction, and often to watch, lest the thief insensibly break in and

the close, she said, "I shall die in peace with all, feeling inexpressible love to every one:" and again, "Now, Lord, let me depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." In this heavenly state of mind she quietly departed this life, on the 3rd of first month, 1828, at the age of eighty.

steal away, by little and little, our attention and entire love for the alone worthy and adorable Object. Our dear brother is exposed to an arduous warfare; his provocations and temptations are very many, and his time is spent in a continued scene of hurry, that his preservation is of peculiar favour, mercy, and grace; in a sense of which, as well as of fear and care for my own safe standing, my mind is, through continued mercy, at times deeply humbled, and my heart made to tremble for our preservation to the end, which is hastening fast to the youngest of us.

Sarah Morris, and her niece Deborah, are arrived in town. She is a sensible, cautious, weighty woman, and her niece a valuable friend, an affectionate companion, and nurse to her worthy aunt, who seems feeble and diffident. They lodge at Thomas Corbyn's.

ANN FOTHERGILL.

As the spring of the year advanced, the health of Samuel Fothergill a little improved, and though still very weak, he was able, a few times, to go out in a carriage. In the fourth month he thus describes his situation, in a letter to his sister:—"Yesterday, I was remarkably languid and faint; to-day the weather allowed me to get out for an hour. I am better, but very low and languid, and know not how to exert myself; there seems in every case, a lion in the streets, but when I am roused, I move with less difficulty than I feared. I am very weak, though able to rise from my chair and walk across the room alone; my flesh is much gone. Farewell, dear brother and sister, may every blessing rest upon you for ever."

This improvement in his health was transient; in the following month he became worse, and symptoms of confirmed dropsy came on. He was attended by Dr. Pemberton, a kind and skilful physician, of Warrington; his brother also came down to see him; every remedy, and every application which the eminent skill and long experience of Dr. Fothergill could suggest, prompted by his strong affection for the brother whom he so tenderly loved, were all exerted for his help and restoration—but in vain; his constitution was worn out, the bodily powers were far exhausted, and the period of his release was now near at hand.

ANN FOTHERGILL TO HER BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Fifth month 27th, 1772.

Thou hast my affectionate remembrance and tender sympathy, in this long time of trial, pain, and difficulty, more than I can express; and I have often remembered thee

when on my pillow, in such a disposition that I could offer myself in thy stead, if Providence would please to accept so mean an offering, and restore thee to health and service. This is not, my dear brother, a rash, inconsiderate, or presumptuous thought, but in humble, reverent fear, and a sense of my own nothingness, either to do good, or persevere safely, but by the aid of infinite mercy, and the just preference to an instrument eminently qualified to be serviceable, and a beloved brother. But the disposal of all events is in the wisest hands, to whom belong, worthily belong, submission, worship, and fear; may we in sincerity of heart say, "Thy will be done," which is no more than our reasonable duty; in this disposition, our complainings are silenced, and we confide with alacrity in his wisdom and mercy, and render the tribute due of love and praise. May this, both here and hereafter, be our everlasting employment.

I wish we may endeavour to receive our different trials in such a disposition, as that they may be effectual for our help, and sanctified to us, and then it is enough, if we have a well grounded hope hereafter, and it is a stay and support whilst here. Many Friends inquire after thee with affectionate sympathy and regard. The unity of worthy brethren is as a comfortable cordial to our minds in times of difficulty, and I believe few share it more than thyself. ANN FOTHERGILL.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Fifth month 20th, 1772.

Though I have shut up the intercourse on thy part, it ought not to deprive thee of every little comfort which our near and affectionate remembrance can afford thee, under thy deep distress—distressed in body, and often weighed down with affliction and trials within; but be of good comfort—receive that consolation from others which thy feeling, sympathising heart has the means of conveying to many. I am with thee often in mind, and if I knew how to add to thy ease and help in the least degree, I need not tell thee how much it would add to my own happiness. Many, many Friends here, are very anxious about thee, and I believe the prayers of many honest hearts are for thy preservation amongst us. But the event must be left where it ought to be—to the direction of sovereign Wisdom. Express to those about thee all thou wouldst wish to say to us; some of them will convey it to us. If I should mention all who inquire after thee, I must fill a volume. Let it suffice that the living part of God's heritage sympathise with thee.

Farewell, our brother, our friend, our joy, in that which alone deserves the name. Farewell, affectionately; from thy

J. Fothergill.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER AND SISTER.

Warrington, Fifth month 30th, 1772.

Though I am at present attended with great weakness, both of body and mind, yet I thought I felt towards you, who are dearer to me than the ties of nature, merely as such, my beloved brother and sister, a salutation, in all probability the last you will ever receive from me, in inexpressible affection; and although my house has not been so with God as that of some others who have walked with greater care from earliest youth with him, yet now, though in great bodily weakness, his candle shines around mine head, and at times an unshaken hope that the God of our fathers will condescend, in the multitude of his mercies, to receive me into his rest, and that I shall not die as the fool dieth: and this abundantly supports, and enables me to give what, I think, is my dying testimony:—That He is good, and his mercy endureth for ever.

And most nearly beloved, with a love that hath not its foundation in nature, my heart's desire and prayer to God is—That you may be saved. I see in part the vast extent of the meaning of this word—*saved*. I need not remind you of it, as a thing unknown or unconsidered, but earnestly wish it may often recur to your minds, particularly of thine, my friend! my brother! my companion! who stands as on a slippery sea of glass; surrounded by the flattery of the injudicious, and the poison artfully conveyed, through the flattery of those who may assume the guise of knowledge, understanding, and sincerity. He hath signally preserved thee hitherto; but they that follow on to the end shall be saved. What rested upon my mind, in the visit to your family, was, I believe, of the Lord: "This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise." Thou hast known his forming hand, even from thy youth upward; the natural and spiritual endowments with which thou hast been singularly favoured, and the purpose of this favour, for his own praise, ought to teach thee to look to the rock from whence thou wast hewn, and to the hole of the pit from whence thou wast digged, that thou mayest be effectually formed to His praise, and the end fully answered. Thy station, thou knows, exposes

thee to many things that wound the secret, hidden, innocent life of Jesus. O, watch over it as thy chief treasure, for peace and immortality are in it, and salvation, in the most glorious sense of the word, is bound up in this life.

And dearly beloved sister, with whom I have taken sweet counsel, and walked to the house of our God in company, thou art inexpressibly near to my life; the Lord bless and preserve thee, in patience, in hope, in light, and in the blessed fruits of the Spirit, in peace, and in the joy of the Holy Ghost. For these favours, he will be sought unto, and thou knows the place where prayer, as well as the giving of thanks, is wont to be made. I cannot express what I feel; I cannot add to your experience; you were in Christ before me: but I leave to you this brief salutation, as a token I love you to the end; and in that love I tenderly salute you, and wish, pray, and hope for your eternal welfare.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

In a solemn and affecting interview with some of his relations, who were about to set out to attend the yearly meeting in London, he addressed them in the following expressions, which were read in the yearly meeting, by Jonah Thompson.

Our health is no more at our command, than length of days; mine seems drawing fast towards a conclusion, I think; but I am content with every allotment of Providence, for they are all in wisdom—unerring wisdom. There is *THAT*, which, as an arm underneath, bears up and supports; and though the rolling, tempestuous billows surround, yet my head is kept above them, and my feet are firmly established. Oh! seek it—press after it—lay fast hold of it! Though painful my nights, and wearisome my days, yet I am preserved in patience and resignation. Death has no terrors, nor will the grave have any victory! My soul triumphs over death, hell, and the grave. Husbands and wives, parents and children, health and riches, must all go! *Disappointment* is another name for them!

I should have been thankful, had I been able, to have got to the ensuing yearly meeting in London, which you are now going to attend, where I have been so often refreshed with my brethren; but it is otherwise allotted. I shall remember *them*, and some of them will remember *me*. The Lord knows best what is best for us;—I am content, and resigned to his will. I feel the foretaste of the joy that is to come; and who would wish to change such a state of mind? I should be glad if an easy channel could be found to inform the yearly meeting, that as I have

lived, so I shall close, with the most unshaken assurance that we have not followed cunningly devised fables, but the pure, living, eternal substance. Let the aged be strong; let the middle-aged be animated, and the youth encouraged; for the Lord is still in Zion; the Lord will bless Zion!

If I be now removed out of the church militant, where I have endeavoured in some measure to fill up my duty, I have an EVIDENCE that I shall gain an admittance into his glorious Church triumphant, far above the heavens. My dear love is to all them that love the Lord Jesus.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL.

London, Sixth month 9th, 1772.

Oh, dear brother, what comfort did thy letter,* announcing some little improvement in thy state, give to us; we rejoice with thankfulness and trembling, and recover hope, which we had almost lost. If our sympathy could lessen the weight of thy distress, it would be much alleviated. Our minds are often with thee, and bended with desires for thy help and comfort, be the event of this bitter dispensation what it may. Thy vacant seat at our table, at the meetings, hourly reminds us of thee, and of our own distress; but we leave this, and submit the whole to Divine disposal.

The affairs of the meeting go on well. Joshua Strangman, of Leek, is the clerk; he does his business pretty well, better, I think, than most of the midland clerks of late. I know thou longs to hear how matters are conducted in the camp. The American Friends help us much. John Woolman is solid and weighty in his remarks; he has some singularities, but his real worth outweighs them. William Jepson is with us, and is remarkably solid and composed.

Farewell, our dearly beloved brother! Accept the united, strong, and affectionate remembrance of this family. Again farewell! from thy JOHN & ANN FOTHERGILL.

His illness, and the painful symptoms attending it, increased, his strength diminished, and the faint hope entertained of some amendment was lost, in the greater certainty that the end was now approaching very near.

He made the following observations to a friend:—"I have laboured while I was able, and it is now my comfort. It is not only the washing of regeneration, but the renewing—

* The letter here mentioned was thus endorsed by Ann Fothergill; "The last lines we received from a dearly beloved brother, who departed this life in peace, the 15th of sixth month, 1772."

the renewing—the renewing of the Holy Ghost, that makes men and women for God.” After speaking of the advantages of steady conduct in the youth, and how necessary it is for them to seek wisdom, he added, “I wish it for thee, dear friend, with the affection of a father. Thou knowest in whom are all our fresh springs; He is at our right hand, yet we may not perceive Him; at our left, and we may not behold Him.”

The following communication was made by Samuel Fothergill, when near the close of life: it was given as a parting charge to his beloved friends of Penketh and Warrington, and of Hardshaw monthly meeting, over whom he had so long watched with pastoral care and true affection. After the expressions were written down, they were submitted to his inspection, and approved, with an injunction that they should be preserved. The friend to whom they were delivered* has added this testimony—“But no words can convey the power, energy, and life that attended his delivery of them; the same spirit that animated him so often to declare amongst us the whole counsel of God was with him, and raised him above pain or weakness, whilst giving this solemn, weighty caution; and not only at this time, but frequently during his confinement, he manifested the strongest love and fervency of desire for all his Friends in the Truth:”—

“In returning from the last meeting I was at at Penketh, my mind was deeply impressed with the words of the Prophet, ‘Smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.’—Though at that time the meaning did not appear so obvious, it hath since gathered strength upon my mind, and a desire hath rested with me to leave a few remarks to this monthly and particular meeting. ‘Awake, O sword, against my Shepherd, and against the Man that is my fellow, saith the Lord of Hosts. Smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.’ Though I am not the Shepherd to whom the sword is threatened, yet I have been a sub-shepherd, delegated to you by the great Shepherd, and have laboured amongst you according to the ability received; in poverty, in weakness, in nakedness, in strippedness; as having nothing, yet possessing all things. My mind has ever been covered with love towards you, both in my public ministry and in private: where I

have been engaged to deal closely and plainly with you, I never used any unnecessary severity; but I have called, and ye refused, and no man regarded; therefore, you shall call, and I will not hear; for I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered: they have perverted the mercies bestowed; therefore, I will take from them the delight of their eyes and the desire of their hearts, and remove my delegated shepherd by the arrow of death, and the sheep shall be smitten.

“But, in the extending of my prospect, an encouraging hope rests on my mind towards the little ones, those who are little in their own eyes. I will turn mine hand upon the little ones, and I will bring them as through the fire, and ‘will refine them as silver is refined.’ I will gather them as lambs by mine own power; they shall call on my name, and I will hear them; and they shall know a place of feeding, when the sheep may be scattered and the shepherd removed. My spirit feels an evidence that I have laboured amongst you with acceptance; that since I have been mercifully called to a part in the ministry, I have not neglected to warn you; and that when the chief Shepherd shall appear, I also shall appear with him in glory.”

His heavenly Father was now pleased to say, “It is enough,” and to release his spirit from farther trials. He departed this life at his house in Warrington, on the 15th of the sixth month, 1772, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his ministry.

His remains were interred in Friends’ burying ground, at Penketh, on the nineteenth of the same month. The love which so many bore to him, and the respect in which he was held, were testified by a very large attendance of friends and neighbours, of all ranks and classes, on the occasion. The solemnity of it was great, and it was favoured by the overshadowing of Divine love, and by a large degree of that power which had supported him in life, and had so eminently attended him in his labours as a minister of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Thus died SAMUEL FOTHERGILL, in the faith and hope of the gospel, and having a happy assurance and foretaste of that everlasting rest into which he was about to enter.

He was in stature tall; in person comely and graceful; in deportment dignified, yet courteous; grave, but not austere; affable to all, intimate but with few; in manners kind, and with a politeness, the result, as it ever will be, of the practical application of the precepts, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;” “in honour preferring one another.” He

* This was John Forster, of Warrington, a minister, who died in 1792. He was convinced by the ministry of S. Fothergill, and became his friend and frequent companion. To his son, Samuel Forster, of Stockport, I am indebted for some valuable information contained in the present work.—G. C.

possessed good natural abilities, and had improved them by cultivation; he was well read both in books and men, but his studies did not terminate in barren and fruitless speculations; under the Divine blessing, they led him duly to appreciate the great truths of religion, which shone forth in his life and character. These qualities, combined with a retentive memory and an observing mind, rendered his conversation cheerful and instructive, attractive to all, and to the youth in particular. With them he frequently indulged in an innocent pleasantry, mingled with instruction. For this class he always felt much interest, and whether in the freedom of social conversation, or in discoursing on the important concerns appertaining to life and salvation, or in the exercise of his gift as a minister, he was ever particularly led into sympathy and feeling for the young, and concerned to promote their welfare. Of his style, which was strong and nervous, rarely diffuse, the most striking character was, the peculiar felicity and skilful adaptation of his metaphors, and his happy illustrations of spiritual things by comparison with natural imagery; some of these are eminently beautiful. In his public discourses, his deportment was solemn and devout, his delivery graceful, his language pure and correct, never grovelling or low, often elegant and pathetic; his periods easy and flowing, frequently sublime.

As a minister of the gospel, he was careful to follow the injunction—"Preach the word, be instant in season and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine." In the testimony given by his friends concerning him, it is said, "His ministry at times went forth as a flame, often piercing into the inmost recesses of darkness and obduracy; yet descended like dew upon the tender plants of our heavenly Father's planting; with these he travelled in deep sympathy of spirit. His gospel labours being free from all affectation, he, in this respect, commanded reverence; being in doctrine clear, sound, elegant, and pathetic, his gift being of that extent which made his service in the church of Christ general. He proposed to the people 'no cunningly-devised fables,' but full of charity, he skilfully divided the word aright, speaking whereof he knew, and what his own hands had handled, of the good word of life."

CHAPTER XII.

SUSANNA FOTHERGILL, at the time of her husband's decease, was, as she had for some time previously been, in a feeble state of health; her infirmities increased, and she did

not long survive him. She received the tender care of kind relations, and much sympathy from her friends, on the loss of such a valuable companion.

ISRAEL PEMBERTON TO SUSANNA FOTHERGILL.

Philadelphia, Tenth month 10th, 1772.

My mind being engaged in near sympathy with thee, desiring thou mayest be favoured with the abundant supplies of Divine consolation and strength in this time of deep probation and affliction, a short salutation is, I think, due to thee, and will, I hope, be acceptable, as it comes from the fervent love and respect of a friend who loved and honoured thy worthy husband, and to whom his memory will ever be dear. I hope thou wilt be preserved in patient submission to the Divine will, as thou doubtless hast full assurance of his glorious exit, and that he is removed from all pain and uncertainty, to a state of permanent happiness; yet, the near union which had long subsisted, and was cemented by the strongest bonds, being now dissolved, I know from experience, must have caused a conflict in nature, greater than can be expressed. At such a time, the remembrance that we have an High Priest who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, through whom we may "find grace to help in time of need," was to me a support and relief which I have great cause with reverent thankfulness to acknowledge; and I believe the renewed sense thereof will minister comfort and stability to thy mind.

My dear wife is yet spared to me, through much weakness and affliction, both of body and mind: the loss of our beloved son hath affected us very deeply, though I hope we are enabled to resign ourselves to this allotment of Infinite Wisdom, and to desire it may be sanctified to us. Many Friends were lately at our yearly meeting, by whom thou wast remembered with much affection, and united desires for thy preservation to the end in faith and patience. ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Her health and strength continued to decline, and after a few weeks of lingering illness, she departed this life at Warrington, on the 8th of the fifth month, 1773, in the seventy-fourth year of her age, a minister about fifty years.

The testimony concerning her, from Hardshaw monthly meeting, states, that—"Her labours in the gospel tended to the edification of Friends, and to her own peace,"—"she was for some time before her departure much confined at home: nevertheless, a large de-

gree of that innocence and peace appeared to attend her to the last, which had been her companion in the more active part of her life; laying down her head, we doubt not, under the effects of that animating welcome sentence—"Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

The few remaining years of the life of Dr. FOTHERGILL were passed, like many which had preceded them, in the diligent performance of the duties of his profession, in which he had long occupied a station of the highest eminence, in the most enlarged benevolence, and in a constant endeavour to promote in many various ways the good of mankind at large; yet amidst all these engagements, with a still increasing desire and care to keep the world, and all belonging to it, under his feet, and to press forward in the path which leads to everlasting life.

He continued his annual visits to Lea Hall, but the satisfaction derived from these retreats from the busy scenes of life, and the fatigues of his profession, was greatly diminished by the decease of his beloved brother, and these visits rendered him more sensible of his loss, and of the chasm which that event had made. In 1772 he thus writes from Lea Hall:

"I have been obliged to write many letters, which I am at present very unfit for, or for any thing else; but I will not spend all in unavailing complaints. I meet with many things to put me in mind how much I have lost, and I feel such a void in my enjoyments of this life, as reduces my wishes to a great mediocrity indeed." "I have enough to do to command myself, when I recollect my brother, whose countenance, counsel, and sympathy relieved every anxiety, gave taste to every enjoyment; but I will try to banish everything but a wish to follow him through the remains of this life, with submission to every difficulty, and gratitude for many blessings." (*Letter to Dr. Lettsom.*)

In addition to his retreat at Lea Hall, Dr. Fothergill possessed, in his estate and gardens at Upton, an opportunity of indulging his taste and love for the pursuits of Botany and Horticulture, though prevented by his numerous avocations from enjoying them so much as he wished. The estate at Upton, purchased from Admiral Elliott, in 1762, he extended and improved, planting it with the rarest trees and shrubs, and the choicest plants: a glass door from the house communicated with an extensive suite of green-houses and hot-houses, in which were upwards of three thousand four hundred distinct species

of exotics; whilst, in the open ground, at least three thousand different species of plants and shrubs gave, during summer and autumn, a constant verdure to the place. To retire occasionally, even for a short time, to direct and contemplate the extensive collection he had formed, was a source of great pleasure to the owner. Sir Joseph Banks in writing on this subject, says "At an expense seldom undertaken by an individual, and with an ardour that was visible in the whole of his conduct, Dr. Fothergill procured, from all parts of the world, a great number of the rarest plants, and protected them in the amplest buildings which this or any other country has seen. He liberally proposed rewards to those who brought hither plants which might be ornamental, and probably useful to this country or her colonies, and has liberally paid these rewards to all that served him. If the troubles of war had not prevented, we should have had the Cortex Winteranus, &c., &c., introduced by his means into this country, and the Bread-fruit, Mangosteen, &c., into the West India Islands. For each of these, and many others, he had fixed a proper premium. In conjunction with the Earl of Tankerville, Dr. Pitcairn, and myself, he sent over a person to Africa, for the purpose of collecting plants and specimens.

"In my opinion, no other garden in Europe, either royal, or belonging to a subject, had nearly so many scarce and valuable plants. It was known all over Europe, and foreigners of all ranks, when they came hither, asked permission to visit it."

In order to keep up and to increase this collection, several persons were constantly occupied, some in making new acquisitions: amongst others thus engaged, William Bartram travelled, in 1773, at Dr. Fothergill's expense, "to search the Floridas, and the western parts of Carolina and Georgia."* Nor was it merely the curious or the ornamental that were thus collected, but whatever was likely to be useful, either in medicine or for more general purposes, was not overlooked. Ardent as was Dr. Fothergill's love of botany, his pursuits were not confined to this branch of science; his collections in other departments of natural history, as insects, shells, fossils, minerals, corals, &c., were valuable and extensive; he also possessed a large collection of drawings. But while engaged in these elegant pursuits, and when thus contemplating the productions of nature, which his good taste had collected together, he never lost sight of their great Author. "In these, as in every other pursuit, he had

* See his travels, 1 vol., London, 1792.

always in view the enlargement and elevation of his own heart; having formed early habits of religious reference, from the display of Divine power and wisdom in the beauty, the order, and the harmony of external things, to the glory of their Almighty Former. From the influence of these habits, his mind was always preserved in a disengaged and independent state, enjoying, but yet adoring.*

His encouragement of genius was not limited by the bounds of any particular science or pursuit; it was his delight to seek out, and to promote the advancement of merit, and munificently to reward it. Of this the ingenious Anthony Purver was an instance. He had, by indefatigable self-exertion, acquired an extensive knowledge of the Hebrew, and other Oriental tongues, and solely by the patronage of Dr. Fothergill, completed a literal translation of the Holy Scriptures; and though certain idioms used by the translator have caused it to be less read and esteemed, it is considered a valuable work. Besides causing it to be printed at his own expense, Dr. Fothergill, it is said, presented A. Purver with one thousand pounds for his performance.†

Many are the instances related, and many more there were, never recorded, of the large pecuniary bounty, which, in addition to the assistance gratuitously afforded by his medical skill, he distributed to cases of distress with which his profession made him acquainted.

Whilst he was thus actively engaged in his profession, in the promotion of science, and in benevolent pursuits, his devotion to the interests and proceedings of the religious Society of which he was so valuable a member, increased with his increasing years; he had its prosperity much at heart. In the year 1776, he was nominated one of a committee, appointed by the yearly meeting, to make a general visit to the meetings throughout the nation. On this occasion he wrote the following letter—"To the Friends nominated at the late yearly meeting, to visit the quarterly and monthly meetings, &c., and to the members of our Society in general:"—

DEAR FRIENDS,

Having been nominated on this service, I accepted of it with reluctance, from an appre-

hension of my unfitness, as well as from the confining nature of my employment. But being desirous to acquit myself to the best of my ability, I could not avoid considering, with much and deliberate attention, the proposal made to the meeting, both in respect to the manner of it, the nature of the service, and its object; all of which claim my hearty concurrence. That it arose from the simple movings of Truth, I am fully persuaded; the prevalence of a holy influence over the minds of many, when it was delivered, was generally felt and acknowledged. The nature of the service is, to render us helpful one to another, in promoting the growth and prosperity of every individual in the truth, and by this means to advance the great end of true religion, the glory of Him who created us, and the comfort and happiness of all. The complaining language of many counties having deeply affected the minds of Friends, fervent desires were raised that the life of religion might be renewed in the churches, to their help in the maintenance of pure, unmixed piety. And it pleased Divine Providence to open the way to a fresh labour of love amongst his people, and to make many willing to engage in this service; and oh! may it be blessed, so as to make it a memorable season of Divine refreshment, from the great Master of our assemblies. A desire to contribute my mite to this great and useful labour, prompts me to throw before my brethren the following reflections, hoping they will be received as the fruits of a mind cordially disposed, in the first place, to build up its own breaches, and in the next, to join in repairing those which the enemy has made in the walls of our Zion.

I would wish to apply to my brethren engaged in this service, and to recapitulate some parts of the wise, important, heavenly counsel communicated to you, during your deliberations on this subject, by many concerned brethren; that as you have given up your names, and that with a willingness that bespeaks your zeal for the cause of truth, and its prosperity among the people, you will let the weight of the work take possession of your minds. Let it be your fervent prayer, that you may be made deeply sensible of its importance, as well as of the time and manner in which you are to proceed. These considerations were earnestly pressed upon you, and as you keep them in humility and fear before you, way will be opened for your accomplishing the work, to the churches' benefit, and your own growth and experience in righteousness and truth. Let it be your care, in this service, to look to that Arm of power which gathered us to be a people, and has hitherto, in a good measure, preserved us

* "An affectionate tribute to the memory of the late Dr. John Fothergill, by W. Hird, M. D." London, 1781, page 13.

† The work was published in two vols., folio, 1764. Anthony Purver died at Alton, in Hampshire, in 1777, aged seventy.

one in faith and practice. Wait for a degree of that wisdom which led our ancestors to establish a most wholesome discipline amongst us, for our preservation: and be it your chief care, in much brotherly love, to strengthen the weak, and bring back the scattered, and by an awful labour, to awake them to a sense of the holy principle of light, life, and grace, to an obedience to it, to a knowledge of its blessed effects; this is the one thing needful: and oh! that they may wrestle and prevail, as Jacob did, and obtain the blessing, for yourselves, and for the whole heritage of God.

And you, my dear friends, who are the objects of the churches' care, and amongst whom I rank myself, surrounded with many weaknesses, much imperfection, far short of the excellency that adorned our predecessors, yet struggling in hope after a better life, freedom from entanglements, more love to God, and his truth; yield to the word of exhortation; receive this visit as a fresh renewal of the love of God, and of help administered in the needful time. Let us embrace the hand held out to help us, kiss the rod we may have deserved, and give thanks to God for his mercy and loving-kindness, in thus exciting a fresh concern in the church for the restoration of individuals. Let us prepare ourselves, in sincerity, to receive the word of exhortation in meekness and humility; so shall we be made partakers of the benefits intended, feel our strength renewed to run with alacrity the race that is set before us, be made helpful to others in their progress, and having finished our course with joy, leave a bright example to those who follow after us.

Under a sense of the great need we have to be afresh roused up to diligence, I found a willingness to throw these few hints before my brethren, as a testimony of my full unity with the proposition, and my desire that it may be rendered effectual to the help of many, and the general edification of the churches.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

He united with a part of the committee in visiting the meetings of Friends in Lancashire and Yorkshire, his sister accompanying him in the latter. In a subsequent letter, he thus speaks of the visit, in terms more suited to the well known diffidence of his character, than to the part which he took in the service:—

“It was with much reluctance that I consented to be named on such a service as that in which we took a small part, I hope to our own help at least; and if we either tended to hold up the hands of those who were qualified for the service, or gave proofs that we had

the fullest unity with it, we are glad. We find, by several accounts, that the visit has been well received every where, and many testimonies given of its utility. I cannot forbear thinking, that times of distress are gradually, imperceptibly advancing; the season may not be in my time, but I wish to be prepared for it if it should.

“To my nephew and his family say, that if they look back frequently to the worthy parts of their ancestry, with a wish to follow their footsteps, they will be the better for it. To all the progeny of our worthy father is the gracious regard of heaven extended, and we ought to be abundantly thankful that so many are preserved from the spots and stains of this life.”—(*Dr. F. to Sarah Hird, Tenth month 17th, 1776.*)

Amongst the many distinguished men who, from similarity of pursuits, Dr. Fothergill ranked amongst his intimate friends, was John Howard. They were both engaged, though in different spheres, in lessening the miseries of human life; and in attempting to prevent those injuries and diseases which contagion produces, they united their labours. They were desired to attend before the House of Commons, where they gave such information, that an Act was passed on the subject of the health of prisoners, and for preventing the gaol distemper, also for building penitentiary prisons. These two eminent men, with George Whatley, were appointed by the king, commissioners for fixing upon a site, and directing suitable buildings to be erected, for carrying this new system into execution. Again, when the Legislature was informed of the great mortality amongst the French and Spanish prisoners then confined at Winchester, Dr. Fothergill was consulted, and he recommended Dr. J. Carmichael Smith to superintend the prisons, to avert, if possible, the spreading contagion: the success which ensued confirmed the discernment evinced in the selection. When the empress of Russia wished to introduce into her dominions the practice of inoculation for the small-pox, and desired her ambassador in England to send over a competent person, he applied to Dr. Fothergill, who recommended Dr. (afterwards Baron) Dimsdale, and he was, in consequence, appointed to that distinguished employment.

In common with many other good men, Dr. Fothergill deeply lamented the unhappy contest between Great Britain and the American colonies: he had exerted himself by writing, and in various ways, to avert it. He and his friend, David Barclay, were authorised to attempt a compromise with Benjamin Franklin, before his departure from England; accordingly, several conferences were held with

him, and some correspondence took place, in endeavours to arrange the differences and establish a permanent reconciliation between the two countries, but the attempt proved unsuccessful.

It would be difficult to enumerate the various ways by which Dr. Fothergill endeavoured to promote the advantage and the general good of his fellow-creatures; independently of the opportunities afforded by his extensive practice as a physician, and his high standing in general society, he was often engaged in proposing plans conducive to this. His enlarged mind, capable of embracing every object of usefulness and benevolence, was enabled to accomplish much by the order and punctuality which pervaded and regulated all his conduct.

A benevolence so comprehensive and universal could not overlook the important subject of the right education of youth. It did not escape his observing mind, and he was occupied with it for several years. He saw with concern how much the young were exposed to temptation, and he wished, by promoting a guarded education, to strike at the root of the evil. He would willingly have included the whole community; but, conscious that the attempt on so large a scale would be fruitless, he confined his hopes and his attempts within the bounds of his own religious society, in which his influence was great, and where he knew he should receive assistance and support.

To this desire on the part of Dr. Fothergill, the Society owes its valuable institution at Ackworth. The circumstances which led to the establishment of that school are thus related by Dr. Hird:—

“On his return from Cheshire, in the year 1777, he did me the favour of being my guest for a few days. In one of the many interviews he then had with his friends, the conversation turned on an institution at Gildersome, a small establishment for the education of the poorer children amongst the Society. Dr. Fothergill inquired into its state and management, and how far it might serve as a model for a larger undertaking. The present state of the Foundling Hospital at Ackworth, was also mentioned; erected at a vast expense, it was then in danger of dilapidation, and ready for public sale. This struck him forcibly—“Why may not this,” said he, “serve the very purpose I am in pursuit of?” The building, with an estate of eighty acres of land, was purchased, improved, and furnished by subscription. The Doctor set a generous example, by his own contribution, and an endowment by his will in perpetuity.

In thus coming forward to secure by immediate purchase, what appeared so desirable

for the object in view, Dr. Fothergill was assisted by his friend David Barclay, and some others. With a generous confidence, they trusted to the Society for confirming and perpetuating that which they had thus begun. The event fully proved that, in so reposing their trust, they did not err. This undertaking, of which Dr. Fothergill was so far the author as to have first proposed it to the consideration of the Society, he had the satisfaction of seeing fully established, with every prospect of its fully answering the design of its benevolent founders. It remained with him a near object of interest for the rest of his life. A few months before his decease, he broke the silence in a committee, by saying, he “rejoiced with trembling” at the success and the blessing which he considered had thus far attended their labours. His opinions on the intentions of the school, the suitable objects for it, &c., are fully developed in his well known “Letter to a Friend in the country, relative to the intended School at Ackworth, in Yorkshire,” which has several times been printed. He had also much correspondence on this institution, in which his sagacity has included almost every subject connected with the establishment of the school, even to very minute details.

For a series of years, indeed for the greater part of his life, Dr. Fothergill had enjoyed good health, and time seemed but slowly to diminish the vigour of his body, or weaken the exertions of his mind; but it was evident, after the decease of his brother, that he was less capable of enduring fatigue, and that his annual visits to Lea Hall, and the recess thus obtained, did not yield him that renovation of strength which, in former years, had been the result of this retirement. In the eleventh month, 1778, he was attacked with a severe internal complaint, accompanied with intense pain, and which much reduced his strength. Dr. Lettsom says—“In the height of this distress, I visited him, and found him calm and collected. He described, with wonderful serenity of mind, his acute misery, expressing a pious and Christian resignation, and adding, ‘that if he had left any thing undone which he wished to have done, it was perfecting the plan of Ackworth School; and likewise, the complete arrangement of the rules of our religious Society.’”*

In a few weeks the complaint abated, and he was again able to see his friends: and forced by the importunities of those who

* This work, although not completed until 1782, had occupied the attention of the Meeting for Sufferings, of which Dr. F. was an active member for a considerable time previously.

sought relief from his medical skill, he again resumed the duties of his arduous and active life.

DR. FOTHERGILL TO CATHARINE PHILLIPS.

London, Twelfth month 5th, 1778.

Thy very affectionate letter to my sister, revived the remembrance of that friendship which has so long subsisted between my brother, thyself and us, so strongly that I rather chose to answer it myself. Through unmerited favour, I am in a probable way of recovery, though yet far from well. My disorder was at first a common cold; I struggled with it, under a necessity of great application, till at length it was accidentally increased, and brought on other complaints. I form hopes that by degrees it will give way. My appetite and strength are gradually returning, and though yet unfit for going abroad, I am easy and content.

I cannot express, in a short compass, the feelings of my mind on this trying occasion. I have only to look back to that point when, if I had not been relieved, I must in twenty-four hours have been numbered with the dead, and saw it most clearly, with humbling gratitude for a degree of calm resignation to the Divine will, secretly trusting in his power, goodness, and mercy. And may I never forget the season. Anxiety and fear united, presented themselves; but I endeavoured to be quiet, and to trust in Him who alone is worthy to be confided in for ever. What may now await me I know not. I know too well my own inability to help myself, and to stay me, where I ought to remain, without assistance above my own resolutions. I shall wish, however, to detach myself from the world, as occasion may offer, and to which this dispensation may, I hope, contribute. I have not hurried into these numerous engagements, so far as I know of myself, from any other motive than those which urged me on to do the business of the present hour with diligence, whether in the duty of my profession, the common calls of life, or the affairs of the Society.

This plunge will oblige me to make some choice, and its being so generally known will serve me as a just plea for refusing many embarrassing distant engagements. Such are my views and my desires at present, and I humbly trust that goodness and mercy, which have given me my life as a prey, will not leave me. Indeed, the general and cordial regard manifested to me, by Friends and others, lays a strong obligation to gratitude upon me, and would prompt a desire to repay it. But I must not give way. I have hitherto done all

I could to serve all within my reach, and it is a satisfaction to feel that I have not served an ungenerous or ungrateful public.

Thus, my dear friend, I have endeavoured to give thee a just state of our condition. We know thy present desires for our good, and may they be still continued when access is granted. JOHN & ANN FOTHERGILL.

Some time after his recovery from this illness, he visited Ackworth School, to endeavour to perfect his plan, and to perpetuate its advantages. He was accompanied by his sister, and they also went to Knaresborough, and the burial ground at Scotton, "to pay," as he describes their visit, "the grateful tribute of a tear, at the side of an honoured parent's grave; to see that his sepulchre was not laid waste to the beasts of the field, but secured from the ravages of neglect, was to us a pleasing duty. Firmly persuaded that we had not the least cause to mourn on his account, and nothing left, more becoming us, than to call to mind his precepts, and his example, we left the solitary spot with hearts full of reverent thankfulness that such was our father, and that we were so far favoured as to be able to remember him with gratitude and affection."

The burial ground at Scotton is still occasionally used by Friends. It is beautifully situated on rising ground, amidst extensive woodlands, and surrounded by aged trees which Dr. Fothergill had planted, and which continue to show that they had been placed there by the hand of judgment and taste. In a visit made to this lonely and interesting place, in the autumn of 1842, the fences were found in good order, but cattle were allowed to graze amongst the ancient grave-stones, now much overgrown with moss; the inscriptions might still be deciphered, but none of them marked the spot where the venerable remains of that faithful servant of his Lord reposed.

The firmest constitution, the most temperate life, must at length yield. On the 12th of the twelfth month, 1780, Dr. Fothergill experienced a severe return of his former complaint, which the united efforts of several of the most eminent medical men could not remove; and although he received some slight relief by surgical aid, the intense pain which accompanied the disease throughout, remained unsubdued, and under its effects his strength rapidly gave way. Yet, in the midst of this extremity of suffering his mind was preserved calm and serene; he expressed a hope that he had not lived in vain, but had endeavoured in degree to answer the end of his creation, by sacrificing interested considerations, and

by his care for the good of his fellow creatures. His firm belief in his Redeemer did not forsake him in this trying hour; and to his deeply afflicted sister he often addressed words of comfort, saying, "All is well with me; through the mercy of God, in Jesus Christ, I am going to a blessed and happy eternity: my troubles are ended, mourn not for me." In this peaceful state of mind he departed this life, at his house, in Harpur street, on the 26th of the twelfth month, 1780, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

His remains, attended by a large concourse, who assembled to manifest their love and respect for his character, and their sorrow for the loss of such a man, were conveyed to Winchmore-hill, and interred in Friends' burying ground there on the 5th of first month, 1781, after a large and solemn meeting.

Much more might have been said respecting Dr. Fothergill, but accounts of his life have been already frequently printed. Soon after his decease, his relatives, Dr. W. Hird, and Dr. G. Thompson, each wrote sketches of his character, or tributes to his memory; his friend, Dr. Lettsom, also collected his works, and published them, with a full account of his life; this passed through at least four editions, and is the fullest and best account of him that has appeared. Another collection of his works, with a life prefixed, was also published early after his death, by J. Elliott, M. D.; but this abounds with errors—few of the particulars respecting himself or his family being correctly stated; some of these errors have been copied into other accounts of him more recently published.

From early youth, even when but eight or nine years old, his love for the productions of nature was developed; and at that early period, he took pleasure in studying the forms of plants, and acquiring a knowledge of their qualities, with reference to their powers of healing; thus early was he engaged in a preparation for that profession, in which he afterwards justly attained to so high an eminence. To an extraordinary sagacity and discernment in treating disease, he was accustomed, as he has been reverently heard to say, to seek the Divine blessing upon his endeavours to restore those under his care. In the early part of this volume, it is stated, that he and his

brother Samuel were at school together at Briggflats; subsequent information renders it more probable that they were placed in the family of some friend there, but attended the celebrated grammar school at Sedberg, not quite two miles distant. The earlier part of Samuel's education he received at the grammar school of Yoresbridge, near Askrigg, not far from the place of his nativity.

To his fondly attached sister, the death of Dr. Fothergill was a severe trial. The loss of a tender and affectionate friend, and pleasant companion, was irreparable: a near and close attachment had subsisted between them from childhood, and with him was connected all her earthly enjoyments; he brought around her the best society, for the good and wise of every country sought and found in him a kindred mind. She was now lonely, the solitary survivor of a numerous family, and to her gentle and affectionate heart the stroke which severed them was sharp, but she bore it with quiet and patient acquiescence in the Divine will. She was a truly religious woman, for many years in the station of an elder, well concerned for the good of our religious Society, and earnest in the support of its discipline; kind, benevolent, and much given to hospitality; every first and fifth-day she had a dinner provided, for strangers who might attend Westminster meeting, to which she belonged, whether ministers or others. She was much respected and beloved, and a faithful, discreet counsellor to many, who sought her advice in their various perplexities. She survived her brother many years, and in old age became very feeble in body, and her mental faculties much declined; but it was evident that her mind was still visited and sustained by the influence of Divine love, which preserved her in a tender and innocent state to the latest period of a long life.

She died at her house in Great Russel street, on the 8th of seventh month, 1802, aged eighty-four years, and was interred at Winchmore-hill.

The salvation of the righteous is of the Lord: he is their strength in the time of trouble.

The Lord shall help them, and deliver them, and save them, because they trust in him; and their inheritance shall be for ever.

A JOURNAL OF THE LIFE
OF
THAT ANCIENT SERVANT OF CHRIST,
JOHN GRATTON.

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Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever. DAN. xii. 3, 4.

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John Whiting's Testimony concerning our dear friend JOHN GRATTON.

LOVE to the precious Truth which I received in my early days, and embraced as my chiefest joy, and which is dearer to me than all that this world can afford, hath made me love the messengers and ministers of it, and their testimony for its sake; of whom our dear friend, John Gratton, was not the least, being one of the Lord's worthies, raised up in these latter days, after long travail, and sent forth to publish the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ, to his neighbours and countrymen, &c., as by the following relation will appear. A true minister of the everlasting gospel of life and salvation to the sons and daughters of men in life and power, which is glad tidings indeed, to as many as receive it. But he is now removed and taken from us, and is gone to his everlasting rest, and his works follow him.

The removing so many of the Lord's worthies from among us of late years, is matter of weighty consideration, with which my heart hath often been deeply affected; but in this I am comforted, that we are not left destitute, and that the work is the Lord's: and though they are taken away, he can raise up others in their room; and that they died in the Lord, and if we are faithful we shall go to them, seeing they cannot return to us, where we shall for ever live to laud and praise the name of the Lord. And in the mean time let us pray the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth more faithful labourers into his vineyard, to supply the places of those who are removed; for the harvest indeed is great, and much work yet to be done before the na-

tions are converted unto him, and the true labourers, in comparison of the greatness of the work, are yet but few.

I should not have presumed to write any thing concerning this our deceased friend, considering how many abler there are to speak of him, had not I had a more than common respect to him, for his testimony's sake, and intimate acquaintance with him for about twenty years, and knew his temper and spirit well; and were it not to give some account of the ensuing journal, and my concern in it which is as follows:

Our friend John Gratton, whose service in the Truth, and labours in the work of the Lord, are, I doubt not, fresh in the memories of many, who will be glad to hear the relation of him, left an account, in several manuscripts, of his life, labours, travels, and sufferings, which, being sent up to London since his decease, were put into my hands, with desire that I would peruse and compare them; which I carefully did, and brought the substance of all into one, according to the order of time, as near as I could in his own words, not omitting any thing that was material.

May the Lord make it serviceable to all that read it, that it may redound to his glory, the advancement of his truth, and the comfort of his people.

He died in the first month, 1711-12. And precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints: to whose divine grace and guidance I recommend all, with my own soul.

JOHN WHITING.

London, the 20th of the Twelfth month, 1719.

Joseph Smith's Testimony concerning
JOHN GRATTON.

Having known my dear friend, John Gratton thirty years or upwards, and he being one whom I dearly loved, as a minister of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, it is upon my mind to write a short testimony concerning him. He travelled much in the work of the ministry, and was willing to spend and be spent for the Truth's sake. His testimony was very powerful, and prevailed to the tendering of the hearts of many; and I may say, for one, he was very helpful to me in my young years, wherefore I had always an honourable esteem for him as an elder, and a father in Israel. But within this fifteen or sixteen years I have had a more full knowledge of him; for I sometimes travelled with him, and had private opportunities in his company: and although he was endued with an excellent gift of the ministry, yet he was very tender and courteous to those who were but young in the work of the gospel, whose care was to serve the Lord and not themselves, and indeed he had a word of comfort to the weary travellers, whose faces were Zionward; yet he was very sharp against deceit. He dearly loved the Truth, and the prosperity of it. May I not say, the righteous is taken away, and few consider it. My desire and prayer to the Lord is, that as he hath been pleased to remove many of the ancients, he might raise up many more faithful labourers, and give them a portion of the same Spirit, that the Truth might spread over the nation, and nations remote; that many might be turned from the evil of their ways unto the fear of the Lord, and so lay down their heads in peace, as I believe this our dear friend hath done. And though he is taken from us, to our great loss, yet I doubt not but it is to his eternal gain; for I being with him a little before he was taken away, found him sensible and retaining his integrity, which was much to my comfort and satisfaction; and now I may say, he being dead, yet speaketh: and his memory is fresh in my remembrance, I being sensible that he died in the love of Truth, and in true love and unity with faithful brethren. JOSEPH SMITH.

North Collingham, in Nottinghamshire,
22nd of the Third month, 1713.

Josiah Langdale's Testimony concerning our
dear friend, JOHN GRATTON.

He was one whom I dearly loved because of that spirit that dwelt in him in a plentiful

manner. Indeed, the Lord wonderfully favoured him with his grace and spirit, so that I have sat with great delight under his ministry in many places. I was at London the last time he was there, and he was very living and powerful in his testimony, and many things dropt from him in his declarations, which were very suitable to the congregations; so that I admired the wisdom that the Lord had endued him with, and the strength that his natural body had, for out of meetings he was very weak, because of his distemper that was upon him. He preached the gospel of life and salvation freely, and suffered for the testimony the Lord gave him to bear, and many were turned to the Lord through his ministry, who became obedient and faithful to the manifestation of God's spirit in their own hearts, several of whom I was intimate with; so that it is a true relation I give of him.

I desire the Lord may raise up many such true labourers as he was in his day, to labour in his vineyard, that many may be turned to righteousness, and grow up in holiness, to the praise and glory of God, who hath appeared by his light and grace in a wonderful manner in our day. Surely the Lord is about to make his name and truth famous amongst the inhabitants of the earth; for this cause, and for the love that he bears to the workmanship of his hands, is he working in the hearts of many by his Spirit, and is raising up true hearted men and women, that run not after filthy lucre, but are seeking to gain souls to the Lord, and turn men and women from their sins and transgressions, that they may be heirs of eternal salvation; for this end did our dear friend and brother labour. I have met with him in divers counties in this nation, where he laboured faithfully and truly in the work of the Lord; endeavouring as much as in him lay to stir up the pure mind: and I have seen his labours of love effectual, so that many hearts and souls have been sweetly refreshed through that love that flowed, and dwelt plentifully in him; and after a meeting he was solid and serious, and his discourse tended much to edification, and to build up the children of the Lord in the most holy faith. He was one that sought not to be applauded by men, but kept humble and low in the fear of God, and had an eye to his glory. These qualifications that his Lord and Master had endued him with, and his exemplary life, did much beautify him in the eyes of those that loved and feared Almighty God. Well this may be safely said, that he was a man of God, and did good service in his day, and is entered into that rest, that is pre-

pared for all those that love the Lord Jesus Christ.

JOSIAH LANGDALE.

Bridlington, the 3rd day of the
Eighth month, 1712.

A Testimony from several Friends in Cheshire, concerning our ancient friend, JOHN GRATTON, deceased.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, having had a pretty early and long acquaintance with that good man, thought it our duty, in respect to his memory, to give forth this testimony concerning him. In his early and several visits to this county in the service of Truth, we observed the Lord attended him, and put him forth, so that many times he was wonderfully opened and enlarged to speak of the things of God, and to unfold the mysteries of his kingdom in a very convincing manner to the ignorant, and to the comforting and strengthening of the faithful. Times of refreshment did often sweetly attend the meetings of Friends he paid his visits to, which made him acceptable to us; and as he was lively and powerful in his testimony, so many times he was sweetly drawn forth in praise and supplication to the Lord. He spared not himself, wherein he could be serviceable to God, his truth and people, and had still an eye to the glory of God therein, and was zealously concerned to exalt the kingdom of his dear Son Christ Jesus our Lord, which he did, not only in doctrine, but in conversation, for he was a good example, both at home and abroad; and his service both here and in other places cannot easily be forgotten by us. His travels were considerable in this nation, and many were convinced by him in this county, and in other parts, and brought to the knowledge of the Truth. He also made a visit to Friends in Ireland, where he was gladly received, and often spoke of the satisfaction he had therein, as also in his travels through Scotland. Whilst he lived in Monyash, in the county of Derby, his house and heart were open, and his entertainment free. The company of honest Friends was very acceptable, and many made respectful visits to him, which he would say were times of comfort and consolation. As years came on, infirmities increased, which weakened and brought him often very low. His imprisonments and loss of goods, for his testimony of Truth, he bore with a great deal of patience, and waded through those sufferings with a Christian courage. Some time after his removal to the county of Nottingham, his dear wife was taken from him, which added still to his sorrows; for she

was a strength and comfort to him in the midst of his exercises, and continued so to be to her end, and after her death he had the help and assistance of an affectionate daughter, who discharged her duty to him to his very last.

We shall only add, he was a man beloved of God and of his people, sound in his testimony, courteous in his behaviour; he loved the Truth for the Truth's sake; was patient in his suffering for it, faithful to God in discharging his duty to him, helpful to his people wherein he could be serviceable to them, either in their private or public concerns; he lived well, and so he died: and after all the toils, exercises and buffetings he met with here in this world, in a good old age he was gathered home unto a quiet habitation.

The Lord God Almighty raise up and send forth many more such faithful labourers into his harvest, that the scattered may be gathered, and the dispersed brought home to the fold of safety, where they may be prepared with the redeemed of the Lord, to give unto him, and unto the Lamb that sits upon the throne, the glory, honour, and high praises that are his due, and our duty to render him, even world without end, Amen.

Joseph Endon,
John Walker,
Ralph Brock,
John Hough,
William Harrison,
John Hobson,
Benjamin Bangs,

Martha Hobson,
Mary Richardson,
Martha Royle,
Tabitha Ardern,
Mary Bangs,
Martha Moss.

Stockport, the 2nd of the First
month, 1712-13.

The Testimony of several Friends belonging to Monyash monthly meeting, concerning our deceased friend, JOHN GRATTON.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being members of Monyash monthly meeting, whereunto our well beloved friend, John Gratton, did many years belong, in which time we were intimately acquainted with him; enjoyed many comfortable and precious opportunities in conversing together, and were often refreshed under his ministry; do find ourselves concerned, as a duty we owe to his memory, and for the recommending his Christian labours to succeeding ages, to write this brief testimony concerning him. He was a man of note in his country, and one whose Christianity did show itself in the spirit of meekness and humility, notwithstanding many troubles and exercises which he met with. He was also an able minister of the everlasting gospel, being made instrumental in the

convincement of many. He had great openings, was sound in doctrine, and skilful in hitting the mark. His ministry was lively and powerful, plentifully opening the Scriptures. He travelled much in the service of Truth, both in this nation, and in other countries adjacent. His residence was at Monyash, in the county of Derby, above forty years, where we were often comforted in his company, and therefore loved him in the Truth, and do believe that he lived and died a servant of the Lord. He departed this life at Farnsfield, in Nottinghamshire, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Elihu Hall,	Rebecca Bowman,
Henry Bowman,	Ann Bowman,
Cornelius Bowman,	Sarah Potter,
George Potter,	Hester Bowman.

Phebe Bateman's Testimony concerning her dear father and mother.

It hath been much in my mind to give a short account of the latter end of my dear and tender parents, it pleasing the Lord so to order it, that they both finished their days with me at Farnsfield, in Nottinghamshire. They broke up house-keeping at Monyash, in the fourth month, 1707, and went from thence to brother Joseph's, and after a short stay there, came hither. My dear mother had been weakly about half-a-year before, but then was something better, and went a journey with my dear father. She had a tender care for us all, being a very affectionate, loving, tender mother; and in our bringing up, had an eye to the Lord, that we might be trained up in his fear, and was not backward in reproving us for any appearance of evil. My father being about five years and a half in prison, when we were but young, the tuition of us fell mostly upon her; and as we grew up, she would often advise us to diligence and carefulness, not only to the Lord, but in the outward affairs of the world, that none might be losers by us. Her weakness of body increased fast on her, so that she much desired her time here might not be long, if the Lord saw it good, yet was freely given up to his holy will, and would say to me, "Do not desire my life, but give me up freely. I know I might have been assisting to thee, if the Lord had been pleased to order it, but my desires are more to be gone, if he see it good, than to live any longer here." She had a tender regard in her mind for dear father, that he might not be neglected, and I being pretty much taken up in attending her, she would often say, "Dost thou take care of

thy father?" For as their love and sympathy had been great in all times of trial of what sort soever, so it continued to the last. I believe she never hindered or discouraged him once from going out in the service of the blessed Truth, but was an encourager of him, and in his absence very diligent and careful that nothing might go amiss to make him uneasy at his return, so that he was much at liberty to serve the Lord for many years before he gave up house-keeping. She was preserved in much patience and resignation to the will of the Lord, often saying, she had hope in him; was very sensible to the last, and departed this life in much quietness and stillness, as if she had been going to sleep, without either sigh or groan, the 4th of the tenth month, 1707, and I believe, is entered into the rest which is prepared for the righteous, in the sixty-fifth year of her age, they having lived together nearly thirty-nine years. She was buried the 7th of the tenth month, in the burying place of Friends, by the meeting-house in Farnsfield, many Friends accompanying her body to the grave.

My dear father was then very weakly, and the loss of my dear mother was a near trial and exercise to him; she having been, as he himself said, a sweet help to him in the Lord, was deeply bowed in spirit for the loss of her, yet freely gave her up to the Lord. He was now brought so low and weak, that few who saw him, thought he would continue long after her: but it pleased the Lord in his great love and infinite goodness, to raise him up in some measure, though he continued weak all along, but was enabled to go up to London the summer following, to see and visit Friends, being out near half a year, in which time he had several fits of illness, but the sorest time was at the house of R. Richardson, he and his wife being very tender of him. Yet his desire was great to get to my house, if the Lord saw it good; and he was pleased to raise him up again, so that he was enabled to get home the 29th of the seventh month, 1708. He continued weakly, being attended with various exercises, which often brought him very low, though sometimes he was enabled to take a little journey to visit Friends.

The last winter he sensibly decayed, so that he would often say to me, he could not continue long, his stomach being so weak, he could take little food for several months before he died. His desires were great to go hence, if the Lord saw it good; and as his weakness increased, his desires, if could be, grew stronger and more earnest with the Lord to remove him out of this troublesome world, being well satisfied his day's work was over, yet desired to wait the Lord's time.

My eldest daughter being then very ill, he often gave good advice and counsel to her, to fear the Lord, and be obedient to her parents, with more to that effect, to all my children.

About a month before his decease, I was called on so suddenly, that it was thought he could not live till I came to him. I found my children and the maid weeping, thinking he would not have spoken again, but when I came to him, he broke out into tears, saying, he thought he should never have seen me more; but soon got a little strength to sit up in his chair, and called all the children to him, one by one, and kissed them, giving them good advice; saying it was a great comfort to him to see we should part in so much love and unity one with another; and calling for the maid, spoke very tenderly and lovingly to her. Being attended with sore sickness and pain, he said, "Lord, I pray thee give me ease, if it be thy holy will, and remove me soon out of this body. Thou knowest it is through thy great mercy that we have hope in thee. Lord, I pray thee, be with my children that I leave behind, and with all friends and neighbours of what profession soever: it is through Christ Jesus our Advocate, who is gone before us,

that we are enabled to come to thee." His pain and exercise of body continuing, he said again, "Lord, if it be thy holy will, remove me out of this troublesome body." Another time, some Friends being come to visit him, I told him, here were Friends come to see him; he said, they might see he was a weak man; and looking on them as they sat by him, he said, "The Lord bless his people, and prosper his Truth amongst them, and enable them to live in love one with another." Not long after, weakening very fast, he said, "Lord, I freely commit my soul and spirit unto thee;" desiring to have his dear love given to Friends, naming several in particular. A little before he died, he told me, he thought he should be gone in half an hour, being very sensible to the last. He departed this life on the 9th of the first month, 1711-12, and is, I hope, at rest with the Lord, where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. He was buried beside my dear mother the 11th of the same, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, having been convinced of the Truth about forty years. PHEBE BATEMAN.

Farnsfield, 1712.

JOURNAL OF THE LIFE OF JOHN GRATTON.

For God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him. ACTS x. 34, 35.

IT hath often been in my heart to write a short account, to leave behind me, of the Lord's gracious dealings with me, and of the great mercies, which in his infinite love, he hath freely bestowed upon me, far beyond my deserts or expectation, to my great joy and consolation; praises, thanks, glory, honour and renown, be given and ascribed unto him; for he alone is worthy, God over all, blessed for ever, amen. To the end that my children and others, who may see these lines, may be encouraged to trust in the living God, and to cast their care upon him, and obey him truly; for he never fails them that put their trust in him, and abide in his blessed counsel.

When it first pleased the Lord to visit me, and to cause his light to shine in me, which is now my life, I was but a child, and was keeping my father's sheep, and was addicted to sin and vanity, for which I was reprov'd and smitten inwardly; and it was made mani-

fest to me that I was not in a state of salvation, nor had I any true peace in my mind; but whenever I came seriously to consider my condition, I found an accuser near me. I also found, that He who reprov'd me for sin, and showed me the deceit of my heart, also counselled me to embrace truth and righteousness, and was always with me, to instruct me, and guide me in the way of holiness, and advised me to sin no more in word or deed, but always to speak truth. When I took his counsel and followed his advice, then was I easy, and my burden seemed to lighten, and it would give me encouragement to hold on, and take heed to that good Spirit in me, which thus instructed me to Godliness, and to shun that which was evil. I found, as it were, two spirits working in me, both striving to gain me, the one from the other; but I found the good Spirit, for so it was, always counselled me to do good things, and when I was obedient to it, then I found the evil spirit could not break my peace: and had I stood here, and always lived in the counsel of this good Spirit of instruction, and never

rebelled against it, then had my peace been as a river.

I was about ten or eleven years old, when the Lord visited me with the light of his Son, and gave me to see the vain life and way I lived in, being much given to play amongst rude boys, and took great delight in playing at cards, and shooting at butts, and ringing of bells, for which I was reprov'd. I came to see that vain sports and pleasures were displeasing to the Lord, which I was inclined to, before I came truly to know the Word of God in my heart and mouth, to hear it and do it, and was judged in myself for the same, but knew not the Judge, being but a child. I did not yet know the Lord, nor think it had been he who met me in my heart and conscience, and told me all that ever I did, and made all things manifest that were reprov'd; though I had read in the Scriptures, that Christ was come to redeem from a vain conversation, to serve the living God; and Christ taught to pray, "Thy kingdom come: thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven;" and said, "I came not to do my own will, but the will of him that sent me;" and, "not my will but thy will be done," when he was to drink that bitter cup, of the cross; and, "he that will be my disciple, must deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow me:" and so the cup he was to drink of, and the baptism he was to be baptized with, they should [also drink of and be baptized with.] Oh! it is beyond words, or the depth of man's wisdom to reach, and yet we must drink of it, and be baptized with his baptism. It was he that appeared in me, when I was young, though I knew him not, but followed hireling priests, Presbyterians, &c., yet was uneasy among them all.

When I saw that I lived not as I ought, a fear came over me, and I sat down upon the ground, and was very serious; and thought to live more carefully and holily for the time to come. And when this mind was begotten in me, I felt and saw the grace of God appear in me, but I knew not what it was, yet I would gladly have held it, and have kept the enjoyment of it, but did not; for being young, my mind got out again after vain and childish sports, and sinful, foolish pastimes, when I met with my companions, sporting myself in earthly things, and so fell from the counsel of the heavenly, and lost the sense, sight and feeling of it; so that trouble and sorrow of mind came over me. Thus I lived for five or six years; and as I grew in years, so it increased in me: yet did I often find the heavenly Monitor meet with me, and sometimes did sharply reprove me, and sometimes gently instruct me; and at last clearly opened

my heart to me, and did break my peace, and caused his terrors to seize upon me, and I was wounded at my heart, and great was my sorrow, and my tears were many, and I knew not what to do. Yet in this state of sorrow, I sometimes had a secret hope, and this kept me from sinking under the great weight that lay upon me. This gave me courage to pray to God, though I knew not how to pray; but yet I thought, that in secret, where none could hear or see me, I could pray best, and could confess those sins, and pray for forgiveness and for power over them, that I was not willing men should know of. But still I found not power to forsake the sins I was so prone to, because I received not him, to whom all power is given, nor yet knew him. I little thought it had been He who told me all that ever I had done, and searched out all my secret sins; there was nothing hid from him, but he discerned the very thoughts and intents of my heart, and I was even laid naked before him, and could hide nothing from him; yet his appearance seemed such a poor, low, despised thing, that I believed not in it, nor thought to have found Christ in me, but looked for him, or concluded him to be in heaven, above the skies. And though he appeared to me wonderfully by his Spirit, yet I did not know him, but still rejected his counsel, and came not to him, to be taught by him, though he had long waited to be gracious to me; glory to his Name for ever, for he made many things manifest to me. Great was the travail of my poor soul; and all outward things sometimes seemed little worth to me, and I cried unto the Lord, that he would tell me what he would have me to do, and that he would show me, who were his people, that worshipped him aright, according to his will.

I read much, and conferred with many about religion, and ran to and fro, to hear those that were accounted great preachers, but neglected the great Teacher in my own heart. I esteemed the priests that were then in place, in Oliver Cromwell's time, and went constantly to hear them, but often came home full of sorrow; for I was not satisfied with their doctrine of election and reprobation, which put me into deep trouble, and I was sometimes very near concluding that I was a reprobate; my state appearing to be a state of sin. Yet I believed, that men who were in Christ, were elected, but men out of Christ, are out of the way to God; for Christ is the elect and chosen of God, the heir of all things, and all that are in him, are co-heirs with him. If Christ be theirs, then all is theirs; and Christ is all in all to them in whom he lives and reigns. But if Christ be

not in them, they are reprobates, without God in the world, dead in sins and trespasses, and all they do are dead works, dead prayers, dead preaching, dead worship and performances; and many are seeking the living amongst the dead, and among dead ordinances, dead faiths, dead observations, and dead professions. My sorrows increased; yet I strove hard to get ease, and read much, and prayed much in secret, and went to hear sermons very eagerly. I was now become one of the Presbyterian church, and had been much among them, and told some of them part of my condition. But, alas! alas! they could not help me; no, nor themselves neither; but would tell me, it was a good condition, and I must be troubled with my sins as long as I lived, and the best of God's children had all along their failings. All this was to persuade me to sit down contented, before I was cleansed and washed from my sins. Oh! these were the physicians of no value; these were they that daubed with untempered mortar, and cried, peace, peace, when there is no peace at all experienced. So that my sorrows increased upon me, and when the people sang psalms in the steeple-house, and I have been there, I durst not sing the same sayings of David, as they did: it would have been a lie in my mouth; for I saw I was not in the condition David was in, nor could I sing it truly, as my song; and if I had I should have said or sung a false thing as to myself. My sorrows still increased night and day, and my tears and fears also were many: and sometimes, when I secretly prayed unto the Lord, and confessed all my sins, and begged of the Lord forgiveness, and used many words, some of which, it may be, I had learned of the priests, and some that were real, according to my state; yet, when I had done, I was condemned, and full of sorrow, and my spirit would sometimes be more heavy laden after I had done, than before I began, being condemned in myself, that I had not prayed in faith, nothing doubting; nor in the spirit of prayer and supplication, and I could find no rest to my poor soul. I mourned deeply because I was unholy, and unrighteous, though my neighbours thought better of me, for I saw my sins and trespasses were many, and believed the Scripture that saith, "No unclean thing can enter the kingdom of Heaven," and without "holiness, no man shall ever see the Lord." I mourned deeply, and was ready to think, that my heart was not right in the sight of God. I prayed much in private in the stable and barns, and in bed, and on the high-moor. One day, being alone on the top of a hill, in the snow, I cried aloud with strong cries to the Lord, and desired him

to show me my own heart, and the Lord was pleased to hear and answer my prayer, at that time; so that he gave me to see my own heart, that I knew it was the Lord that did show it to me, to my satisfaction; for I plainly saw it to be deceitful, and not a good, humble, pure heart. I was pleased that I saw it, and knew what it was; but sorry it was so very bad.

This was the first time, to my remembrance, that I was sure the Lord gave me an answer to my prayers. But I had deep sorrow, yea, very deep, and sometimes I was ready to say, Oh, that I had never been born! watering my pillow with tears; but it pleased the Lord to put it into my mind to be content, and wait the Lord's time, for him to give me further knowledge of his will.

For a while I lived in great sorrow and fear, and trouble. Oh! it was undeclarable; so that in the morning, I was glad that the day was come, and at night, that night was come; and I was apt to think, that no man's condition was ever like mine.

About this time, king Charles the second came to the crown; and after a while uniformity was concluded on, and enacted, that none must have liberty to preach in churches, so called, but such as would conform, and read the common prayer, and observe those ceremonies that were set up by the Episcopalians, or else be silent. Then the Presbyterian priests, whom I had so much esteemed and admired, made their farewell sermons, and left us; for they liked not to conform to the common prayer themselves, and so would not venture to stay with their flocks; which caused me to weep bitterly.

Whereupon it came into my mind to search the Scriptures, to see whether those the Lord sent forth to preach the gospel, in the demonstration of the Spirit, could be silent at man's command, though they were men in authority that forbade them. And whether these, who now pretend to be his ministers, could, according to Scripture, be clear to leave their flocks and congregations, in the will of man, yea, or nay. For I believed that if God had sent them, and set them up, then man ought not to pull them down. I likewise found it clear, by the Holy Scriptures, that they ought not to be silent at man's command, if the Lord had sent and commanded them to preach; but to obey God rather than man, when the Lord commands one thing and man another; as the three children and Daniel also, who patiently bore the wrath of the king, and were put into the fiery furnace and lions' den; they trusted in God, and he delivered them. I found in Isaiah lxii. that, in plain words, the Lord commanded those that

make mention of the Lord, not to keep silence. And when the rulers of the Jews commanded the apostles not to preach any more in the name of Jesus, they answered with a query, "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to obey men rather than God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have heard and seen; and they went straitway into the temple, and preached or taught." In the next chapter, when the Lord delivered them out of prison, they went again into the temple and taught, and one came and told the rulers, "Behold the men whom ye put in prison, are standing in the temple and teaching the people." Then they sent for them before the council, and the high priest said, "Did not we strictly command you, that you should not teach in this Name, and behold, you have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us." Then Peter, and the other apostles answered, and said, "We ought to obey God rather than men:" and forthwith, to their faces, they preached boldly, and did not keep silence, nor flee their testimony, as these priests did in those days.

And that able minister of Christ, the Apostle Paul, said, "Necessity is laid upon me, and wo is unto me, if I preach not the gospel." He and they had the gospel to preach, and knew it to be weighty and powerful, and were filled with the Holy Ghost, so that they could not contain, or be silent, for if they had, they had felt the wo. Men could not silence them, though they used violence to them; for they chose to suffer rather than to be silent; for to be silent they durst not, seeing their great Lord and Master had commanded them to preach; nor silent could they be, unless they would bring themselves under that wo, which man could not take off. Though they imprisoned them, whipped and stoned them, and used great violence to them, yet they testified, even to the very faces of those kings and rulers they were brought before, of their way of worship, and of the Truth and Life that is eternal; not valuing their lives, or counting them dear unto themselves.

Meeting with the priest, who had lived in the parish where I did, I spoke my mind to him, and told him, that I believed if God was pleased to fit and qualify men for the work of the ministry, gift them for it, and send them to preach, they ought to obey God; and if men forbid them to obey God, they ought not to forbear their obedience to God to please men; nor to be silent at man's command, if God command them to preach or teach, as he did his servants of old time. Those he sends in these days ought to be obedient to God, though man be displeased, and cause them to suffer for righteousness sake; the Lord is

God, and will help them, and recompense them into their bosoms an hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting.

He told me that he preached in his own hired house, as Paul did at Rome, and was not silent; but that did not satisfy me, for Paul was a prisoner, and they were not. Had they staid till they were pulled out and put in prison, then they had done like men that trusted in God, and it was a question whether men would have had power to take them from their flocks; but they fled and left us. I having searched the holy Scriptures, and found that they were contrary thereto, and that both the Old and New Testament were against them; and that if they had been true ministers of Christ, they could not be silent, though they had laid down their lives, not knowing but after them grievous wolves might come in, I was fully persuaded in my mind upon the aforesaid grounds, that the Presbyterians were not the true ministers of Christ; and I felt my mind turned against them, considering, if God had sent them, they should have stood in their places; but if they were not sent of God, then they run before they were sent, and were not the men that I had taken them to be; and now they were manifest. So I left them, and saw they were like those spoken of by our Lord in the 10th of John, who were hirelings, and not true shepherds; for when they saw the wolf come, they left the flock and fled; but the true Shepherd lays down his life for the sheep.

Whither to go, or what to do, I knew not; therefore I was much grieved, and could not tell who the people of the Lord were, but often cried, Lord! show me who are thy people, and they that worship thee aright. I pray thee join me unto them, and enable me to serve thee, that I may enjoy thy presence. Had I then joined to the Lord, and to the gift or grace of God that appeared in my heart, and believed in it, and obeyed the teaching of it, I should then have been joined to the Lord in his spirit, and also have been brought to them who were in the Spirit before me; for they are his true worshippers who are in the Spirit, and in that, worship God aright, who is a Spirit.

The Presbyterians being removed out of the pulpit, and out of my heart also, then the Episcopal priests came in their white surplices, and read common prayer, with long composed forms, that we had nothing of in the holy Scriptures; which was as a dead, empty sound to me, and my spirit was grieved with it, for I met with nothing at all of the life or power of God in them; so that I saw they had a form without the power. If this had been the form of Godliness, yet being

without the power, the Scripture exhorts from such to turn away; and the power that they came in by, was the same that the others were put to silence by; and this power had authorized the priest to compel all to buy his wares, and if any refused, he had power given to excommunicate him out of their synagogue; and then, though he would not have his ware, yet he had power to make him pay for it when he was cast out.

Hearing that all must go to this form of worship, I also went to worship I knew not what. When I came, who should come to carry on the work but an old Presbyterian, who had spoken much against the common prayer, and those ceremonies then commanded by men to be used. But rather than lose those great benefits that yearly came in, for praying and preaching to the people, he swallowed down that which before he had vomited up. I observed their worship, and I searched the Scriptures again and again, and found the power they stood in not to be the power of God, but of men. I found that God commanded, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets;" but they went contrary.

The Lord commanded his servant Paul, saying, "Pray always, with all prayer and supplication, in the spirit;" but I found the Episcopal prayers in a book. I found the worship God required, to be in spirit and in truth; but the Episcopal worship was in ceremony and outward external things without life. I found the Lord commanded in the New Testament, not to observe days and times, and months and years; but these priests commanded days to be observed, one above another. The Lord commanded his ministers, saying, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" but these gave nothing freely, but sat ready to receive, and compelled people to give them. Finally, I found them in nothing suitable to the Scriptures, and as I then concluded, none else were, but like the false prophets who were spoken of in Scripture. Then I absented myself and did not join with them, but was separated from them by the Lord, blessed be his name for ever, who hath been gracious to my soul, far beyond what I can express; living praises be given to his holy Name, for evermore.

I left them, with their dead forms, dead sounds, dead works, yea, all seemed dead to me; and to stay there, seeking the living among the dead, would not profit my poor soul at all. I had this saying in my mind; Whoever is right I know not; but these are wrong, their eyes are blinded, their ears are dulled, their hearts are proud, carnal, covet-

ous; greedy after their gain, and they do not profit the people at all; and if they leave people, after ten, twenty, thirty or forty years tithing them, yet they are no better for all the charges they have put them to; they are "miserable sinners" still, and likely to be so.

Though this was seen by me, I still had not that wisdom to come to the true light, which made them manifest to me; but was considering, in my own wisdom, what to do, and yet could not tell, or find out the true worshippers. I heard of a sort of people much commended, who used to meet in private houses, in great fear of being persecuted, but were much commended by great professors, whom I looked upon to be understanding men. I went to their meetings, some of whom were called Independents, some Presbyterians, and some Anabaptists. I found some of this mixed multitude believed that God had elected a certain number to be saved, and had reprobated all the rest: others of them held forth free grace, or Christ a gift freely given to all. Some held baptizing infants in water; some said nay, none ought to be baptized in water till they believe: some baptized not at all.

But the great thing of all I met not with among them, viz: the Lord to my comfort, nor could I see the power of God upon them, or amongst them; but pride abounded, slandering one another, foolish jesting, vain talking, fashioning themselves according to the customs of the world, many of them conforming so far as to go one while to their own meeting, and another while to the steeple house, though they had much to say against the steeple-house worship. I saw they feared man greatly, as it appeared; for the law of man coming forth, with great penalties upon all separate meetings, they refrained, and were not to be found, and kept silent, rather than hazard this world's goods. So I was still in great trouble of mind, and knew not what to do; for the Lord was what I longed for, and to glorify him was my desire; but I found not wherewith.

Then I went to Chesterfield, to seek out and meet with those people called Independents; for I liked the name, seeing nothing at all in man to depend on; but they depended only upon the death and sufferings of Christ in his own body, yet did not come to see him nor his appearance in themselves to be their life, and had not heard his voice, and the Word of God they had not abiding in them; so were dead professors, and dry trees, not bringing forth fruit. But they preached free grace, universal love, general redemption, and tendered mercy to all. This pleased me well, far better than the Presbyterian doctrine of election and reprobation; yet I was not sat-

isfied nor easy, for I read Scripture very much, and saw by reading the Scriptures, with the secret help of Almighty God, which he afforded me in his infinite love, that as many as were led and guided by the Spirit of God, they were sons of God; and that, if any man has not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. This is such a clear distinction between the children of God and the children of the wicked one, or the children of this world, that there is no uniting them. This is clear from the holy Scriptures. For light and darkness are opposites; and Christ and Belial, believers and infidels are past uniting, without a new creation, a new birth, which the unconverted are encouraged to wait for, seek for, beg and hope for.

I saw, that without the enjoyment of God in my own soul all was in vain; it was little comfort to me to read and hear what other men had enjoyed, while I wanted it. The wise virgins' oil would not serve them and me too. I saw that a little measure of the Spirit of God was more precious than all this vain world; and that short of this I could not rest. I made my remarks on those Independents, and saw they were very proud, and afraid of men and sufferings; and when we went to meetings, we were cautioned to go as privately as might be; so that they went several ways, one under one hedge side, and another under another, that we might not be taken notice of. Then, when we came to the meeting places, scouts or watchers were set to see and to give notice, that if a magistrate came, we might all run away and break up our meeting. This seemed a wrong thing to me, and it displeased me; for I saw that they were not like the disciples of Christ, who were not ashamed or afraid to own Christ before men. This doing did not tend to spread the gospel, if they preached it.

I got no true peace with God among them, nor enjoyment of the Lord in my poor soul. Whereupon I left them, and all churches and people, and continued alone like one that had no mate or companion; yet at times some hope would arise beyond my expectation, and I believed God had a people somewhere. But I knew not who they were, and was now afraid to join with any, lest they should not worship God aright; and then I might be guilty of idolatry, which I had often observed the Lord had been much offended at among the Jews, and not only threatened them sorely by his prophets, but also brought judgments upon them, for their idolatry and rebellion against him.

The sorrows of hell took hold on me and the very pangs of death beset me round; which way to turn I knew not, but I could

find none to comfort me, or lend me a hand in my tears, fears, terrors, grief, amazements, bitterness, anguish and deep mourning. Yet was I forward to discourse and talk with many about matters of religion, who would talk with me, for many had a love to me, but the priests I saw were in deceit, and I was sharp upon them at times; and my sorrows were so great that sometimes I roared out, and cried mightily to the Lord when I travelled upon the plains and moors, and thought none was near to hear or see me but the Lord alone, who was the only one to whom I did look and hope in for help and deliverance.

Now it pleased the Lord to open and show me many things; and he opened holy Scriptures to me sometimes, and I was mightily afraid of sinning against the Lord, so that I walked carefully. It grieved me to see people live badly, and that they could not believe one another, what they said when they bought and sold; and when I heard a man swear I trembled. Sometimes I felt something in my inward parts that was very precious and sweet to me, yet I did not clearly understand what it was; but if at any time I did or said any thing that was not right, then I soon lost the sight and feeling of that. Oh! it hath been gone in a moment: I saw that every thing which offended the holy God and was reprovab, would not abide, but all defilement, and whatsoever was tinctured with evil was against it, and it let me see it and condemned it, and me too so far as I joined with it. Oh! this to enjoy is a comfort beyond utterance, to that heart which loves righteousness and hungers after it. When I have been talking with a person who saw not that I spoke a wrong word, yet I have seen it, and the Lord's spirit gave me to see it, though it may be, it slipped from me at unawares for want of diligent heed, and watching like a doorkeeper, as I ought to have done; and then my sorrows would be renewed upon me, and tears and fears in abundance. Yet a secret desire was in me, that I might die, and go out of this wicked, sinful world, where I found it rare to find a true hearted man or woman.

One first-day, after I had been reading one while and weeping another, under a wall in a field, about the middle of the day I came home, and found my father and mother were come over to see us, for I then lived with my grandfather an apprentice, and I thought they would hinder me from minding the exercise I was in, which was deep. In the afternoon I fell ill of bodily sickness; and when I felt my illness grow upon me, I was glad, and in some hopes I should be taken out of this world; for I was plainly sick with trouble of

mind; yet a secret hope was underneath, that if I did die, the Lord, who is gracious and merciful, would forgive the sins of my childhood and youth. After I was pretty well again, I went to the moor to pull heath, and being alone, as my manner was, I was very full of exercise, and began to think that that which I had sometimes felt so sweet and precious, and sometimes as a swift witness, a reprover, a just judge, and a condemner of all unrighteousness, was the holy Spirit of God; and remembered that I had been often visited by it, and yet did not know it. For I thought I was not worthy to have the holy Spirit given me, and that it would be presumption in me to expect it; yet now it came into my mind, to think much of it, and of its operations and workings in me. It darted into my mind, that it was really the Spirit of truth, and I had not felt it, nor seen its appearance for some time past; and then I was full of fears, lest I had sinned against the Holy Ghost; and such terror fell upon me that I durst not tarry upon the moor, but arose,—for I was lying on the ground,—and got away home. I remembered what made me so desirous to die the day my parents came to see us, when I had been reading and weeping much, and such a tender frame came over me, that a hope sprung up in me, that if I died in that frame of spirit, the Lord would have mercy on me, so that I was desirous to die while that frame and hope continued. Yet after all this, I fell into trouble again, and sorrow took hold on me: in this time I happened to meet with a young man that was dissatisfied about matters of faith and worship; and we appointed to meet on the first-day after at a woman's house, who was called a Quaker; but I did not know that till after, or but little of any such people, though I had heard of them. When the day came, we met, and it fell out that two other men came and met with us; they were both called Quakers, but had not been long so. This day we spent mostly in discourse: one of the men was of small appearance and slow utterance, and one that never used to preach in meetings; yet that day the Lord's power came upon him, and he so spake that he reached the witness of God in me; and I thought that that exercise came upon him in mercy to me. But, alas! I had entertained such hard thoughts of these people, that I went homeward very sorrowful. My cry still went up to the Lord, that he would show me Zion, the city of my God, and who they were that dwelt therein. And that first-day, as I was alone, and in great exercise of mind about these things, it pleased the Lord to show me his people who served him. As I walked along through a dark wood, I was so

exercised that I scarcely knew how I was; and as I came out of the wood to go up a hill, I had a vision, and I saw a people laid close one by another in a very low place, lower than the other parts of the earth, where they lay still and quiet. I looked upon them; for it rose in my heart, that they were the Lord's people. This made me look earnestly, to see who they were, that I might know them to my comfort, whom the Lord owned for his people; and I saw plainly that they were the people called Quakers, a poor, despised, low sort of people. When I perceived this, I was as one amazed and in great trouble; for these were a people of all others that endured the greatest sufferings, and were by all the rest hated, reviled and scorned. As I walked on, the vision ended; but I was in a strange frame, and considering the matter, I felt a change in me, and I knew that my countenance was altered. I drew near a little village, my way lying through it; but I had a mind to escape being seen as much as I could, because I concluded that they would take notice that my countenance was much altered. But it fell out, that when I had got almost through the town, there was a woman saw me and called to me, though I went as far from her as I well could, to keep in the road. She asked me how I did, and what ailed me to look so? I gave her little answer, but said, Not very well; so passed on, and coming to a stile that was upon the top of a high hill, I sat down upon it; and there it was showed me, that if I would be a true follower of the Lamb, I must forsake the world, its corrupt ways, fashions, customs, worships, and all the vain glory, love and friendship of it. I saw, if I now came into obedience to the Lord, who had thus graciously heard my cries, and answered my breathings, or rather, the breathings which he had begotten in me, that I must part with all the repute, friendship, love and praise of men, which I then had, and lived in; and must forsake my old companions, with whom I had wasted much precious time in vain sports and gaming, which we lived and delighted in, with many other things I prized highly; all which I must now let go for the Lord, if I would choose and follow him. At this I was much troubled, for I was very loath to lose either, and would gladly have had both the love of God and the love of men too: I would have enjoyed both God and the world; but could not. My love to these vanities was so great, and I prized them so much, that it went very hard with me, to think of losing all for Christ, yea, even as bitter as death almost to me in appearance; for the love and favour of the people I valued highly, and the cross seemed

so great, that I could then by no means persuade myself to take it up. Great was the conflict I was in, and a very sharp war there was in me: yet I did not disclose my condition to any, but kept all in secret from man. But the All-seeing eye beheld me, and suffered me not to be overcome, nor the enemy to destroy my poor soul, though he suffered him to try and prove me, till the Lord was pleased to raise up his living witness in me, which I admired at, and could not tell what it should be, and did not know that it was the grace or gift of God that brings salvation, which appeared to me, though I had grieved it, and disobeyed it, till it seemed to grow less and less, and to withdraw so long that I could see but little of its appearance. Yet it never wholly left me, though I rebelled often against it; but still it rebuked, reprov'd and judg'd me, that I could not be at peace, because it loved me, and would not let me alone, but waited to be gracious to me; but I was loath to take the counsel of it. I was greatly exercised in my mind, and was dissatisfied about the things of eternity, and my sorrows were deep, and no man knew them.

Before I got home, the enemy came near as if he would have whispered in my ear these words, "Who knows but this may be a trick of the enemy," meaning the vision; and presently there appeared a part in me which was seemingly pleased with this whisper, and said, It is very likely it may be so. Thus old self sought to save himself. Then I remembered that the priests of those days had preached down all such things, as not to be looked for in these days, but said, visions, revelations and miracles were all ceased, and that it was presumption for any man to look for the Spirit of God to be given him now as formerly. So I threw off all again, as a dangerous thing, and would take no further notice of it. I even desired, and was ready to say in my heart, Oh! that the Lord would please, in these perilous times, to speak audibly to some man, as he did to Moses, that we might assuredly know his mind; seeing one cries, Lo, here! and another, Lo, there! But Christ, the power of God is in none of them. So great blindness and darkness seized upon me, and woful ignorance, when I had rejected the Lord's counsel, and trampled such an extraordinary visitation under my feet, and turned my back on it, as the work of the enemy.

I have great cause to admire the Lord's mercies towards me, that I was not wholly forsaken by him, for his eye was still over me, though for a time I was in deep darkness and distress, and my concern was very great. In which time I conferred with many men of several opinions, but I found none that could

help me in this matter, because I came not to Him that is mighty, on whom help is laid. Thus was I like a bird alone in the wood, without a mate, joined to none.

In this state I met with an unexpected exercise; for within a few days after this, one first-day, there came to me a young man who was full of inquiry, and a great seeker, who told me there was a book lately come out, that had the greatest mysteries in it that ever were, as far as he knew; and that God had spoken audibly to one John Reeve of London, or thereabouts, and had told him his mind, and bade him go to one Lodowick Muggleton, and he should be as his mouth, as Aaron was to Moses, and had given them commission above all men, and power to bless them that believed them, and to curse them that spoke against them; and whom they blessed, they said were blessed, and whom they cursed were cursed to all eternity; with many other strange things. I greatly desired to see the book; for this, if true, was the thing I had desired, and I thought with myself, that no man durst presume to say such a thing, except it was really true. In a few days I went to Chesterfield and saw it, and as one that had my wish, I read it eagerly; and upon reading where he saith the Lord had spoken to him, and given to him and Muggleton a commission; and that they were the two witnesses spoken of in the 11th chapter of the Revelations, I was ready to believe it. I borrowed the book then, and afterwards bought it, and as many other of his books, as cost me eight shillings, and read them through several times, and concurred with him in many things, and at last I was so taken with the story that I was likely to be deceived by it, and also the young man. Then it pleased the Lord in mercy to visit me again, to open mine eyes and enlighten my understanding, and he gave me to see great errors in the book; that his writings were clearly opposite to the holy Scriptures in many respects; for they that were of that opinion, and carried away to believe the false prophet Muggleton, for Reeve was dead, had no worship at all. When we met together—those few that were at one widow Carter's—we were not for either waiting upon God, or for any other exercise at all of either preaching, praying, or reading holy Scriptures: no, we had no more to do, but to believe Muggleton, and be saved. So we spent some time in discourse, and then parted. I saw it was clear from the holy Scriptures, that the Lord was pleased men should worship him, according to his own will, in all ages, and would be sanctified in the assembly of his saints, and had in reverence of all that were about him: but there was nothing of

this among the Muggletonians. And though the Lord had said that, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," this neither they nor I knew any thing of, but were to trust in Muggleton's name and power; and if he blessed us, we were blessed, live as we would: But if he cursed us, we were cursed; there was no remedy.

This doctrine I found was contrary to the doctrine of Christ, the true prophet, who said, Bless, I say, and curse not. But I found that Muggleton's spirit took more delight to curse than to bless. I wrote a letter to him and made twelve or fourteen objections against his doctrine, and sent it to him at London: to which he sent me a letter, and referred me to his books, but did not answer any of the objections; but told me he judged I wrote in ignorance and inquiringly, and therefore forbore to curse me till further trial. But I left him, and sat down satisfied that he was a false prophet.

But I was like a man in a cloud, no body saw my case, and I hardly saw it myself as I would. In this time I was sorely tempted, and yet some hope lay very deep, that I should meet with Christ in spirit, and know his spirit in my own soul; for I understood by the Scriptures, that it was poured forth upon all flesh, sons and daughters, and that nothing could be done well pleasing to the Lord out of it, and that they who were led and guided by the holy Spirit of God were the sons of God. I saw that all worship which was not in spirit and in truth, was not acceptable to God; for all the prophets and the apostles came in it, they having received it according to the prophecy of Joel, chap. ii. verse 28, and the promise of Christ, Luke xxiv. 49, as in Acts 2.

After I had been concerned with this man's books, and had done with them, I resolved to cease reading such strange books, and to read the Scriptures of truth only, by which I was made a little easy; but how to come to Christ, of whom I stood in great need, I knew not, and was almost out of hope, and discoursed with many; but found not true peace, comfort or satisfaction, but still was under much secret sorrow, and was not so wise as to mind the gift or witness of God in me. If I heard any evil reported of the people called Quakers, I was glad and took courage to go on, slighting the appearance of Truth in my inward parts; yet was the love of God so great towards me, that he did not take his holy Spirit from me; praises, living praises, to his holy Name for ever.

I removed from the place where I had lived all my time; and came to live at Mony-

ash, six miles from thence. I inquired what sorts of professors were there? And I found a people called Anabaptists, of whom I knew very little, but chose rather to accompany with them, than with the rude worldly ones. I conferred much with them, and took a liking to them, which brought me acquainted not only with their principles, but also with their practices in worship, which when I saw, I could say little against them, but thought they came nearest the Scriptures of any I had yet tried; upon which I went to their meetings, and was almost persuaded, that I ought to be dipped into the water, for unless I was I must have no admittance into their church. Seeing no further, I could gladly have been so, it being a far more easy way to the flesh than to obey the gift of God in me. But I could not get to water baptism in faith; for finding them preach that water baptism is a sign of death, burial and resurrection, and that a man ought to be dead before he be buried; for said they, 'It is monstrous in nature to bury a man before he is dead;' and then finding the Holy Scripture saith, "That he that is dead is freed from sin; and how can you that are dead to sin live any longer therein?" I examined myself, and found I was not free from sin, so I was not dead, therefore I was not fit to be buried, and before I was dead and buried, I could not know a rising unto holiness and righteousness; and if I should go and be buried under water as though I were dead, I should dissemble and lie, or deal falsely both with God and man.

This kept me out of the water, but one of the chief of them came to me one day to ask me why I came not to be dipped? and I told him as above: he said to me, "Many do come, that I believe are more unfit than you are." I said, that was nothing to me, I durst not.

After this I went to see my sister dipped in a river called the Wye; and after that two young men; and when they came up out of the water I spent some time with them, and observed them, who were passed from death to life, as they signified; but I saw no appearance of the Spirit, or newness of life, or power, or that they thereby received the Holy Ghost; their baptism being only with water, which can only wash away the filth of the flesh. But such as are baptized into Christ, must be baptized into his death, by dying unto sin, and be buried by his baptism into death, that being made free from sin, they may come to have a part in Christ, the resurrection and the life, by whom they are made alive unto God; for in Christ life is manifest, and we have seen it, and have tasted and handled of the good Word of life, that hath been as a fire, and as a hammer to break our

rocky hearts asunder, and water hath gushed out, and we have felt our hearts made new, and our consciences clean, being washed with pure water, and to answer the pure requirings of the Lord. Our souls being baptized into Christ, and he being put on, in him we have a safe habitation, and come to see, that as none were saved by the ark of Noah but a few that were in it, so none can know salvation but those that are in Christ, the ark of the everlasting covenant; for he is given to be a covenant to the people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, to open their blind eyes, and to be God's salvation to the ends of the earth: and there is no other name under heaven, by which any can be saved but by Jesus Christ: to him be all glory given for ever.

I found that they to whom I looked should have been dead to sin, as they professed they were, yet lived therein, and pleaded for it during term of life. Then I began to question their form, and through mercy I found it was but a form without life or power, and I plainly saw they were not in the power and spirit of God.

Thus the mercy of the Lord preserved me, and his long suffering was salvation to me. He drove me out of all the inventions and imaginations of men, and stripped me naked and bare; I had no hiding place, for these fig trees bear nothing but leaves, and it was bread I wanted, for these outward things brought no inward peace, power, or life, and could not, nor can ever sanctify or make the comers thereunto perfect as pertaining to the conscience, and therefore cannot satisfy the birth immortal.

Yet I continued with them, till one day as I sat in the meeting, I observed that the elders and chief speakers were putting one another to preach and pray, saying, "Pray do you, you are abler than me." Thus they were urging one another, and as I saw and heard them, there arose a dislike in me of these doings, and I said in my heart, Why do ye put on one another? Let God put on whom he pleaseth.

Afterwards there came a mighty power and weight over me, and it was in my heart to go and speak to the meeting. When I felt that it increased upon me, and I knew not how to contain if I did not yield to speak, I gave up and went through the meeting to them, who had been treating one another as aforesaid, and desired I might have liberty to speak a few words; and one of them told me that it was not their manner, to admit of any to speak among them before he was dipped, and entered in by the door, and had passed through the ordinances, or to this

effect. "But," said he, "we believe you are an honest man, and will come, and so you may take your liberty." So I turned me to the meeting, and spake so that tears ran down. I admired at the condition I was then in, for I was like a bottle uncorked, and the power of the spirit flowed in me, and when it stopped I ceased to speak.

The next first-day I went again, and the meeting fell in course to be at an elder's house, one Humphrey Chapman. At this time a very wicked Act was put in force against religious meetings held in other manner than according to the liturgy or practice of the church of England, where above the number of five besides the family were assembled. The fine was twenty pounds the house, and twenty pounds the preacher, and five shillings a hearer. But the elder, so called, refused the meeting, for fear of being fined twenty pounds; then it was tendered to another, who was not only an elder but a preacher, who had dipped the two men aforesaid; but he refused it for fear of his twenty pounds. Then it was offered to a third, who accepted it for that day, though it fell not to be at his house by course. But when I saw the other two refuse the meeting for fear of suffering, one a preacher, who had dipped two men when I stood by, I was not a little troubled; for I remembered the words of Christ, who said, "He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven." So after the meeting was ended, they discoursed about what they must do for time to come; for they must not be at that pass; and the query was, where and when they must meet. About which they differed much; some were for meeting in the bottom of a valley, to save the fine of a house; and as for the time, some were for meeting early, to have done by the time that the priest and people came from the steeple-house to dinner; but some were for beginning then, some were of one mind and some of another; but there was one that I loved best, desired they might meet as they had done formerly.

As I sat and beheld them, I felt the same power arise in me in which I had preached amongst them that day week before, with these words, These people are not the people of God, they do not stand in the power of God.

This I believed, and went away satisfied that it was so; and left them and went no more to join with them in worship.

I was once more singled out, and durst join to none of those formalists, but was like a lost sheep, strayed from my Shepherd, whom, after a long time, I now came again to remember, and was persuaded that it was the gift of God, or the Spirit of Truth, that came

to me to lead and guide me in the way of Truth. This wrought in me a great fear and dread, lest I should have sinned out my day of visitation; and I greatly questioned whether it would ever appear to me again or no. Yet I had a secret hope, which kept me from being quite hopeless; and I came again to be much exercised in mind, and the travail of my soul was truly to enjoy the Lord, and to be an instrument for his glory, and that I might know his will and worship, and perform the same, and be joined to those who were joined unto him.

I was like a speckled bird, none like me, for as yet I had not been at a Quaker's meeting, but thought to live as holy and righteous as I could among men, and join with none in worship, for fear of being deceived, by joining in false or will-worship and idolatry. Sometimes I went two miles to see a woman at Overhaddon, who pretended to live without meat; where I met with professors, I think I may say, of all sorts. One day, a man of London came, called an Independent, and there was a meeting; and he having heard of me, desired me to pray before he began to preach. But I felt a zeal to rise in me against putting men upon that service, which only belonged to God to require and move men to. I refused, and he went on, who could do what he had a mind to do, as far as I saw, in his own will. Then he prayed and preached; but before he had done preaching I was so pressed in my spirit to pray, that it was a great exercise to forbear till he had done. Then I prayed; but with such a power, that the people were amazed, and truly so was I too; for I had never prayed so before, for I had both wisdom, faith, and utterance given me. Afterwards I went home and kept from all people, and joined with none, having tried almost all persuasions among Protestants, and much sorrow I had in secret, and was deeply baptized with the spirit of judgment and burning; and I saw the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire; and my pride and empty knowledge, notions and opinions, yea, my faith that I had got by the wisdom of man was burned up. Oh! the cup that I drank deeply of at that time, is unspeakable. When the holy Spirit appeared in me, Jordan overflowed her banks; it was deep at that moment of time, but in the midst of judgment the Lord showed mercy. It began to be much in my mind, and I was ready to conclude that what I had felt in me, was really the Spirit of the Lord that had waited on me long, and striven with me. As I once said to two professors, that something appeared in me, as one that had much mind to be received and entertained; but for want of

my being open hearted, and inclined to embrace, receive, and mind it, I often lost the sight and feeling of it. Those to whom I told how it was with me, said nothing to me at all, nor could they tell me what it was, though I told them that they should inform me. The appearance of it was mild, meek, low and gentle, and full of good counsel, but stood firm always, and condemned evil, reproving, rebuking and judging it righteously; so that I was much persuaded, in the secret of my heart, that it was the pure, holy Spirit of God; and then I thought if it came not again, my state was dreadful, sad and deplorable. I mourned and lamented; but none knew my sorrows but the Lord alone.

Now I knew not what to do; for my former resolution to live a holy life, and to be as righteous as ever I could, I found did not help me to peace with God; nor had I any true rest for my poor soul day or night; for I had no power to live as I desired to do, though no man could condemn me for any ill things; yet I saw that in myself which others could not. I wanted the Lord's presence, for without that my soul could not be satisfied nor find true rest; though my life and conversation was such, that most loved me who knew me.

About this time I entered into a married state, and went to house-keeping. After some time, my wife grew earnest to have me go with her to hear a priest, but I durst not; for I saw they were wrong as much as any, except Papists, and great sorrow fell on us; and we disputed often till we both wept.

In this condition I met with great temptation, and the enemy sought my ruin, both of soul and body; all which I kept secret. None knew the deep sorrow I was under, night and day; for I had none to open my mind to, except my wife, and I durst not tell her, lest I should trouble her, and put her in fear concerning me; but yet sometimes, upon close search, I found a little hope, but it was very low and very small.

After a time a cry arose in me to the Lord. Oh, that I knew his will, and what he would have me to do! that I knew his people, and his true worship, which he is well pleased with, that I might be joined unto those that were joined unto him. Oh, that I understood aright the things that belong to my peace! When I awoke in the morning, a secret cry arose in my heart; Oh! that this day may be my birth day: for I saw that I wanted to be born again, and to be made a new creature, and my exercise was very great: no comfort could I meet with in any thing that this world afforded, without the enjoyment of his presence. For this I tra-

vailed in spirit before the Lord, and had some hopes he would show mercy to me, which, blessed be his name, I witness. In his own time he caused the Spirit of his Son to arise in my heart, with that power and efficacy, that I clearly saw it was the Spirit of God indeed, which I had so long grieved, which begat a godly sorrow in me; and then I came to it to ask counsel, and it showed me the way of life, and gave me power to become a child of God. Blessed be the Lord for ever!

One day, in corn harvest, as I was riding on the road to Sheldon, in deep exercise, and taking a view of my condition, being in deep tribulation and anguish, condemning and judging myself, it pleased the Lord, on a sudden, unexpectedly and unlooked for, to cause the Day Star to arise in my heart, and the Sun of Righteousness with healing in his wings, even when the sorrows of hell seemed to take hold on me. Then it pleased the Lord to appear in me, and to visit me with the day-spring from on high, in a very powerful and wonderful manner, in great mercy, goodness, good-will and infinite loving kindness. I was, in my inward man, full of the power and presence of Almighty God, and his heavenly, glorious light shone in me mightily; so that I may truly say, it far exceeded the brightness of the outward day; and the eye of my understanding was opened, and I saw that it was the Lord's holy Spirit that appeared in me, and I believed, and could do no otherwise.

Oh! then I was glad, and my soul was filled with joy, because I had met with the Lord, who I knew was sufficient to teach me all things; and gave me to see that my sins would be remitted and forgiven, in and through Jesus Christ. Christ Jesus was now become my light and my salvation, and living faith sprang in me; for I felt power and strength to believe, and I then saw and felt what true faith was, and also that I never had had true, living faith before then; this was the free gift of God, for it sprang up in his power, and stands in it.

I also saw life eternal manifested through Christ Jesus; so I tasted of the good word of God, and was made a partaker of the Holy Ghost, and was enlightened: for the life was manifested, and I saw it, and that the Son of God was come, and gave me an understanding to know him that is true; for he revealed himself, or made himself known in me and to me.

Now my soul was quickened and enlivened in Him and by Him, in whom is life; and I also heard him as the Shepherd and Bishop of my soul, who was come near, even to my own soul; and the holy Scriptures were open-

ed to me to my admiration and joy, and I understood them far beyond what I had done before; and they became more sweet, comfortable and precious to me, that I wondered I had never seen them so before, having read them so much night and day. But now the Lord gave me in measure to understand them, for they were very plain, and that no man knows them but those to whom it is given, by the holy Spirit of him who hath the Key of David, and opens and shuts as he pleaseth. I kept what I had found that day, and it was to me as the Pearl of great price, hid in my own field, that I had sought in divers forms and professions. And I now understood the parables of the lost piece of silver in my own house, and of the little leaven that lay hid in my three measures of meal, which I saw was my body, soul and spirit; and that it had long been working in me, whilst I knew it not, in order to leaven my whole lump, with its own divine nature, that was capable of being leavened into good, by the working of that good and perfect gift which was come down from above, and was freely given me of God; for the sons of God were led and guided into all truth, by the holy Spirit of Truth.

It was he that made David wiser than all his teachers, and did attend him from his youth, and enabled him to go against the lion, the bear, and great Goliath, in the name of the Lord; and I saw no man could be a child of God without his holy Spirit; and it was that I had wanted the knowledge of, all my days; and I was glad when I felt and knew that I had it freely given me.

Now my great concern was to mind it, and be obedient to it; for this was my Master and Witness, that would either excuse or accuse, according to my deeds; and my Reprover and Instructor, which showed me all that ever I did, and no thought, word or action was hid from him. I was glad that I had found such a comforter, and that it was poured forth upon all flesh, according to his promise, in Joel ii. and Acts ii. The Apostle said, "He that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one." Great had been the work of this measure of grace in me, that was come by Jesus Christ, in order to make me a new creature in Christ, my life, light and salvation; or to leaven me into a new lump, and work a thorough change in me, who had great need of it, being in the corrupt nature a child of wrath, as well as others. Yet I had not a clear knowledge of it, for great had been my ignorance; and though light shone in my dark, ignorant heart, and made all things manifest that were reprov'd, yet my dark heart had not comprehended it, that it

was the light of Christ which so wrought in me. For we lived in darkness, and in the night of blindness, and sowed to the flesh, and took pleasure in unrighteousness, and lived in pleasure, having our affections set on things below, and not on things above; loving the world and the praise of men more than that of God; for the love of God was not yet known to us, nor shed abroad in our hearts, so as to see or feel that it was his love. I was in a profession of religion without life, till the Lord appeared to me, and caused the light of his Son to arise in my heart to my exceeding joy and satisfaction.

But when I was brought to the knowledge of it, which was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in my eyes, my sorrow was turned into joy, and greatly was the love of God felt in me. Great love was raised in my heart unto the Lord; and I was deeply sorry that ever I had sinned against him; and felt true repentance given me, and saw that I never knew what true repentance was before. Now I had such a sense and assurance of the love, mercy and goodness of God to me in Christ Jesus, and for his sake, who now was become precious to me, that if I had died in that hour, I was satisfied of my soul's eternal happiness and peace. Oh! then all fear of death and hell was taken away; for I plainly felt my soul so affected with the love of God, that I was troubled that I had grieved his holy Spirit; and great was my desire that I might do so no more.

I went on rejoicing with praises and thanks, which arose in my heart unto the Lord, my joy being great in him; and I was ready to think that my sorrows were ended, and my tears wiped away. A new song was given me that none could sing, but he that had it: and I was glad that I felt the precious Truth in my inward parts, which God loved; and he loves those that love it, live in it, and obey it.

O happy day it was to my soul! I loved the holy Scriptures, which were never so sweet and precious to me before as they were now; and I loved all people, and greatly desired that they might be brought to the knowledge of the Truth as I was; for I knew that it was the will of God that all should be saved.

Thus having met with the Lord to my joy and comfort, I felt that his holy Spirit was rightly called the Comforter, which leads and guides into all Truth, which I rejoiced to know, feel, taste and handle of; then I turned my mind in to the Lord, to commune with him, desiring to know who were his people, that I might join with them, and worship him aright, according to his own will. And the

Lord in mercy answered me, as I prayed to him; and the word of the Lord was so powerful in my heart that I could do no other than believe it. And the Lord made known to me, that the people called Quakers are his people above all other people.

When I understood that this was the Lord's people, I felt a part in me that was sorry; for if it had been any other people I might have been more at liberty to please the world, and to keep the friendship of it, and not be so hated by it. For this people were despised, persecuted, and suffered deeply beyond others; for others could flee from sufferings, and conform a little sometimes; but these abode and stood, though the winds blew, and the rains fell, and the floods beat upon them; for the Lord enabled them to stand and out-stand it; all praises for ever be given to him!

I felt the Spirit of the Lord, and could not question the truth of what he had manifested to me; only I observed in my mind that the Lord said, 'The people called Quakers are my people above all other people; not that they were his people [only] and no other, but above all other. So that I concluded that there were many more who were not yet called Quakers, that would be brought to know him, as I did then; and feel that he is good, and have his love shed abroad in their hearts, and love him therewith, and one another for his sake. I felt love to all, agreeable to that holy song, Peace on earth, and good will towards men; praise, glory and humble thanks to God! for with him is joy unspeakable and glorious, far beyond what I thought I should ever have known.'

There was a young man walking a little way off from me, and I felt a love to him, though I knew not that he was of any society at that time; but he was afterwards convinced of the Truth, and was a very honest man, and his wife, and three sons, and two daughters were also in time brought to the knowledge of the precious Truth, and some of them remain to this day; and one of them had his mouth opened to preach the Truth. Seeing that I had such a clear manifestation of Truth, I was desirous to do the will of God, and was afraid of losing the sense, and sight, and feeling of that which the Lord had in mercy given me the precious enjoyment of, and was pleased to let me see that no man could take that from me, nor hurt my soul, if I did it not myself. Oh! it was precious to my soul; and then, though I had been offended with the people called Quakers, I now called them Friends, as Christ did those of old that obeyed him.

I went on to my journey's end with my mind exercised in serious consideration. But,

as I came back, the world was set before me, and all I had in it, and I saw I must give up all, and let all go; and this was not all, but to prison I was likely to go, and my wife and children might be brought to poverty: but in the Lord alone I put my trust, who is all-sufficient, and is the portion of his people, and the Rock of their safety, for ever, amen.

Though the enemy was busy with me, I was concerned to feel the Lord with me, to keep and help me still to abide in him, and with him; and blessed and praised be his Name for ever, he did not leave me, nor forsake me, though sometimes he hid, as it were, his face from me; and when I trespassed or offended for want of a diligent watch, or suffered my mind to wander, yet he hath not been angry for ever; though his Word hath been as a sword, and as an hammer, yet in judgment the Lord remembered mercy: and the good Samaritan hath come and poured in oil and wine, and healed wonderfully; praise, glory and renown be given to him!

My satisfaction was great, and my heart was turned to the Lord, and my very countenance was so altered, that my wife and neighbours took notice and spoke of it. But I kept my mind inward and said little, but as I had it given me, and kept my exercise to myself for some time, and neither told my wife, nor any body; for as yet I had not been at Friends' meetings, neither was there any about our Peak country, where I then lived. I met with some Friends at the market, and conferred with them, but told them not of my condition; and the greatest part of the town was stirred; some said well, and had a love for me, and some said ill, and hated me without a cause; and they differed one with another: but after some time, many were convinced and came to meetings.

The Lord having showed me again his poor, despised people, it made me glad when I found with whom to wait upon him. After some time I heard of a meeting at Exton, at one widow Farnay's house, whose husband had been an honest Friend. I went to it, and found divers Friends were come many miles; and when I came, I was confirmed that they were in that Truth whereof I had been convinced, though they were so much derided by the world. There was little said in that meeting, but I sat still in it, and was bowed in spirit before the Lord, and felt him with me, and with Friends, and saw they had their minds retired, and waited to feel his presence and power to operate in their hearts, and that they were spiritual worshippers, who worshipped God in spirit and truth. I was sensible that they felt and tasted of the Lord's goodness, as at that time I did; and though few words were

spoken, yet I was well satisfied with the meeting. And there arose a sweet melody, that went through the meeting, and the presence of the Lord was in the midst of us, and more true comfort, refreshment and satisfaction did I meet with from the Lord, in that meeting, than ever I had in any meeting, in all my life before, praises be to the Lord for ever. I was assured that they were his people, and guided by his Spirit, by which they came to understand his will, and were brought in their measure into true obedience to his commands, being made willing to bear his cross, deny themselves, and become fools, that they might know true wisdom, for which they wait in silence, and to feel the inspiration of the Almighty, to give them an understanding of the things of God, which the natural man cannot understand, because he comes not to wait in the Spirit for the manifestation thereof.

I also felt such a love in my heart to them as I had never felt to any people. Oh! it was true love, such a love as none knows, but they that have it: and I also felt the same love in them to me, and some of them got me in their arms, and were glad of me, though I knew but few of them, nor they me. So I came home, and my poor wife was sorely grieved that I went among Friends, viz: the people called Quakers, and the people of our town began to rage; some disputed with me, some cursed me, as I heard, some pleaded for me, some derided and mocked me, calling after me, Quaker, Quaker. When I heard them thus call after me, my heart was glad and filled with joy, that I was reproached for Christ's sake, and thought worthy to take part with Friends in the sufferings of Christ, that were yet behind in his body; and it arose in me, Now I have got the name, Oh! that I may be truly brought into the nature of God's people.

But there were several things that as yet I saw not clearly through; though I felt the Lord with me, and was sure it was the Truth, yet I intended, in the secret of my mind, not to imitate the Quakers, but I would put off my hat to men, and use the same language that I had done; for I did not like their plain language and behaviour to people. I was not willing to come into the practice thereof in imitation of Friends, thinking I should please people better if I said you to a single person, and put off my hat to them; for many love to be worshipped, though there is no worship due to any creature upon earth.

So I was hid for a time, few knowing what I was, nor what I had seen, heard and felt; yet I knew it was the Lord that met with me on the road, and it was with such power, that I willingly received it to my great satisfaction

and comfort, and believed that the Lord, when he saw meet, would open my understanding and give me to understand the holy Scriptures, which he hath since in mercy wonderfully done.

I was careful to hold that fast which was freely given unto me: and it came into my mind to wait on the Lord, to know what he would have me to do; so I waited in my mind to hear what the Lord my God would say to me.

And after some time, as I was riding on the road, and waiting, the word of the Lord arose in great power in my heart, saying, Speak truth to thy neighbour, be not double-tongued—respect no man's person.

This fully satisfied me; and I saw I was to enter the kingdom of heaven as a little child, and was to learn anew to speak and walk, and stood in need to be helped and held up by the secret hand of the Almighty Omnipresent God, and to mind him in all I said, and in all my walkings and doings. I came to see that this had been the language of God from the beginning, and the language of all the righteous people in all ages, and that no prophet, apostle or servant of God did ever use any other language to him, either in prayer, praises, or in their writings in any age. I saw that God changeth not, and that as men truly turn to him, they come to be true men. But this language and conversation was hard to flesh and blood, that would have pleased men, and had their praise, which I got when I was young, and it went hard with me to lose it all, which I knew I must, though they took offence at me for my obedience to the Lord. So I gave up in obedience to the will of God, in which I found life and peace to my soul, and great encouragement and joy in the Lord, though this way of speaking and carriage went very hard with me, and was a great cross to my natural part, and helped to lay me very low, and to mortify the old man in me, and made me willing to be a fool in the eyes of the world, and to be despised of men.

Now, blessed and for ever praised be the Lord God Almighty! He hath made glad my soul, and satisfied the breathings of my spirit; he hath opened to me the mysteries of his kingdom, and given me a measure of his grace, and caused his light to arise in me, and the darkness to flee away. He hath given to me the true bread of life, and made my heart glad with the wine of his kingdom; he is become my teacher himself, and hath gathered me into his power, and covered me with the banner of his love; he is become my hiding place, my rock, strength and refuge, I need not fear what man can do unto

me. He is my portion, I shall not want, and therefore I trust in him alone, my helper in the needful time; he hath wrought all my works in me and for me, both to will and to do of his own good pleasure; he is a sufficient reward to all them that wait upon him. He is all in all; I have none beside him, he is all-sufficient, I am nothing but what I am in him, therefore he alone is to be praised; glory is wholly due unto him, for it is he alone that hath redeemed my soul from death, and hath opened to me the way of life; he hath taken my fetters from my legs, and hath set my feet upon a sure foundation; he hath brought me out of the prison house, and hath set my soul in a pleasant place; he hath plucked me like a brand out of the fire, and hath given me strength above my enemies. He hath redeemed my soul from death, and caused me to walk in the path of life. He hath heard my sighing, and my groanings were not unknown to him; the breathings of my soul hath he regarded, and my heaviness hath he turned into joy; yea, he hath tenderly waited to be gracious to me, and his long-suffering hath led to repentance. Oh! what shall I render to the Lord my Saviour, who hath dealt so bountifully with me! My soul, bless thou the Lord for ever, and all that is within me praise his holy Name; for he hath caused mercy to surround me. Oh the loving kindness of the Lord! all ye that know him praise his Name! for his mercies endure forever. He hath caused light to shine out of darkness, and manifested thereby those things which are reprov'd, to which light my heart is turned, resolving to turn away from my iniquities, and serve the Lord with reverence and holy fear. Now I know it was he, by his Word, that showed me my thoughts and the intent of my heart; although I was once ignorant of it, yet now am I assured it was his Word, which often called behind me, saying, This is the way, walk in it! He was still seeking to save me out of the enemy's power, though I then regarded him not; nevertheless he pursued me, till at last my heart opened to receive him, who is now my beloved, and has given me to taste that God is good, whose goodness far exceeds all that this world can afford, praised be the name of the Lord! I have found the Pearl of great price, the one thing needful for my soul to know, and this is Christ within the hope of glory, the true way to the Father, who promised to be with his disciples to the end of the world. This is he whom we are to hear and obey in all things, lest we be cut off from among his people. This is the unction which I have received of the Lord, that teacheth all things, which is truth, and is no lie. Oh that the

children of men would open their hearts, that the king of glory might enter in, to drive out that den of thieves, who rob them of that treasure and peace which passeth their understanding, whereby they would come to witness the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, to lead them into all truth; for it is he who worketh all our works in us and for us. This is the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes; to whom be praise and glory for ever!

My understanding being thus opened, I came clearly to perceive the word of God in my heart, which had wrought powerfully to my full conviction, and by it I knew I must be faithful to its requiring, if I would have peace; it giving me a true sight of my state, and how I should wait for salvation. Then did I see, to my great satisfaction, which caused joy to arise, that the despised Quakers were the people who worshipped God in the way he required, in Spirit and in Truth.

Being come to see, in the light of the Lord, through all things to my satisfaction, I went cheerfully to Friends' meetings, and was edified and comforted. The third meeting I was at, the power of the Lord came upon me, and I was pressed in spirit to declare of his goodness, but it was hard to give up; yet I durst not disobey, so I stood up and spoke to the congregation—abundance of Friends and others being met—what was given me to understand, concerning the creation of man, his dominion, work, state of innocency, fall, and restoration by the promised seed, Christ Jesus the Saviour of mankind: all which was to the great joy of Friends, and reaching of the people.

At this meeting a woman was convinced, who with her parents dwelt at Tides-wall; they much desired I would have a meeting at their house; accordingly I went, much people being gathered in the garden. This was a town in which I was formerly well known. After the meeting had been some time in silence, I was moved to stand up and speak, which I continued for about four hours; but my very countenance was so much changed, that there arose a reasoning among the people, whether I was John Gratton or no. In the time of my declaring, a woman who was a Baptist, put a question to me, which I answered so much to her satisfaction, that she was convinced.

This woman's husband was a Muggletonian; and when he came to understand she was turned Quaker, he told her he would write to his prophet to curse me; which he did accordingly: upon which Muggleton, by letter, sent me his curse, the words of which were not worth mentioning; but in answer I gave him to understand, I mattered it not.

The next first-day I went to a meeting at Matlock, where the informers and officers had made very sad spoil, by taking away Friends' goods; yet many others as well as Friends came to the meeting. As soon as I came within sight of the house, I felt the Lord with me; I went in, and it was very full of people, and after some time I was moved to declare the testimony of Truth: and the presence of God was so gloriously manifest, that the people gave good attention, and were so affected, that the fear of man was much taken away.

At this meeting the people looked earnestly upon me, at which I marvelled, but perceived it was at a laced band which I had upon my collar; at this I was smitten and sorry, for until now I had not minded it since my conviction. Friends in those days showed no appearance of pride in their apparel, neither was I pleased with myself; for I saw that the holy Spirit did not allow of any superfluity, either in apparel or any thing else, from a sense of which I took it off, and wore it no more; neither did my dear wife ever offer to put it on again, but when she understood that I was troubled for wearing lace, she took it off all the rest of my bands, although she was not then convinced of the Truth, though some time after she was.

My being convinced was noised much abroad, many people disputed and conferred with me, and my kindred were sorely troubled, and would have had me forbear the carriage and language that Truth had led me into, saying, "We ought not to offend." I told them, it was the little ones that believe in Christ which ought not to be offended: "But wo to the world!" said Christ our Lord, for the world took offence at him, without just cause: and so they do at his followers, who are given up to do his will, and to follow the leadings and guidings of his holy Spirit. If righteousness offend the wicked, whose fault is it? Abel could not help it when Cain hated him because his works were righteous; and he pleased God, though Cain was offended. Even so, he that is born after the flesh hates and takes offence at them who are born after the spirit to this day, and thinks it strange because they run not with them in their carnal ways, to the same excess of riot, speaking evil of them.

But when Christ said, "Wo be to the world, because of offences," He said also, "that offences should come; but wo be to that man by whom they come!" Now why come offences? That those that are tried, living stones, may be made manifest; and that those that will not take up the cross and deny themselves, may also be made manifest. For the "Friendship of this world is enmity against

God;" and, "if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." But the cause lies here,—that unregenerate men are known by their fruits. Wo be to the false prophets, false priests, false professors, and hypocrites; though they walked in long robes, and sounded a trumpet when they gave alms, and prayed in the corners of the streets, to be seen of men, and made long prayers for a pretence. For all this they were proud, and loved the chief place in the synagogue; the highest rooms at feasts, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, master. They were covetous, and devoured widows' houses; tithing mint, annise and cummin, but omitted mercy, judgment and truth; for they were not what they pretended to be.

The Sodomites offended Lot, and vexed the righteous soul of him that entertained the angels of the Lord; for which they were offended at him: but wo and misery came upon the wicked Sodomites, but Lot was delivered. Jerusalem took offence at Jesus Christ, who came to save his people from their sins, and to finish transgression, and to bring in everlasting righteousness. The Jews hated him without a cause; Him that would have gathered them, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, to save them from the devouring fowls of the air, that would destroy them utterly. Even so Christ spreads the wing of his power over those that are gathered unto him, to save them from the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now works in the hearts of the children of disobedience; that roaring lion, that goes about seeking whom he may devour.

But the church is safe under the shadow of the Lord, saying, "I sat under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet unto my taste;" for it is all good; but the fruit of the evil one is all bad, bitter as death, wormwood and gall; and so it will be for ever.

Wo and misery came upon Jerusalem also, that would not be gathered or saved; but rejected the holy One, and the Just, and chose a thief and a murderer before him, as those do that chose to serve the devil before Christ Jesus the Lord of life and glory.

I went abroad much, and had meetings in several counties, as Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire and Derbyshire. And many were convinced; and great joy and gladness, love, unity and concord flowed among us.

My wife was not yet convinced. I was in much sorrow for her, and so was she for me, and disputed with me often, till we both wept; but still we loved dearly. And before the second meeting at my house, as I was upon the road one evening, in great heaviness for

my wife, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, I will give thee thy wife; at which I was glad and comforted: for I believed that it would be fulfilled ere long; as it was accordingly—she being soon after convinced, blessed be the Lord.

At the next meeting one William Yardley came; and after the meeting she discoursed with him long, but at last Truth sprung up in her, and in him also, that he went to her and said, "Ann, God's love is to thee," which she feeling, was given up to obey it, and was glad. Then our days were made more joyous, and we lived together after this about thirty-five years, and many friends came to see us, of whom we were glad. We had an open house, and open hearts to entertain the Lord's people, and were glad he had in mercy fitted and enabled us to be serviceable to his people; and my trade increased, for we had favour with God and men.

I was much concerned in preaching the gospel of our Lord, and went to and fro to meetings, and many people were convinced in divers places; as in Darbydale, Matlockside, Ashover parish, Brampton, Harsdale, and in the High Peak; many and precious meetings we had, as we got liberty at houses, and meetings were settled, and many of my own kindred were convinced, and died in the Truth. I have ground to hope my aged grand-father, who was about ninety years old, was convinced and glad of the Truth in his old age, telling my mother, "This is that I have been seeking for all my days," meaning the Truth. After some time, I went to Derby, and got some meetings there, and at Little Chester, and many Baptists were convinced in Cheshire.

Afterwards it was required of me to go and visit the churches in Nottinghamshire; so I went to Nottingham, and found William Smith lying sick, a fine living, faithful man, and brave minister of Christ; and it was revealed to me that he would be taken away at that time, as I told Thomas Highfield over night; and next day, after the meeting was over, I went to see him, and staid with him some time. Oh! he was in a sweet frame, full of love; life and peace were plentifully in him. I left him in great unity, tenderness and love, and went to Mansfield, and he died in a few days, and left a good savour behind him. His memory is sweet to me, and those parts had a great loss of him. From thence I went to Skegby, Hucknell, and then home.

After this, the Lord was pleased to lay it upon me to go abroad again into Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, which I was very loath to do; but I durst not but go. I went to Tupton meeting on the fifth-day, and to

Boulsover on the sixth, where we had some disturbance, and on the seventh-day to Chesterfield, where we had a glorious meeting, and some conviction. Oh! the Lord's power was over all. From thence I would fain have gone home again, but must not, and I wept sore. I went into Nottinghamshire, and on first-day had a meeting at Worksop, in a barn, which William Bailey had hired. His wife happened, as she rode near Worksop, to fall off her horse and break her leg, and her husband came down from London to see her, and finding that she was not fit to be removed, he hired a house for one year, for Friends to meet in. I went to see her, and had a meeting there on first-day; and as I was at prayer, the officers, with many more, came railing and raging up into the meeting, making a great noise, as if they would have affrighted us, till they came near me, and just as they came to me, the power of the Lord increased, and my voice rose strongly, and they all stopped, and turned back like men smitten, and went quite away, not having power to do us any harm. We had a precious meeting, and went away comforted.

Next day I was at a good meeting at Blyth, and another in the evening; to which came John Seaton, one of the chief men of that town, who was convinced, and proved a faithful man to the Truth till his dying day. Many more in that town, and about it, were convinced of the Truth, and stood nobly to it through suffering times, faithful to the end. Next day I went to a meeting at a town called Etalstall, in the forest, where I had a good meeting; many came to it, and some were convinced, particularly one John Kent, who received the Truth.

I went to a meeting at Kersall, and the priest of the town came, and made a great noise at my back for a while, to stop me; but I held on, and was sorry he troubled the meeting, for it was in a precious frame. But at last I felt I must stop, and turned to him; but he offering to clear himself from preaching for hire, said he need not to preach except he pleased, for he had an estate to live on, if he did not preach. So I bade the people take notice; This man is his own master, and need not preach, unless he will; but the apostle Paul, and they that were sent of God, were not so: for Paul said, "Necessity is laid on me, and wo is unto me if I preach not the gospel." By this I showed the priest from his own words, that he was no minister of Christ; Christ was not his Lord and Master, since he could do what he would, either preach or not preach: so he was made manifest, and went away in a great rage, and his company with him. The Lord was mightily

with us that day, and we had a good meeting, and were sweetly comforted, and had no harm by man.

Then I went to Akring, and had a meeting, and one John Allin came to it, and was convinced and shaken wonderfully; but though he trembled, yet he rejoiced, and cried out, "He is come! He is come! He is come!" After which, he went home, and met with high professors, and disputed them much; then he took his Bible and went to and fro in the town, but he ran before he was sent, and came to some loss: so his relations sent him to me, and when he came to my house and talked with me, he was finely recovered; so that in a few days he went home. But the family and professors about him set on him again; and he was zealous, and discoursed them till he hurt himself again: then I took my horse, and went and fetched him away to his uncle's at Blyth, where I left him. He did well, and proved an honest Friend, and after some time went to London, and was taken at a meeting with his wife; she went with him before the mayor, who, in pity to his wife, would not send him to prison with the other Friends, which he was freely given up to, and grieved that his wife came in the mayor's sight, and was very sincere, I hope, as long as he lived.

The next day I went to a meeting at Ogston, which was very large. I had never seen the like appearance before—the living Truth went through the meeting. Many were reached, and the power of the Lord came over all to the joy and comfort of many.

I was also at a meeting at Long Clauson, in the vale of Beavor, and there was a young man, called William Marriott, who was full of life; and Sarah Brown, Elizabeth Double-day and Edward Hallam, and Friends were comforted together.

The next day I went to a meeting at Harby; and the day following being first-day, I went to a meeting at Crowston, there the lord Ross, so called, came to the steeplehouse, and our meeting was near it: the officers and others came to break up the meeting, with a great noise, as if they meant to frighten us all; and as they came up the entry I turned my face upon them, as I was declaring the Truth; the Lord enabled me to speak boldly, and his power came over them; but before they came to me they were silent, and turned back, like men smitten in their hearts. In a little time they went away and left us, and we had a good meeting, praised be the Lord for ever, whose power was over all.

Next day I went to a meeting at Broughton, at John Wilsford's, where a Baptist got privately to hear, who was reached, and confessed

to the Truth of what I spoke, as John told me afterwards.

The next day I came to Nottingham, and had a good meeting there on the third-day, and Friends were glad of me, and we were comforted together. But a Friend came to fetch me home from thence; for my wife was very weak, and more likely to die than live, thinking she should scarcely live to see me. I hastened home on fourth-day, and found my wife very weak, and myself much spent: but thanks be to God, he raised her up again. My mother was with her, but my father was not convinced; he hearing that I was abroad, and how things were at home, thought to come and chide me for leaving my wife in her condition. But the meeting happening to be at my house the next first-day, thither my father came, not till that morning: but some Friends were got in before him; so he intending to stay all night, deferred it, rather than fall on me before them. When the meeting was gathered, after some time I spoke; and there were some of the chief of the town, whose tears I saw run down their cheeks, and my dear father was so broken, that he cried aloud, in great joy of heart, whilst he trembled. At which I was silent a little, and my father came to me, before all the people, weeping, and took me in his arms and kissed me. The next day we walked alone, and had much discourse, till he fell to weeping again, and desired me to forbear, and say no more; after which we parted—he loved me much, yet he never came into open obedience to the Truth.

I staid at home some time. And Oh the peace that flowed in my heart! as Christ promised, not as the world giveth, who cry peace, peace, when there is no peace at all experienced. But, praises to the God of my life, his peace hath he given to me and many thousands in this day; that peace the world does not know, neither can they take it away from us, glory to the Highest for ever. Oh! the love and life that flows here, and springs from the Fountain of living waters, in whom all our fresh springs are. Feel it reader, in thyself, hast thou not seen it gush out of thy rocky heart? When Christ, the spiritual Moses, hath smitten upon it, with the rod of God in his hand.

AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS.

My dear Friends,

It is in my heart to write a few lines to you ere I proceed. Have you not found in your measures, this Christ of God, to be what I say of him? Oh! prize this immortal life that now stirs in you, and praise the Lord for

his mercy. Live in this life that frees from death; abide in it, and your joy will be full. The world little knows your joy, little knows your peace; though ye sorrow, yet always rejoice; though ye war daily, yet live in peace. The peace of God, that passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in one; in that light of life, which now shines in your hearts, that you may never fall; but always keep low in your measures, and see that none look out, or mind any thing but the Lord, who alone is to be minded in all, by all, and above all, and followed, obeyed and trusted in. Dear friends, keep in the innocent life, and this will knit you together, and enliven every member, and quicken you all, and make you savoury; and seasonable fruit will be reaped, and a good savour will you be to one another; and this will feed you, and your strength will be daily renewed, and the increase of God experienced, and you will daily feel his love, which is better than wine, to make glad your hearts, and to surpass the world's love: this will rejoice your souls in times of adversity; for this love many waters cannot quench. Therefore, dear friends, all keep your minds staid on the Lord, and take heed ye lose not the things ye have received of him; but all wait, in your measures, upon the Lord only, and expect nothing from man, for he is not to be accounted of; nor think to live on the manna others have gathered, but come you and be diligent also. Take heed the Lord call not for you, when you are gone abroad with your minds, about your own business. Keep your habitation, and the Lord will keep you, even as the apple of his eye; "Nothing shall harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good." All live in the true light, and abide in it, by which all dangers whatsoever will be made naked and bare to you, and all false spirits will be seen and tried in the true light, and the mind of God you will clearly know; and if you all keep here and live in it, you will find safety, and the enemy will not be able to touch you.

Therefore, dearly beloved friends, keep in the light, of which you were convinced, and by which you were converted and turned to the Lord. Keep in that, for that keeps truly humble, in sincerity and truth, and so all feigned humility, and all pretences and outside professors will be made manifest, and your enemies' strength will also be clearly seen, which is mere weakness. Be not forward in answering questions put forth by the opposers of the Lord's Truth; but stand singly in obedience to the Lord, and be as fools, that the true wisdom may be preferred, and thus will the Lord's will be done, whether their wills be answered or no; and your peace will

be as a river, as you hearken to the Lord, and the Lord's cause will be pleaded with all flesh by himself, and his arising will be the scattering of his enemies; for Babel's destruction will come upon her; by the brightness of his coming and the breath of his lips will she be utterly destroyed; the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. So, my dear friends, all keep in your strength, and feel the arm of his power stretched out, to carry you on; that you may daily know victory, and praise the Lord in his own sanctuary, and declare of his wondrous works; for with a strong hand hath he brought us out of anguish and bitterness of spirit, which we once were in, by reason of our cruel bondage in sin. Had not the Lord come to visit us, we had been in slavery even till now, for none else was able to deliver us, neither was there any to intercede for us. Therefore, his own arm brought salvation to us. All keep in that grace which saves, that breaks the rocks, and hath often broken you, even to pieces, and hath made your earthly house to tremble, and hath filled you with dread. O, remember his mighty works in the deep, and receive the law at his mouth—hear it, and do it—behold, it is near you, in your heart, and in your mouth, that ye may not depart from it. Dear friends, watch diligently, for in this furnace you will be tried. But though you are suffered to be tempted, yet will not the Lord permit you to be tempted beyond your measures. Therefore all keep in your measures—there is your safety; “My grace is sufficient,” saith the Lord; therefore fear not your adversary, for he cannot hurt you, if ye always fear the Lord your God, and live in his counsel, whereby your hearts will be kept clean habitations for his holy Spirit to dwell in: for stronger is he that is in you, than he that is in the world.

From your dear friend and fellow labourer in the work of the gospel. JOHN GRATTON.

3rd of the Eighth month, 1673.

The Baptists were displeased with me when they saw there was no hope of my return to them, and often disputed with me; for great disputes were at Monyash between them and Friends. But the Lord had opened my understanding, and also the holy Scriptures to me. I wrote a little book concerning baptism, and therein showed, that no man had commission from Christ to baptize with water since John's race was run, and his ministry fulfilled, making it appear that the Baptists baptized without any command from Christ.

At this time Truth prospered in the Peak country, in Derbyshire, and the word of God grew, and was multiplied, the word which

God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ, who is Lord of all. “That word,” said Peter, “which was published throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached;” which word, Peter preached to the Gentiles, viz: Christ Jesus, the Lord of all, who is the only way to come unto God by: “For no man can come unto the Father,” said Christ, “but by me;” and there is no other name given under heaven by which any can be saved, but by Jesus Christ; for he is the Fountain of eternal life, which is opened for all to wash in and be cleansed, and for that end he hath poured out of his Spirit upon all flesh, that they may have a part in him; and the cleaner we are washed, although it be in great tribulation, the whiter will our robes be.

Now I was come to know what the city of God is, which I had read of in the Revelations, viz: to be the true church, which hath no need of the sun or of the moon to shine in it; for the glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof, in which light, the nations of them that are saved must walk. Thither the kings of the earth shall bring their glory and honour; the gates of this city shall not be shut at all by day, and there is no night there; here none are to enter which are defiled, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, nor maketh a lie, but they who are written in the Lamb's book of life.

After this I went to Oxston again, where the informers were very busy, and the officers came, and one charged me in the king's name to come down and be silent, as I was speaking in the power of God. But I charged him in the name of the King of kings to be silent, and also asked him, if he did come in the king's name; he said yes: Then said I, Did he send thee? Doth he know of our meeting? He answered no: then said I, how canst thou come in the king's name, if he did not send thee? And the man turned from me and got away, taking those away who came with him. We had a precious meeting that day. After this, I went to Great Markham, where they stoned us as we rode through the streets, and brought a man to the meeting, furnished with rotten eggs, as I supposed; for he came and stood just before my face, and flung them towards me, but did not hit me with any of them.

Another time I went to Markham again, and the priest came and brought the town officers, and sent them in to break up the meeting, whilst he staid at the door. The officers came in, and Friends making way for them, they sat down and heard very quietly; for I was declaring in the Lord's heavenly power ere they came in, and they staid till

the meeting was done, and gave no disturbance, but to the priest who staid at the door without, to see the meeting broken up, but when they did not do that, he raged, and said, he brought them to break up the meeting, in which they staid : but he went away angry, and afterwards we departed, sweetly refreshed and comforted.

I ran to and fro, and had many meetings both in the High Peak, Scarsdale, Staffordshire, Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire; and Truth prospered gloriously. I also had meetings in fresh places; as Ashford, Longson, Tideswell, Bradow, Grinlowe, Baslow, Matlock.

And there was a convincement at Bradow, and thereabouts in the Peak; and one Jonathan Fisher and his wife, with others were convinced. We appointed meetings there, and such a multitude came, that the house could not contain them. Wherefore I went into the street under a great tree, in the market place, that was walled about, and I got upon the top of the wall and spoke to the people, but a company of rude fellows set on to stone us, and the stones flew about my head, and rattled in the trees, yet hit me not: but a great stone struck and wounded a woman that happened to sit near me, and the people came and carried her into an house, but she recovered after some time. At last a man came, blaming them who threw stones at us, and got into the crowd, but after he had stood awhile, he stooped to take up a stone to fling at me, as was supposed, and one of his neighbours standing by, who, for some time had been very attentive, seeing the man that had blamed others, going to throw a stone, struck him on the ear, that he let the stone fall and did not fling it at me: this man who struck the other was convinced that day, and became an honest man, and so continued till his death, for aught I know.

At last Henry Jackson, and Henry Roebuck came to the meeting, and got on the top of the wall also; and as Henry Jackson was declaring, a parcel of young men came and thrust Friends violently off the wall. Henry Jackson was heavy, and they were very hard set to get him down, but they did. I went down and spake to one of them, asking him why he was so uncivil; he answered, if they let us alone all the town would be Quakers.

I went to a part of the wall that was just before the greatest part of the crowd, and getting up, kneeled down on the top of the wall before their faces, and all fear of stones or men was gone, and I prayed to the Lord by the help of his holy Spirit, with a loud voice, and the Lord's power came over all, and the people fell in their minds, and were still, and

became like another people. Henry Jackson had good service amongst them after, and our meeting ended in great sweetness, and as we rode out of town some blessed us, and seemed very friendly and loving, and never disturbed me after, though I have since been at many meetings there, at Jonathan Fisher's house, who lived and died an honest Friend, and left a good savour behind him, and his memory is sweet: many were convinced there, and at Slackhall also.

We went sometimes over the East Moor, and had meetings at Totly and Dore, where some were convinced, and near Beechief, where Justice Pegg lived, but he never concerned himself to disturb us. Most of our meetings were out of doors, but one we had in the hall, and several in a large barn; but one first-day we had one near Beechief, which was at the back side of a house in a lane, and many came to it.

Thither came a high constable, whose name was John Stone, and brought officers, and a company with him on horse-back, while I was preaching, and the constable charged me in the king's name to keep the king's peace. But the Lord's power and presence being with us, I held on speaking boldly in the name of the Lord, but he sent one of his company and bade him go fetch me out. The man came and laid his hand on me and trembled, but had not power to take me away; he stood by me a while, I continuing my testimony; he then left me and went through the meeting without me. When he came to his master, he said, "Why have you not brought him?" What answer he made I heard not. Then he took out his pen, ink, and a little book, and called to a Friend to assist him; the Friend went to him to see what he wrote, and he said his hand trembled so that he could not write. After I had eased my spirit a little, I was silent, and gave way to Henry Jackson, my elder brother, who had good service that day. The officers were very uneasy, and John Stone rode away angry, as though he would go to the justice for more power, and the meeting continued finely. He staid, I suppose, above an hour; when he came again, he had as little authority over us as before, for the people were so affected and strengthened, that they ventured to talk boldly to him, and told him, it was fitter for him to go and search the ale-houses, and to take notice of drunkards and bad people, than to come thither after that manner, to disturb such honest people as we were. He fumed about awhile, and at last put spurs to his horse and rode away, and took all his company with him, so we had a precious time, and he had no power to stir us. Soon after that the high constable died:

there were some went away soon after the officers came, but they have been poor ever since: but the Lord hath blessed the faithful every way, thanks be given to him for ever! He was with us from day to day, and from place to place, and suffered no weapon or wicked instrument to hurt me wherever I came. Blessed be his holy name for evermore.

Another time I went to a meeting at an old house near Whitwell common, and thither the officers came, but I declared the holy truth amongst them. After a while they went out, as I thought, to consult what to do, and I heard that one said to the other, "He speaks almost nothing but Scripture;" and they were not willing to disturb us, but after a while they went away. The Lord was with us, and gave us a good meeting, praises be given to him for ever.

I was invited to a meeting not far from Newcastle-Underline, whither I went; but when I came there the house was too little, for many came to it, and William Yardley was at it. So William and I sat down in the house, but the parlour and other rooms were filled with people, and there came a man from Newcastle on purpose to be an informer against that meeting. He went into a by-room that had many people in it. The meeting being gathered, I felt the Lord with us, and he enabled me to speak, and my voice was shrill, and they that were in the other rooms heard plainly. This informer took offence at some words which I spake, but he was a dark ignorant fellow, as all informers are, else they would not be informers to hurt the Lord's people for their obedience to him. His offence was so great, that he was restless, and disturbed the people that were in the room with him; yet he staid while William Yardley was declaring to the meeting. I sat silently waiting upon the Lord, and it pleased him to manifest to me that there was a man in another room that had taken offence at some words which I had spoken: and withal showed me the words, and I remembered them, though no creature had told me a tittle, nor had I seen the man; but I was so plainly showed it from the Lord, that when William Yardley had done, I stood up again, and called out to the man, saying, Whosoever thou art that art offended at these words, which I repeated, and then spake fully to, and opened them, making it appear plain and easy to be understood, that the words which I spake were words of truth and righteousness: and the man heard me and was satisfied and got up and went quietly away.

Soon after the meeting ended, the people that were in that room with the man before

mentioned, came to me and asked me who told me; I answered them, No man told me; at which they wondered how I should know so fully, and tell it so plainly; and God had the glory, and the man had not power to hurt us, but went his way, and I saw him no more. Thus were we delivered from the wicked, that they did not gain their prey upon the righteous who trusted in God; and for this end I write these things, that they that fear and love God may put their trust in him, and be obedient to him, and valiant for his name and Truth, and fear not man whose breath is in his nostrils, who is here to-day and gone to-morrow.

After this I went to a meeting at Blyth again, and we met on the highway side, for the meeting-house doors were locked up, and we kept out; but the officers watched lest the informers had come, and when our meeting was done and all silent, and about to part, the officers stepped to us, and went away with us as though they had broken us up; but they took some before a justice, and told him the meeting was silent, so Friends were not fined, nor the officers blamed: for they took that way on purpose to save themselves and Friends also.

We had many good meetings at Baslow, till at last they cast Hugh Masland into prison at Derby, and George Ellis and Hugh Masland's wife died; but one day two men came to be informers, and staid the meeting quietly, but after it went to Justice Ayre of Highlow, to inform, and wanted a warrant to distrain our goods. But he was displeased and sharp upon them, and bid them look to themselves; for if he found that they did forswear themselves, and he ever caught them in a lie, or to that effect, he would have their ears; by which they were so daunted that they went away and let it fall, and troubled us no more.

After this the priest of that town grew angry, and gave a challenge in writing to dispute with me on three points. First; he said there was no revelation in these days. Second; that no man had the Spirit of God in him in these days. Thirdly; that if I had the Spirit of God I might read in a book he had, which was Greek. He set a day and place to meet on; and when the day came, I met him in a close of Humphrey Chapman's, in Baslow, a civil man, and many people of divers sorts were there; and when I had showed the priest's blindness about revelation, he put his book into my hand, and said, "If thou hast the Spirit of God in thee, read in this book;" so I took it and held it till he had vaunted and made an oration to the people, and then he would have taken the book from

me. No, said I, thou gave it me to read; first see whether I shall read or no. So I took my Bible and read the Scriptures to the people, and showed them how they spoke quite contrary to the priest, and the priest quite contrary to the holy Scriptures, which saith the Spirit of God is given to all, but not to all alike; to one was given the gift of tongues, to another the interpretation; some were gifted for miracles, but not all; some do prophecy, and preach the gospel; but the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit with. I read the plain Scripture, but he knew not that it was Scripture, but talked against it, till one that stood by, told him, "It is Scripture, man," so he was sorely despised; and when he saw that he had plunged himself into a great deal of error, he was silent, and was so manifest that one Benjamin Ashton, the justice's son, came to him and took him by the sleeve and led him quite away, and left me with the people. There were many Baptists, to whom I spoke awhile, so the people staid, all but the man who went away with the priest; and we had good service for God that day, and were comforted. Truth prevailed and the people were edified, and the Lord's power was over all. Many talked of this dispute, and the priests of the country were offended with this priest, for challenging me, and envied me the more for it.

Our meeting at Monyash increasing, several priests up and down the country were angry and very envious, and I and others were served with sessions and assize processes. One Wilson, the chief priest of our parish, was to come on a first-day to our town to give or sell to the people bread and wine. Those that will not buy it of him, he useth to make pay for it; whether they will have it or no, pay they must; for he hath sent officers and distrained my goods for it, though neither I nor my wife ever had any from him.

The meeting was to be at our town that day, and the priest ordered one of the church wardens to go early that morning, and call at Ashford, and take the constable with him to Justice Ashton, a moderate, peaceable man, one who did much good in his place. The constable had some private notice and slipped out of the way, but the officer of Monyash went as the priest had ordered him, and desired the justice to grant him a warrant, to break up a meeting that was to be that day. "How!" said the justice, "a meeting that is to be? I will grant him no warrant for a meeting that is to be. How do you know it is to be? Had you seen the meeting, I would have granted you a warrant; but none will I give you on such

account," said he, or to this effect, as I was informed. So the officer came back without a warrant, yet the priest Wilson came, after he had done his forenoon's work, and sent for all the officers in the town, and came to our meeting, and brought his clerk to be informer, for they would have broken up our meeting by pulling and hauling us out by force. But when they had us out, and went to fetch more, we followed them in again; and as some were forced out others went in. Thus they wearied themselves a while, and then the priest was going away; but I being got in again after they had hauled me out, my mouth was opened; and when the priest heard that I had begun to preach, he turned again and stood quiet, and all was still till I had done. I spake to the priest before the people, and told him, if he took himself to be our shepherd, and that we were strayed from the flock of Christ, let him make it appear that we were in an error, and I would take it friendly; but he said he came not to take the sheep, but wolves, and went away, but left the informer at a back window, looking in at a casement, and confessed that the Lord was amongst us. We had a precious meeting after they were gone, and a Friend went to prayer, and praised the Lord, that his presence was with us. Yet this informer went after this to the monthly meeting of justices, to inform against this meeting. We had then the high constable living in our town, who was a loving, friendly, moderate man; he was sitting in the room when the priest's clerk came to inform against Friends, and asked him what he came there for: and the clerk told him; but when the high constable understood his business, he got up and put him out of the room, and kept him out, that he could not inform that day. It happened soon after, that this informer went to let off his musket, he being a trained soldier, and it burst in pieces, by which he was wounded, and narrowly escaped being killed. He confessed that he thought it fell to his lot to be so hurt, for what he had done to the Quakers, and that he would be done if he could; so he troubled us no more.

After this I heard that Wilson, the priest of our parish, went to the justices himself, and wanted some course to be taken with the Quakers, to put down their meeting; for he was hot against us, but against me above all; but the justices held him off, telling him that they were not willing to have any hand in ruining their neighbours, and desired him to take some other way than by informers.

Before these things happened, I was in great exercise of mind, notwithstanding which I was willingly given up to serve the Lord, whatever I suffered for it. In this exercise I

was brought very low, being deeply plunged in my spirit, until at a meeting in my house, it pleased the Lord in mercy mightily to break in upon me, greatly tendering my spirit, to the gladdening of my soul. Then were my tears, tears of joy, for I rejoiced in the Lord, for his mercy endureth forever; thanksgiving be given to him, who failed me not in this needful time, but supported and bore me up in these days of great tribulation.

At this time Friends suffered deeply in many places, both by fines and imprisonments; also the priests in their pulpits raged against Truth and us. In these perilous days I went up to London, to the yearly meeting, where I was glad to see such brave meetings. The first I was at was in Gracious street, which was so large that the court was almost filled. In this meeting the Lord's power was with me, and I had more mind to hear others than to be heard myself; for there were many brave men there, who are since gone to their rest. But the power of the Lord came upon me, and at length my mouth was opened in the demonstration of the holy Spirit, to my great joy.

In the afternoon I went to the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, which was also large; but before I got thither, a woman Friend was declaring; her name was Theophila Townsend—she had a living, powerful testimony, yet notwithstanding that, the rude people about the door despised her, and spoke unhand-somely of her. I pressed through them and got into the gallery, and after she had done, I spoke, and first directed my speech to those unruly men, showing whom the Scripture said should not enter into the kingdom of God; but said, It is likely you think God will be better than his word; and they were still and silent, for the Lord's power came over all; then I turned to the meeting, and Oh! the streams of life that ran through the living that day.

The next day I went to another meeting, and to several meetings following in that week, and it was a precious time to Friends.

On the seventh-day I met with three Friends who were going to see Lodowick Muggleton, viz: Robert Barclay, Patrick Livingston, and William Hague, and I went along with them, only I desired they would conceal my name from him, for he had had my letter but a little before. When we came there, his wife civilly conducted us into a room, after which he came down and looked on us, saying, "Is any of you John Gratton?" But Robert Barclay answered, "Art thou a prophet, and needest thou to ask?" At this Muggleton stopped, saying, "You are Scotchmen, and I will have nothing to do with you; for I was

lately cheated by a Scotchman, one John Swinton.

This J. Swinton had been to see this false prophet, and in discoursing with him, he supposing him to be a poor man, gave him half a guinea, upon which Muggleton blessed him; but before J. S. went away he told him he believed that he was a false prophet: upon which Muggleton cursed him; so he would not meddle with Scotchmen.

Robert Barclay asked him then, why he did not give the man his gold again? to which he made no reply. Then I spoke to him, saying, I am an Englishman, talk with me; and I put some questions to him, as, whether all Scotchmen must suffer for one man's offence, if it was so that he was offended? He said he mattered not: I told him it seemed to be contrary to the nature of Christ Jesus, who came to seek and to save that which was lost. Then I asked him how he came by his authority? Had he seen any thing, or heard any voice? He answered no; then said I, Thou hast nothing for what thou dost, but what thou hadst from John Reeve; he said no, he had not. Then said I, I perceive that all thou hast for what thou dost, is only the bare word of a man; he answered, it was. Then said I, Dost thou not think it would be a credulous thing for me to venture my eternal salvation upon the bare word of a man? To this he answered, "You must, if ever you be saved." That is strange, said I; for I knew he lied, and was a false prophet; praised be the Lord, who gave me to see him fully. Then I asked him if he had power to bless a man after he had cursed him; he answered no. Said I, What! hast thou power to curse a man after thou hast blessed him, and hast not power to bless him after thou hast cursed him, provided the man repent? He answered no. Robert Barclay then replied, that it was strange, if he had power to curse men after he had blessed them, for then, by the same rule, he should have power to bless men after he had cursed them. But still he knew not me. Then spake Patrick Livingston, saying, "I was with a disciple of thine at Chesterfield, and she told me I should never have any more openings or fresh springs again; but," said he, "I have found her a liar every day." Then said he, "Did she curse thee?" "Yes," replied Patrick. "Well," said Muggleton, "in confirmation of her curse, I pronounce thee cursed." Then another said something to him, and he cursed him also; and when he had done he was so pleased, that he said it did him more good than if a man had given him forty shillings: upon which I asked him what he thought of me, and what would be-

come of me? He answered, if I was careful I might do well; saying several times, "If you be careful, it will be well with you in the end."

Then I desired Friends to bear witness, that this false prophet saith he hath not power to bless a man after he hath cursed him; and yet, having cursed me before ever he saw me, he tells me now, if I be careful, I may do well, and it will be well with me in the end. O, what a false prophet, said I, art thou! And then I told him my name; but when he heard that, he was sadly confounded, and made no further reply to me. So we left him, and went away.

This I write in the memory I have of it, and have been large in the account, that it may be seen how plainly he was made manifest to be a deceiver, that others may beware of him; desiring that it may please the Lord, to deliver every honest hearted soul from the baits, snares, cunning wiles and devices of the enemy of all mankind.

Soon after this, as I was riding through Islington, I looked upon the city, remembering thankfully the good time I had had there, and it was manifest to me that I should meet with some trial before I got home, for the gospel's sake; yet, nevertheless, we went forward, and came to Ware. There we called to see Thomas Burr: from thence we went to Huntington, where I had some relations. At this place great spoil had been made on Friends, it being a time of great persecution; we called to see a Friend at Godmanchester, whose house was sadly plundered for meeting together. We passed on to Ives, where we staid their first-day meeting, which was very large, and Friends ordered it to be in an out-house, which belonged to Tobias Hardmeat, though it fell by course to be elsewhere that day. Here the informers missed of us, though they intended to have catched us, but they being misinformed of the meeting, we were preserved out of their hands. From hence we went to Stamford, in Lincolnshire, to William Collingworth's, where once I had a meeting, and at Oakham, at Joseph Holt's. From hence we passed on till we came to Long Clawson, in the vale of Beaver, and as we walked down the hill it came into my mind, that at this place I should meet with the exercise which I had a foresight of before, notwithstanding which, I was given up to the service I was called unto.

We came a Friend's house named Edward Hallam, where we lodged that night, and Friends came to see us, and desired us to stay a meeting with them next day; but I inquired of them, how things were with them, whether they were quiet? for I was sure we

should be disturbed, yet I durst not deny a meeting with them, yet I kept all to myself. They told me as yet they had met with no trouble, but said the priest had threatened of late. However we agreed to have a meeting the next day, and I told them it might so fall out, that they might be fined twenty pounds for me; they answered, "If thou wilt venture, we will:" so it was resolved on. That night in my sleep, the Lord showed me the meeting in the meeting-house, and let me see a company of great dogs come in and fall on us, and rear up at us with their forefeet upon our shoulders, as if they would worry us; one seemed to be upon me, and had got my left arm in his mouth, but I lifted up my right hand and knocked him down, and down they all came, and went away, and we had a good meeting after; and looked one upon another to see if any were hurt, and no man had so much as his skin broken, so we parted. Next day before the meeting was gathered, as soon as I came within sight of the meeting-house door, I saw the priest and officers of the town with two informers in soldiers coats going thither; and I saw they were pressing to get into the meeting-house, insomuch that I was afraid they would get in before me and keep me out, but I hasted all I could, and pressed through the crowd, and got in before the priest and officers. Soon after they came in, and went to taking names, but were so confounded, that it was observed they asked their own town's people their names, though they knew them well enough. After some time the power of the Lord arose in me, and I kneeling down, went to prayer, so my right hand was lifted up, and they fell and got away out of the meeting. The priest and constable took horse and went about four miles to fetch a justice, whom they brought back with them to the meeting, though it was ended before. The informers, by the help they had got, kept us in till the justice and priest came; so we all sat silent. Then the justice asked, "What is here to do?" And after some pause I stood up, and went before him and told him, that we were there in obedience to the Lord, to wait upon and worship him according to his own will, in spirit and in truth, and not in any contempt of authority; and though some of us had wives and children, and some estates in the world to lose, if it pleased the Lord to suffer it so to be, yet we durst do no otherwise than we did, or to this effect. He asked me my name, and where I dwelt, which I told him; so he went on and took names through all the meeting, and fined me twenty pounds for preaching, and the rest five shillings a piece for hearers. This was about the time called mid-summer,

and about the time called Michaelmas after he sent up a warrant by the informer, to Justice Gilbert of Locka, and he gave his warrant to the constable to distrain of me for twenty pounds. The night before they came, I being laid down in my bed, a great exercise fell upon me. I waited to see what it would come to, and it increasing upon me, I thought I was walking upon a very fine green place, and saw a storm coming, with a very strong wind, upon which I resolved to stand it, and set myself so as I thought to stand fast, and not be moved; but the storm came upon me, and took me up, but I was filled with the power of God. When it was over, I considered of this exercise, and it came into my mind, that it did not come to me for nothing, for I thought the Lord had something for me to do, and I felt him very sweetly with me; and I said in my heart, Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do? Then the word of the Lord arose in my heart, saying, Sell all that thou hast. After this I fell to rest, and next morning I went to the quarterly meeting at Tupton; when I came there, I heard that two red coats were gone up to Monyash to distrain my goods, and the rumour was, all that I had must be taken from me for preaching the everlasting gospel, for that was my crime, and nothing else; praised be the Almighty for ever! I acquainted the meeting with the exercise I had in my bed the night before, and how the word of the Lord came to me, bidding me sell all, and I desired the sense of the meeting, whether I should sell all actually, or give up all, and let all go patiently and freely for the truth's sake, if the Lord was pleased to suffer me to be so tried with the loss of all? And it was the sense of the meeting, that I should give up all into the Lord's hand. At that time I owed monies both to Friends and others, which would have set me hard to pay on a sudden, without selling what I had in mine own possession, for I had much owing me, but could not get it in suddenly, whatsoever came on me. But I owed most to Friends, and they were at the quarterly meeting, and came to me, and were very tender to me, and encouraged me to give up all freely, and if all went, they would be content to take things as they were, or as it did fall. A precious day it was, and the Lord's power was over all the powers of the earth, and I was strengthened; praises to our God for ever!

I came home that night, and the two informers were come to town with a warrant from Justice Gilbert, it being certified to him concerning that meeting at Clawson, by the said Lister, called a justice, who never prospered since, but is wasted and gone into a

low condition, and become poor. The informers sent for the constable, who heard that I was not at home over night, upon which he refused to come till the next morning. But on the next morning early, I sent for a man of the Church of England, to whom I owed ten pounds; he came and I delivered goods into his hand to sell and pay himself, and give me the overplus; so he took them and was well pleased to see my honest care of him. To another man I owed three pounds, but it happened he had a cow of mine in his grounds; so I sent to him to keep her for his money, or sell her, and pay himself, and give me the overplus. Then what I owed to Friends I was easy about, seeing they had been so kind and tender, and gave up theirs freely.

Soon after this was done, I saw the constable go into a neighbour's house, to whom I went and spoke; but, poor man! he was full of trouble, and wanted counsel; when he saw me, he said to me, You have brought yourself into trouble, and me too, and was very passionate. Man, said I, I have done no man any wrong, I would not have thee be troubled, for if thou wilt distrain thou mayest, but if thou wilt take my counsel, I will tell thee what I would have thee to do. He asked, What would you have me to do? Said I, Send these men away, and tell them, if thou needest assistance, thou canst call to thy neighbours. He was pleased with my advice, and went up to the inn; but before he left me, the informers came, and they knew me, and said I was the man: Yes, said I, how doth Justice Lister? I thought he had been more moderate, than to have prosecuted the law against me to this height. One of them said, You are a people that will be obedient to no law. I felt the Lord's power to arise in me, and I said unto him, What dost thou think, are we children of God, or children of the devil? If the latter, thou mayest take courage to do as thou dost; (though I knew he ought not, if it was so) but if thou thinkest we be children of God, how darest thou? But one thing let me tell thee, the Scripture saith, that he that is born after the flesh, persecutes him that is born after the spirit. Now, said I, there is thy mark; and further, it saith, that is an evident sign to them of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God.

The Lord's power appearing with these words, they both were silent, and went away to the inn, and the constable also followed them. I staid a little and weighed in my mind, what to do: whereupon I felt freedom to go to the inn also, and found the informers at meat, and talked with them, enquiring of Friends at Clawson, how they stood? And

whether any shrunk? And they told me, indeed Friends suffered deeply.

The constable and some neighbours were in another room, and called me to come to them, but when I came they said to me, Are you so mad as to stay with your enemies? Ah, said I, we must love our enemies, and do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that persecute and despitefully use us. Ah, said they, It is well for you if you can do so, for we cannot.

The informers came to take leave of the constable, and told him, they did believe I was an honest man, and they would have him be as favourable to me as he could, saying, It would not be much, if the town's men would pay it for him; for, said they, we heard as we came up the country, that he was an honest man. Then they begged of the constable, to give them some money to help them home, for they had above thirty miles to go, upon which he gave them sixpence.

When they were gone, the constable came down, and I thought he would have followed me into my house, but he staid in the street, hanging down his head very sorrowfully.

Some of the town offered to pay the money, and take it up again as I could pay it, but I could not with freedom do it; but while I was at the inn, some of the chief women of the town came to my house, and finding no body in it but my wife, they, against her mind, violently took all the best of the goods away, and carried them—on purpose to save them for us—to a neighbour's house. When I came home and saw the goods gone, I was sorry, and asked my wife, how it was? She told me she could not help it, and whither they had carried them she could not tell, for they would do it, whether she would or no.

I went out and invited the constable to come in, but he desired me to shut the door on him; I answered him, Nay, for I had done no wrong, nor was I afraid of any man, and besides, I was not free to shut my doors; then he came in, and sat down in much trouble, hanging down his head.

After some time, we had some warm meat ready for dinner, and we invited him to dine, he roused up himself and eat with us, and after dinner, he went and sat down again as before in much trouble.

At last I began to think, what to do with him, for no way opened to him how to do, and it went hard with him to distrain, for he seemed confounded. Then I spoke and told him, he might write down what goods there were, he saw how things were, and I could not help it, and that he might leave them with me, for I would not make them away, if he

did not; and he also might proclaim them at the market-cross, and in the steeple-house, and if any body would buy them, let them come to buy them at my house.

This proposal he liked, and did accordingly, but when people heard them proclaimed, they wished sad things to such as bought any of them: so that none were sold.

Soon after this the sessions came, whither the constable went, and meeting with Justice Gilbert, of Locka, who granted the warrant, and another, called Sir Henry Every, he went to them, and offered to deliver them his warrant, and his bill of goods that he had distrained, and told them that he could not sell them; but said Justice Gilbert to him, If you cannot sell them in Derbyshire, you must carry them into Yorkshire. No, replied Justice Every, what need of that, you granted your warrant, and you have done your office; and good fellow, said he to the constable, thou hast executed thy warrant, and hast done thy office, if thou canst not sell them, thou canst but go thy ways home, and let it be as it is. He was Chief Justice in that county, and loved honest Friends, but hated hypocrites, and was much against proud priests: also the Earl of Devonshire and his lady had spoken to him before to be tender of me, as he was ever after.

After this, when I was a prisoner, he laid hold of every twig of encouragement till he got me out again. When King James put out his proclamation,—which some would have hindered me the benefit of—he spoke to the judge, and got me discharged.

The constable came home, and with great joy told me what had passed, that he came off so finely, and that my goods were saved.

Thus the Lord delivered me, defended and pleaded my cause in the time of need. Oh! his mercies were great to me at this time, he filled me with the Holy Spirit that day the informers were with me; so that sometimes I was ready to say, that if I had had an house full of goods to lose, I could freely part with them for the sake of truth. For to us it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake; and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. It is cause of great joy, when we are counted worthy to suffer for him; and he that loseth any thing for his sake, shall receive an hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting. If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; but if we deny him, he also will deny us. They are counted happy that endure; for he that endures to the end shall be saved: therefore we are exhorted, to Lay

hold on eternal life, and hold it fast, lest any take our crown, which he freely gives to all them that love his appearing.

After this sessions I was fined several times, twenty pounds a time, and the constables took the same way as the first did, and always went to Justice Every, and returned their warrants to him, which he took, and discharged the officers and sent them home; so the Lord preserved me from the spoilers, blessed be his name! He suffered the enemies of Truth to go no further, nor to do any more than he was pleased to give his people strength to bear, with comfort and rejoicing; for he hath been my rock and stay, yea, my portion both for soul and body; he hath helped me in all my necessities, and stood by me to hold up my head above all the waters and tempests; he is my salvation and treasure which will never decay, praise for evermore be given to him!

After this I went to a meeting at a town called Whittington, to which meeting came the mayor of Chesterfield, where two men waited on him; but the priest of the town, as they told us, sent two informers, who followed the mayor into the meeting, though he knew not what or who they were, that I could hear of.

The mayor came simply and innocently to hear truth declared. I was preaching when he came in and stood up close by me: I was opening to the people the parable of the supper, (Luke xiv.) and how those who were bidden made excuses, but the servant was sent out again into the streets and lanes of the city, to bring in the poor, the maimed, the halt and the blind to the supper; and I was showing who these poor, lame, blind and halt were, and how those that were wounded and lay lame and sick came to the supper. The mayor asked me how they were wounded? and without stopping, I told him that they were the poor in spirit who received the kingdom, and the wounded in spirit, saying, The spirit of a man would sustain his infirmities; but a wounded spirit, who can bear! and so went on: and the power of God broke mightily through the meeting, that the mayor cried out, It is true! When I had done, he went out and wept bitterly, and desired Francis Davenport, the Friend of the house where the meeting was, to show him where he might lie down a while; he had him into a chamber, where he lay down, weeping sorely, and he was very loving to me all his days after, though, poor soul, he was very rich in worldly riches, and it was too hard for him to stand in a public profession of the truth with us; but he was under a concern in his mind to his dying day.

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But though the mayor, I believe, neither thought to do, nor did us any harm, yet the laws were such that I was fined twenty pounds again for preaching, and the Friend of the house was fined twenty pounds also; for the two men that the priest of the town sent to our meeting, as aforesaid, went and informed against it for a conventicle.

Justice Barton, of Dranfield, without calling me before him to hear my accusers face to face, according to the ancient laws of the nation, sent out his warrants to distrain our goods, and they took Francis Davenport's cattle and horses, and went to Pleshly fair and sold most of them, before Francis and I could get thither; but after we came and told it in the fair how they came by those goods, nobody would buy any more of them; and one man, who had ignorantly bought some of the cattle, was sorely troubled, and said, had he known it, he would not have bought them.

The officers of our town had got a precedent, and took the same method as the former constable had done: they took some goods away from me, but could sell none, upon which the constable acquainted Justice Every, who bid him go his way home, and let it be as it was. Thus this justice stood in the gap, and stopped my goods in favour to me from being sold time after time, by which means I was preserved wonderfully from being plundered; and the goods they took out of my house were brought again after the sessions.

Indeed my neighbours showed much love to me, and were loath to have me hurt at any time, so that the Lord was wonderfully good both to me and my family, and was pleased to work for me from time to time; glory to his great and honourable name for ever! so that I never wanted a bed to lie on, or beds for my friends, nor food to eat, nor raiment to put on.

About this time I went into Cheshire, and had a meeting at Chester, where I met Roger Haydock, Eleanor Loe, and Mary Warrel, of whose company I was glad.

In this place there were several men who had received the truth, and yet through unfaithfulness fell away, but when I understood this I was sorry, and went again to Chester; for I had no ease in my spirit for two days and nights. I came there on the sixth-day of the week, and at night I had a few words before meat, where an apothecary and his wife were at supper.

The next day I walked to and fro through the market, with a great concern upon my mind, but had not an opportunity in the street to speak to the people. The apothecary got me to his house, where both he and his wife were very friendly; he also told me, that the

unfaithfulness of some in that city had hindered them, else, said they, we had been amongst you ere this day. I talked with them and then we parted friendly.

On first-day I went to Richard Smith's house to the meeting, and sat down and staid an hour or more ere the meeting was fully gathered; then I stood up and went nearer to Friends, for it was a very large room, and the Lord in mercy was pleased to give us a precious meeting, and there was great brokenness of heart with many tears. At the latter end of this meeting, Richard Smith spoke very tenderly, and desired that they who were unfaithful might amend their ways, and for the time to come do better; yet poor man, notwithstanding this exhortation, he himself, after some time, did worse than he had done before, for he wrote against Friends and the blessed Truth; however, he, with some others who opposed the Truth, were soon after taken away.

King Charles II. gave liberty to such Presbyterians as would, to license places to meet in, and they got a great barn at Ashford in-the-water. I happened to be in the town one day, and saw their meeting break up, and there appeared in the street abundance of people, and it troubled my spirit to see so many poor people led away, with such as I had tried and found to be false apostles. Within three days the word of the Lord came to me, to go to that meeting next fifth-day, but it was very hard with me to give up to go, for there were many that I loved very well, and that I believed loved me; but the Lord was good and encouraged me, upon which I acquainted an ancient Friend with the concern which was upon me, and he also encouraged me.

On fifth-day morning a friend came to me, and to the meeting we went, where the priest was preaching, and preached false doctrine. My message to the meeting was, That that meeting should fall and come down ere long, with more I had to say, as it did in a few weeks after, and there was never a meeting since in that barn, though they had set up a pulpit in it, and fine seats. When the priest had done, I desired the privilege of the gospel, which was, If any thing was revealed to him that sat by, let him speak, and the rest hold their peace; but before I had said what I had to say, they came violently upon me, and abused me, hauling me out; the priest looked pale and went away, though I charged him with false doctrine. When I was out I declared to the people in the power of God, against their priests and worship, but none answered me in defence of their way. When I had done I went away, and soon after saw the word of

the Lord fulfilled, for their meeting was not to be found in all the country, because they fled and got into holes in those suffering times.

Another day I was at Wirksworth market, and the people swore dreadfully, at which my spirit was sorely grieved, and the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Go to the market cross and declare against the wickedness of the people. I was loath to go, for I knew many of them to be rude, wicked, drunken, swearing people; besides, I did not know but they might pull me to pieces, and therefore I took my horse and went home. But I was followed with sharp reproofs and righteous judgments from the Lord, with which I was in deep sorrow, and I looked for the renewing of that concern no more.

But the next time I went, when I was in the market again, an exercise fell heavy upon me to go and warn the people. Now I went, not standing to consult any more, and in the heavenly power of God declared the Truth, and bore my testimony against their great wickedness, insomuch that the people were much reached, and wept aloud, and no man had power to hurt me. I stopped twice and sat down, and waited still for the fresh motion of life, and the Lord enabled me to stand up again. When I had eased my spirit I came away in peace and great joy, and after I came to my inn, some followed me, but it rose in my heart to go out of town, which I did. After I was gone, I heard one Justice Loe came to the town, and sent to my inn to fetch me before him, intending to send me to prison, but the Lord delivered and saved me out of the hands of wicked men; for this justice was a great persecutor of Friends. Thus the Lord was with me, and kept me wherever I went. Oh! let my soul livingly praise his holy Name.

About this time I went much to meetings, and ran to and fro, the Lord helping me, without whom I could do nothing, for in him all fullness dwells; and many were convinced, and our meetings were greater and greater, and many proved faithful; but the priests raged sorely, for I went abroad as much as I could, and kept my trade going too. My family also grew larger, and my care was great to pay all I owed to every body, so that I was often constrained to ride many miles after meetings, to gain my markets on the second-day of the week, and the Lord blessed me every way.

Many Friends came to visit me at my house, for the more I travelled and laboured in the work and service of the Lord, the more I gained acquaintance with Friends abroad. And I went often to the yearly meeting at London, and there inquired how

Truth spread abroad from nation to nation; and I was glad, and Friends came in love to see me, who went in the love of God to visit them. Our town's people thought that they would eat me up, as I heard, and waited to see me fail in the world; but when it did not prove so, but rather the contrary, then they changed their minds, and said, that the Quakers, as they called them, gave me money for preaching; and many such false accusations and slanders I patiently bore in those days.

Thus the subtle serpent, by his wicked and false reports, laboured to hinder the prosperity of the pure Truth; yet I saw no way but to give up my cause, and the cause of Truth, into the Lord's hand, for him to plead it as he saw meet.

The priests seeing the magistrates did not like to persecute us, laid their heads together, and got out a writ against me and two other Friends.

It so happened that I was gone to York, and those parts thereabouts, in Truth's service, and came not home till the writ was near being out of date, but the other two Friends were taken and sent to prison at Derby, and were long kept prisoners there.

After this, they cited me to the bishops' court, to which I went, and when I was called, went up towards the high priest and the others; one of them was called the Register, whose name was Nichols, of Litchfield. When I came near him, he looked on me with an envious countenance, saying to me, "Art thou there? I thought to have had thee in jail before now;" but said he, "I will have thee in jail."

Then said I, I have read, that the devil shall cast some of you into prison; but I never read, that any prophet, apostle, or servant of Jesus Christ laid any man in prison for conscience sake. But Nichols answered again, "I will lay thee in prison." Then said I, Thou wilt join with the devil.

"Pray, Mr. Wilson," said he to the high priest, the same who came before to our meeting to persecute us, after he had been at that called his sacrament, "do you admonish him." Upon which I looked for some information and counsel; but all he said was, "I admonish you to come to church: I admonish, I admonish you to come to church." I admired at their folly and blindness; for I expected they would have laboured to show me that it was my duty to come to church, or that I was in error; but seeing nothing came but, I admonish, I admonish, I admonish thee, three times, to make way for their wicked court to go on to persecute me, and get money; I said to him, Priethee, whether dost thou admonish me for

the good of my soul, or for the love of my money? Nichols said, "I for the love of thy money, and he for the good of thy soul." With that the people made a noise with laughing; for they saw it was money more than the good of souls, that they aimed at in that wicked court. Then the Lord's power arose in my heart, and I was going to declare against them; for I saw their wickedness in their high places was very great, and from an evil, cruel, persecuting, selfish spirit; but they cried out, "Have him away;" upon which I was violently hurried out of their court. At the next court I was cited again, and in the mean time summoned to appear at the assizes at Derby. The bailiff of our hundred told me, we must go to the clerk of the assizes. I told him we would not, for it was in vain to go to him, except we would give him money. Then said he, "You must appear before the judge." I seemed willing to that, and told him, it might do well to let him know how we were abused by him, and his men the bailiffs; for we are hurried to the assizes and sessions, because we cannot give you money, and people of other opinions, who can give you money, you leave at home; yea, said I, to my own knowledge, you left one at home for one groat. We were many Friends together, and when he heard me so free to appear before the judge and discover how they made their ends of the people in the country, he bid me get me away home, if I would. I said, then I would have all my friends along with me. He bade me take them, and away we came home, and these greedy men got no prey from us.

The next day being cited to appear again before the Spiritual court, so called, but rather wicked court, at Bakewell; three of us went. I came from the Temporal court one day, and went to the Spiritual court another, but they all missed of their chief ends of me; for they were of Felix's mind, they troubled me the oftener, thinking to get money of me. When we came there, the court was removed into the inn, to go to dinner; after which they held their court in a chamber, where we appeared; but Nichols said he would not take mine for an appearance. I asked him why, saying any time that day, while the court lasted would do. The priest answered, saying, "You are a people that will not be obedient to the king's laws." I then asked him, Is the king your ruler? To this he was silent, and bid an apparitor take me away, but I staid till the other Friends had done, and then went away.

After this I travelled hard, and went to meetings in many places; and one day as I was drawing homeward, having been in Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire, coming by

Derby, William Fallowfield being with me, a letter from Abraham Morris, of Lincoln, met me, desiring me to speak to a great woman, who was about to put some Friends in prison, who were her tenants, for tithes. I went to her, and after some talk with her, she grew very cool and moderate, and ordered me to go to her steward, about eight miles from Derby; so William Fallowfield left me: I went home from Derby, and on the next day I went to the steward's, but he was gone to Brasson. I went thither, and he was gone to the hall. I sent for him to my inn, but he would not come; so I went to him to the hall, where were two priests and the master of the house, and some of Derby, who all knew me. I got the steward from them into the hall, where I discoursed him, telling him his mistress's mind, and left him very friendly; after which I heard no more of the Friends going to Lincoln prison. I pressed on then to go home to my family, though it snowed and blew hard; but when I was on Brasson Moor, the word of the Lord came to me, bidding me go to Auldward and help them out. Thither I went, not daring to deny. There was no priest or priest's shop in that town, and divers were under trouble about religion. I had some acquaintance with one John Buzston, to whose house I went, and he bid me welcome. I acquainted him I had a desire to have a meeting, and they acquainted the town, and about the hour appointed the house was full. I was enabled to speak as in the ability of God's holy Spirit, and was powerfully carried on for about four hours. The meeting ended before twelve, but some staid till two, and the man and his wife were convinced, and both their parents; also the servant man, who hath since a fine testimony amongst Friends, and twenty more of the town. John Buzston said he believed all the town was convinced. Many came to meetings, some till they died, some till they married; some went into America, and did well, as I hear. I had also meetings about the same time at Newman-Lays-Millen, and a brave convincement there was in those days; some of whom are alive to this day, and faithful to the truth; and also in many other places where the Lord ordered me and went with me, and by his own right arm did unutterable things. Many were convinced, yea, hundreds, I believe, and came to meetings, at which the devil was angry, and I was cast into prison.

Soon after this, a writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo* came out. While I was abroad among Friends, I had a great sense of a deep suffering falling upon me, insomuch that I said to a friend, it was so deep I could not

see to the bottom of it; and I desired in my heart of the Lord, that I might be enabled to stand it. Before I got home out of Yorkshire, I had a dream one night, in which I saw, as I thought, a great mastiff dog took hold on me, and held me by my clothes just by Derby jail. I saw it was to no purpose to strive, and therefore after I had called to his master to take him off, but could not see he was inclined to it, I gave up to let him hold me. The day before I got home I felt the suffering more and more; and the next day I went to Bakewell fair, and the apparitor arrested me before I could get into my inn, or put up my horse in the stable, being the 16th of the sixth month, 1680. So to Derby I must go, but we staid that night at Bakewell, whither my wife came next morning, and wept. I bid her not weep, but rather rejoice that we were counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake, who had suffered so much for us. Then she bore it very well, when she saw me bear it so cheerfully.

Now when we came to the jail I demanded a free prison, but the jailer was unwilling, and offered me kindness if I would stay in his house and pay for my table, but I had a wife and family, and therefore could not afford to lie at seven shillings per week in his house; but I insisted to have a free prison, as I knew the law allowed. It happened that a little before, there were several Friends in that prison whom he put in the dungeon among thieves, and would scarcely allow them clean straw; so I got a statute book, which said that no sheriff, nor under-sheriff, nor jailer, nor under-jailer, should keep and lodge debtors and felons together, upon the penalty of five pounds. I took it and went to the sheriff, whose wife and mine claimed some kindred; they were very friendly to me, and desired me to leave my book with him, and meet him at the assizes, where he would speak to the judge, which he did, and the judge ordered my friends to be put from the felons, and to have rooms to themselves. The next that came to prison was myself, so I demanded one of those rooms. He said he had corn in it. Take it out then, said I, which he did in great vexation, and put me there, it being an old prison chamber. I borrowed a bed, with some other things, and went in. He came up to see how I fared. I had a fire, and though I could see the stars at night through the holes in the tiles, yet I lay warm enough: I had my health, and was well content, and thought in my mind that this was but small suffering to what I might go through before I died. I gave up all into the Lord's hand, soul, body and spirit, wife, children, and all I had, saying in my heart, sickness or health,

life or death, the will of the Lord be done. Oh! how good the Lord was to me, and I lay quiet and slept sweetly.

But when the jailer saw that I settled to abide there, and framed to housekeeping, he was angry and went his way, and locked me up close, and I remained so some time. I did not so much as desire to look out at the door. My heart was glad that I was accounted worthy of those bonds; and though I could get nothing except I had drawn it in at the window with a cord, yet it happened that I wanted nothing all the time it was thus with me, for indeed I resolved to abide it patiently.

At length a Friend, one Robert Meek, came to see me, and the turnkey came to tell me there was one come to see me, saying, I must come down into the house to him. By this I saw that the jailer was willing to have me come to my friends that they might spend money in the house; whereupon I told the turnkey that I was not willing to go down. If my friends, said I, must not come to me, I am not willing to come to them. He went down, and in a short time brought up the Friend to me, leaving us together, and the door unlocked, and when the Friend had staid his time, I went down with him to see him take horse. When he was gone, I spoke to the jailer, and asked him, why he carried it so severely to me? I told him, if he was civil, he should have civility from me, and if he would not, he might do as he would. He said that we were a people that would do nothing but what we listed; so when we had talked a while, he said, There hangs the key, take it, and do as you please.

Ever after I went in and out as I had occasion into the jailer's house and gardens, but home he would not let me go, though my wife was taken so ill, that it was feared she would have died. I gave up wife and children, and all I had into the Lord's hand, and was contented, saying in my heart, after this manner: Life or death, poverty or riches, come what will come, the will of the Lord be done. But it pleased the Lord that my wife mended again; and, Oh! how easy I was after I had given up all, and my jail was made a pleasant place to me, for the Lord in mercy was with me, so that I even sang a living song of praise; for to him praise is due for ever more!

Friends at London, in brotherly love, sent down an *habeas corpus* to have me up to appear in London, whither I went to please them; for Nichols had not hit the law right, but the court at London would not let me have law for my money at that time. I was very uneasy until I came to the temple and heard what tricks the priest's party and Nich-

ols had done; then I threw it up, and resolved to wait the Lord's time to bring me out, as he had been pleased to appear to me. The word of the Lord came to me, Be content, and I will bring thee out with honour. Upon which I came back to prison, and lay quietly till king James set me at liberty.

After this that jailer went out, and another came in, who was very civil and kind to me, and also his wife. Towards the spring my eldest son John, died. I obtained liberty to go to see him, but he died that night after he had seen me. Some of his last words were, that he hoped we should meet where they—meaning bad men—should not part us any more. The day after he was buried, I left my wife and went to prison again.

The priests were pleased that I was in prison; and two of them meeting in my inn at Tideswell, priest Wilson said to Fern, with whom I had the dispute at Baslow, Sir, I can tell you news: What news? said Fern; Why, said Wilson, Gratton is in prison. I am glad of it, said Fern. These are the hirelings that show their envious spirit, who spare not the flock of Christ!

This year I wrote an epistle to the yearly meeting in London, which is as follows:

Dear friends and brethren,

In the pure unchangeable truth do I dearly salute you all; who are truly kept faithful in and by the power of God to his glory: who hath in his endless mercy called and chosen us to bear testimony to his eternal power and godhead, who is God over all the gods of the earth, which are but as grass, which soon wither and come to an end.

You, dear friends, who dwell in the power of God, the mountain of true holiness, and in the unchangeable light, that is the same at this day which it was at the first of its breaking forth in us, is my love at this time freshly unto. And I feel you near and dear to me as ever. You whom God hath made pillars in his house, honourable vessels in his hand, fitted for his service, my soul honours, yea, and highly esteems in the Lord; knowing right well, that it is your meat and drink to do the will of your Father which is in heaven; and your hearts are gladly carried on in your Father's business. You can truly say that they, and they only, are your brethren and sisters, who are knowers and doers of the will of your Father which is in heaven: for God, even our God and Father everlasting, hath raised us up by his own arm and brought us forth in his own light, life and power, not to do our own wills, but his. Blessed be his name! his own people delight to live under his government, and love his reign, and are

not a little glad to feel the increase of his kingdom, in their own particulars, and to behold it in others. For this, dear friends, is a travail known in every upright heart, and a weighty concern upon the honest minded in all the churches of the saints, that nothing may be suffered or permitted that hinders the increase of the kingdom and government of Christ Jesus our Lord. For this cause, with others I might mention, I know it is a thing well pleasing unto the Lord, that you meet together, who have cheerfully a weighty care upon your spirits, for the prosperity of the eternal Truth, which is truly precious unto you; that you may in the wisdom and love of God, through his eternal power, and in the spring of life be truly carried forth as one man to stand up for the cause of God, and enabled to discharge your spirits of that weighty service which lies upon you. Oh! how largely hath the Lord our God made it manifest, that this your meeting is well pleasing unto him, by giving you his presence in such a powerful and glorious manner, as is beyond my ability to declare, and hath sealed it in my heart, and I am sure in your hearts, that it is a right good and honourable thing; and declares to all the world, that though we be of several counties of this nation, yea, and of several nations, yet are we one body, in one spirit and mind; and our unity, love and concord remain fresh in that life and light which never alters, and is the same at this day that ever it was. Therefore the enemy rages and envies our prosperity in the blessed Truth, and seeks every way to hinder the increase of the kingdom and government of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever! The Lord rebuke him and chain him down and tread him under our feet. I earnestly breathe unto the Lord our God, to give you a good soul-satisfying opportunity, according to his wonted manner, and I believe he will do it, and fill your cups full, yea, and make them overflow abundantly, to the joy and consolation of every sincere heart amongst you; and the Lord fill you with the spirit of judgment, that you may be as helps in government. Judge for God, and set true judgment on the head of transgression and transgressors, wherever they are found, and so clear Truth, which is clear from scandals and scandalous professors of it, that God may be glorified, and all his enemies who will not that he should reign over them, be brought down and slain before him, that he over all may be exalted, who alone is worthy—God blessed for ever: amen. Dear brethren, I can truly say I am with you in spirit; and my love springs freshly to you, and I should be glad to be with you personally, but could

not get leave; so as a token of my dear love and true unity unto you and with you, it was in my heart thus to write: and in this I remain your dear friend and brother. Everlasting praises be given to our God for ever. Amen.

Written in Derby jail, where I am a prisoner for the Truth's sake.

JOHN GRATTON.

22nd of the Third month, 1683.

After some years the jailer gave me leave to go home sometimes, and stay some weeks, but it displeased the priests and apparitors. And one time, I being at home, a Friend who was to be married came to me, and was earnest with me to come to his marriage, saying, he believed there would be a great service, for many people of the town of Chesterfield, where he had been an apprentice, would be at it. Wherefore I thought to go, but that night after he was gone, as I sat in my own house, an exercise fell upon me, so I turned in my mind, and waited to know the cause, and the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Thou must not go to this marriage, for the apparitor will be there; but thou must go to Derby to the jail to-morrow. I went to bed very sorry that I must go to Derby so soon, because I had leave to stay at home some weeks longer. I told my wife of it, and questioned whether I should sleep, yet through mercy I did, but when I awaked the next morning, it remained with me till I went.

When I came to Derby, the jailer was at the Bowling-green; I told him I was come to see them, at which he was glad, and bade me go down, and he would follow me. When I had been a little time at the jail, there came two high priests, and one called a gentleman with them, to see me, and asked for me; so I came to them, but when they saw me, they had nothing to say to me, only the man who came with them, whose name was Ouldershaw, and knew me well, to cover the matter, for they called for me, as I suppose, as if they were sure that I was not there, put himself to talk a little with me, and framed some discourse about religion; but he was soon silent, and was not able to withstand the Truth, but the priests said nothing, but paid their shot and went away.

When they were gone, the jailer rejoiced that it was so ordered, that I was there so ready to be seen by them, and said, he would not for forty pounds but that I had been there that day, for one of the priests was the chief priest of Derby town, and the other one very high; and he was so pleased, that he let me go home again the same day.

Thus the wicked plotted against the just; for we perceived their design was to have advantage against the jailer for giving me liberty, and so have got me to be kept close prisoner, and then they hoped some relation of mine would have given them money for my release. I suppose they had some information that I was expected to be at the marriage aforesaid; and they laid the design so, that the apparitor went to the marriage to catch me there, expecting to find me preaching, for he brought a justice with him to the meeting, called Gladman, one who knew better than he practised, who asked for me; and the justice took hold of R. C. to pull him out of the meeting, but slipped his hold, and fell upon a form, and thence to the floor, and there lay till Friends helped him up. Those priests were to have evidenced that they came that day to the prison and called for me, and that I was not there. But the good God disappointed them, and ordered me to be at the jail, and not at the marriage: but the apparitor informed against the meeting, and Friends were fined; one Friend twenty pounds for preaching, which must have been my lot had they found me preaching there, and the rest five shillings a piece for hearers. So they distrained on G. H. for twenty pounds, and Friends for five shillings, but the Lord saw all their plots against me, and in mercy delivered me that day; neither did my jailer suffer for his kindness to me. Oh! what a manifestation of the Lord's great love was this, for which I was not able to the full to return the praise and humble acknowledgments that are due to him, for his mercy and fatherly care, who knew the designs of our enemies, and prevented them.

Though we were ignorant and knew nothing of this plot, yet the Lord in mercy revealed it to me by his good Spirit, that I should go to the prison. Oh! what a tender Father and wonderful Counsellor have we; heaven and earth are full of his majesty, and his power is over all. Let the whole creation, and my soul, with all that is within me praise the Lord, for his mercy endures from generation to generation. He is God and changeth not—the same to-day, yesterday and for ever. Therefore his people are not consumed, though the sea rage, and the beasts of the field roar, yet the sheep and lambs of the flock of Christ Jesus are saved, and the lions and bears slain by him, who hath all power in heaven and earth, and will deliver all that truly trust in him. David said, "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed;" whom the apostle remembered with joy: Acts iv. 18 to

34. Read it and take courage, you that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and fear not man; for, if God be for us, who can be against us? Neither men nor devils can hurt us, though they may tempt and try us; yet if we follow the Lord, he will help us in time of need. My chief end in writing these remarkable things is, that others may take courage to trust in God, and be obedient to him in all things, without fearing man, who is but as grass.

While I lay in prison, I sometimes spoke out of the window to the people, and many of them were loving and friendly to me, and some young men were convinced, amongst whom the jailer's eldest son was one, who came finely forth in obedience to the Lord, for which his father was angry, and turned him out of doors. He was likewise offended with me, and said he would put me in the dungeon and lock me to the wall. But he never did; for he would sometimes seem worse than he really was, for he loved me more than he made a show of, and the liberty he gave me declared it.

One day I was concerned in mind for his son, for he got little trade in Derby, for the town was envious, and many of them seemed to turn from him, and would not trade with him, because he was turned to the Truth. His father was uneasy, for some would have had the high sheriff to put him out from being jailer; but it came into my heart to make the jailer a motion, that if he pleased to give me and his son leave, I would go with him to London, and place him there. I went down and told his wife, and she told her husband, to which he consented; upon which I helped his son what I could off with his goods, then I took him with me to London, and placed him with an honest Friend, George Watts, where he did well, for the Lord gave him favour in the sight of Friends, and he grew in the Truth; and after some time he found his mind engaged in affection toward a sober young woman, of an honest family, a Friend; upon which he came down to have the consent of his parents, to proceed in marriage: and now I must go up again, which I did, and liked the young woman well; so they married, and he went into partnership with a Friend in trade, and grew rich every way, and the Lord blessed him; and after some time his father went up to London, and saw how his son lived, and confessed that I had done more for him than he could have done.

One time, having leave to go home for some time, to see my wife and family, it fell out so that Robert Meller, of Whitehough in Staffordshire, died, who had been an honest

Friend in his day, and a noble standard in suffering times; his wife was also a sincere hearted woman, and his son John a very honest Friend. They hearing of my being at home, sent and invited me to come to his burial; and though I was sorry for the loss of so faithful a Friend, yet was I desirous to go to his burial, thinking there would be many people, for he was beloved both by rich and poor, and of good report amongst men of all sorts. But I being a prisoner, was careful the jailer might not be blamed, or turned out of his place on my account, for both he and his wife and children loved me well, and were very kind to me; upon which I waited upon the Lord, desiring to know his mind, whether I should go, or no. Then I felt I might go; though I had a sense there would be danger of meeting with some trouble, but how or which way it would come I did not know.

When the day came I went, and many people were there, many of them people of note and figure in the world, and the high constable of our hundred, to whom Robert was uncle. I was not easy in my spirit to stay at the house, but it was in my mind to go to the grave-yard, and not to stay till the corpse was carried from the house; upon which I left the people at dinner, and went away, and when I came at Basford town's end, I overtook two men in black raiment, who opened the gate for me, but as I went on, it rose in my heart that they were informers; they went on also past the grave-yard, as though they had been going further, though I knew there was no road that way which they went. Then I slipped off my horse and went to a stile to watch them, and saw they went through a village into the Friend's ground who lived there, and lay down under a hedge till the corpse came near; when they arose and put themselves into the crowd, all which I saw and was exercised what to do, whether I should go into the grave-yard or no; for if I should go, I knew not but my keeper might be turned out of his place, and there were three public Friends besides, viz: W. F., J. H., and J. J. So I humbly waited on the Lord for counsel, if in mercy he would please to teach and help me to do his will at that time; and as I waited and walked about, the people came with the corpse, and it pleased the Lord to encourage me to go to the grave and all should be well; whereupon I went, where my mouth was opened to speak to the people, and the Lord's power was with me, and after I had done I went into the Friend's house, and sat down and kept my coat about me; but some strangers came in under pretence of lighting their tobacco, and asked the Friend's maid who I was; saying, what a brave man

they had heard: wishing they could do as he had said. I sat by, and they did not know me again, but asked my name and where I dwelt; and she told them, by which they got their end.

Now the two men in black proved informers, the one of them was a priest, and the other a schoolmaster, as I heard afterwards. They informed against me to the magistrates, and they fined me twenty pounds, and the three Friends who spoke at the grave twenty pounds each, and Thomas Hammersley, the Friend of the house, for the grave-yard twenty pounds, in all an hundred pounds, besides other Friends five shillings a piece for hearers. Yet these informers got nothing of that hundred pounds of any of us five, for Friends went to the magistrates, and they moderated it, also the justices of our county refused to grant their warrants to distrain my goods, because I was a prisoner. The deceased Friend was a rich man, and so were his relations, both in that county and in Derbyshire; upon which they sent out a warrant to distrain upon the widow's goods, from whom they took a mare, and few else lost much by these informers, for the hearts of divers people rose against them. I being in another county, a warrant was sent after me to sir William Boothly, to distrain my goods for twenty pounds, but he said, I was out of his hundred, and he would not meddle; by this he put them off, and all was well, though they employed a sorry attorney of Staffordshire, to go to Simon Degg, a justice of Derby, for a warrant to distrain my goods, but the justice told them I was a prisoner. "No," said the attorney, "he is at liberty." "No," said the justice, "he is in prison." It happened that there was a prisoner by at that time, and the justice asked him, and he bore witness that I was in jail, for I came in over night, for he both saw me, and was with me some time in the jailer's house; upon which the justice said, "What would you have? he is a prisoner; therefore I will not grant any warrant against him."

The prisoner came home in the evening, and told me, before the jailer and his wife and many others, what a tug he had about me at Justice Degg's, saying, "One Sutton, an attorney, craved a warrant against you, for preaching at Robert Meller's burial;" but the prisoner aforesaid, by name Porter, affirmed that I was in prison, and so Sutton got no warrant. When my jailer perceived that while I had been about home upon leave, I did venture to go to this burial, he cried out, saying, "Thou wilt undo thyself and me too." But I looked on him, and said boldly as it arose in my heart, Man, never fear, for thou

wilt suffer nothing for any kindness thou showest to me.

This was the assize time at Derby, and the high constable aforesaid, who was Robert Meller's nephew, and was at the burial, told counsellor Leming, that he could find in his heart to complain to the judge of my jailer, for letting me have liberty to go to meetings. Counsellor Leming told it to a friend of mine, an attorney in the town, who wished me well, and he told me what he had heard, and who told him. I said to him, Pray ask the counsellor, if it was not Robert Dale; for he was at the burial as well as me: and said I, it is hard, if we may not have liberty to bury one another, or to this effect. But when he knew that I had marked him out, he said no more, nor made any complaint to the judge; for it would have been a shame for him to complain against me for being at his uncle's burial. My kind jailer had no blame, but all was well, according to what was said in my heart when I went to the grave-side, that all should be well. The devil was not suffered to do so much mischief as he would have done; and the Lord comforted my soul through all these exercises; glory, honour and praise be given to him, who never fails those who truly trust in him.

After some time I went to London again, and was there when king Charles died, and his brother came to the crown, who, after some time, set all that were in prison for conscience sake, at liberty.

While I remained in prison, I had some discourse with the Papists, who were in prison with me, about several things. The first time the popish priest began with me thus; the jailer being ill I went down to see him, and when the priest heard I was with the jailer, he came also, with about eight debtors, who were civil men, being well brought up, and they came to see the jailer, and being pretty cheerful with the old man, the popish priest broke out, and said, "Well may I be cheerful, who suffer for the Truth, when I see how cheerfully some men suffer for error."

There were none but he and another Papist, and I, who suffered for our profession of religion, so that I saw he struck at me, and told him, there were none at that time who suffered for their religion but him and another of his own mind and me, therefore said I, it must needs be me thou meanest, that suffers for error. Either prove thy charge, or own thy fault, for I am not willing to sit down with it; telling him, that if he could make it appear that I suffered for an error, I would take him for my friend, for I was not willing either to live or die in error, if I knew it.

Then he would have heard no more of it, but I was not willing to pass it by and let him go so; for the charge was great. Prove it, said I, or confess thy error.

So he asked what we must be tried by; it was answered, By the rule of the church. He acquiesced with that, and so did I. Then I asked him what that rule was; but he seemed to evade and would not answer; but one that sat by, said it was the Scriptures. He said no: then I asked him again, what he said the rule was; to which he made no answer. Is it the pope? said I; "No," said he. Is it the church? said I; he answered no: and so did I too; for the church was to be ruled by the rule, therefore could not be the rule. But said I, What dost thou say is the true church's rule? But he seemed loath to answer; but being urged, he said tradition was the rule. Tradition! said I, but what was the rule before there was tradition? for there must needs be the elders, before there was the tradition of the elders. And said I, The rule is a firm, stable, standing rule, from the beginning of the world to the end, that alters not or changes, which cannot be added to nor taken from. All this he seemed to have but little or nothing to say against.

The company desired me to tell them what I believed this rule was. And in answer to their request, I told them;

It was the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, which was in the beginning, and was God, and is God, and changes not; and since our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death for us, and rose again, this Spirit is poured forth upon all flesh: see Acts ii. This is that which guided Enoch, so that he obtained testimony that he pleased God. This hath been the guide, rule and leader of all the patriarchs, prophets and the holy men of God, who spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, or Spirit of Truth, which leads and guides the true church into all truth, and all true worship is in it. And as many as are led and guided by the Spirit of God, they are the sons and daughters of God. This was and is the true church's rule; and if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his; so this that is the guide of the church, must be the rule; he that works by a rule is guided by it and ruled by it. This is that which baptizeth men into the church or body of Christ; of which the children of God are born, and are nourished by, so that it gives them life, and inspires them, and gives them understanding, manifesting to every man that which is for his profit and welfare, and is freely given. The apostles were ministers or servants of it; this brings men into the adoption, and enables them to call God Father, and to say truly,

that Jesus is the Lord. It directs men to obey, and enables them to do the will of God; this is grace and a free gift to all, and if they will, they may come and drink abundantly of it, for it is a fountain of living water. Since men have turned from it, and run after blind guides, they oppose it and one another, and are confounded! Having lost the rule, the true guide, they cry, Lo here, and lo there, and are out of love and charity one with another, and one is for one head and ruler, and another for another head; so every head would rule, and there being many heads and horns, even to admiration, they are pushing at one another, and in Babylon is found all the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus; but the true church is full of love and good will to all mankind: with much more to that purpose. Upon this discourse the company believed that the Spirit of Truth was the rule and guide; whereupon the popish priest desired that he and I might be at peace, and would have no more discourse.

After this, two men of the church of England, who wished me well, came to see me, and sent for me into the jailer's hall; but before I came, another Papist, that had been tried for clipping, [coin] got into discourse with them, and vilified their church sadly, and was very high. Then I asked a question,—If, said I, it can be made to appear that the pope of Rome is not in the apostle Peter's spirit, will you not then grant that he cannot be Peter's successor? The Papist answered yes. Then I asked him if Simon Magus was not out of Peter's spirit, who thought that the gift of God could be bought and sold for money? He replied yes. Then, said I, the pope is in Simon Magus's spirit, and not in Peter's, for he thinks so still; but he said nay, the pope did not think so. Then, said I, he is worse than Simon Magus, because he makes people believe so; else, why doth he take money for his bulls, pardons, and indulgences? To this neither he nor the popish priest that stood by, said a word more, but went away; and the churchmen were glad.

After this there came in a Jesuit and another priest, and two more Papists. One day the Jesuit showed me a place in a book, treating of a man being born of the Spirit and of water. I asked him what he showed me that for? He answered, to let me see that a man must be born of water as well as of the Spirit. I asked him what water? He said baptismal water. What! said I, elementary water? He said yes. Then, said I, dost thou believe that elementary water hath that virtue in it, as to help to make a man a new creature? or to this effect. He said yes: then I denied their baptism, and told him he could not prove that

ever our Saviour Christ baptized any with water, or commanded any man to baptise with water; and bade him either prove or yield: but he could not prove their baptism, and to yield he was not willing. So I left him to search the Scriptures for a proof.

After this he fell on me sharply, about the eucharist or sacrament, as they call it, of bread and wine. He told me, that after the words of consecration, so called, by the priest, (we read of no such words in Scripture) the bread was really, corporeally, and substantially the very flesh of Christ, and the wine his very blood, urging Christ's words, "Take, eat, this is my body."

I told him, Christ also said, "The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life; and he that hath the Son, hath life; but he that hath not the Son, hath not life. But the apostle speaking of the children of Israel, 1 Cor. x. says, they were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and they did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock which followed them, and that Rock was Christ. Now, if it be the same, it is spiritual, and not, as thou sayest, corporeal; and if it be not the same, the apostle saith not true. This put him to silence, for he durst not say the apostle lied; and if so, then it was the same, and if the same, then not the very flesh of Christ corporeally: so he was silent a while; at last he said, "Well, for my part, I know nothing of spiritual eating or drinking." Then, said I, it is no matter to talk more with thee.

Another time he began to discourse with me, asking me if I did not believe a purgatory, whither all go before they can go to heaven. He said there was a place of purging after this life, and there were three sorts of people went into purgatory; one sort were so holy, that they went strait through it into heaven, for their works did abide, and they had reward of the same; another sort was so unholy, that they went strait through purgatory into hell; and there was a third sort, the most numerous, who were neither so holy, as to go strait to heaven, nor so very unholy as to go strait to hell, and those staid in purgatory fire, till they were made clean, and suffered loss, because their works did not abide when they were tried by fire, yet they were saved but so as by fire; alluding to the apostle's words, that every man's work should be tried by fire, of what sort it is, wood, hay, or stubble; 1 Cor. iii. 12, 13, 14. Then he queried, Can any man's work be tried before it be done? I said no. Then, said he, Can a man's work

be said to be done before he be dead? I said no. Well then, said he, if a man's work cannot be tried before it be done, as it cannot, nor done before he be dead, it must needs be tried after he is dead, and it must be tried by fire, therefore it must needs be purgatory fire." I asked him what sort of fire it was, whether like that before us, which was a coal fire, elementary fire; he said yes. I never heard before, said I, that a coal fire could try men's works, or that it would burn to all eternity.

Now the Lord was pleased to appear, for I felt him near me, and he opened my understanding, and I laboured to show him from the holy Scriptures, that men were to know a being baptized into Christ's death, and to become dead to sin whilst here, and be buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together, said the apostle, in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection; 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: Rom. vi. The apostle saith, "How can you that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?" So the old man being crucified, death hath no more dominion over you; and he that enters into Christ, the true rest, ceaseth from his own works, as God did from his; Christ worketh in him, for he is all in all. The baptism of Christ is with the Holy Ghost and fire; and he will purge away the filth of the daughter of Zion with the spirit of judgment and burning; and the day of the Lord shall burn as an oven; and Jacob shall become a flame, and the house of Esau stubble; and the Lord shall sit as a refiner's fire, and like a fuller with soap, and take away the filth of the daughter of Zion, and purely purge away her dross, and take away her tin. The Lord said by his prophet, "I will make a man more precious than gold, than the golden wedge of Ophir;" and that he would purify the sons of Levi. The word of the Lord is as a fire and a hammer, to break the rocks asunder; and our God is a consuming fire to all the workers of iniquity, and reveals himself in flames of fire, to render vengeance upon all that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord makes all things new; and if any man be in Christ he is a new creature; old things are done away, and become as dross and dung in comparison of Christ. So that man loseth all his own works, for they cannot abide the trial; but Christ is, of God, made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification

and redemption; and if any man glory, he must glory in the Lord, for out of him there is none. This must be done or known in this life, in the day time, for the day shall declare it, and the fire try every man's work, of what sort it is. Therefore, said Christ, "Work while it is day, for the night cometh wherein no man can work." There are twelve hours in the day, in which a man may work, but there is neither work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest; therefore, whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might, for as the tree falls so it shall be, and as death leaves judgment finds, and in the grave there is no repentance. The grave cannot praise the Lord, death cannot celebrate him, they that go down into the pit cannot hope for his Truth, but they that die in the Lord are blessed; and they that are in Christ need no purgatory after death, having washed their garments, and made them white in his own blood. Nothing else can cleanse people, or save them from their sins, for there is no other way to God but by him, neither is there any can save from death, and give life eternal, but Jesus Christ.

Much more was said than I can now remember: but he was ignorant and not acquainted with these things, that he had not wherewith to oppose, nor did he deny what I said; so his purgatory was all thrown aside as an invention of men, and their pretending to pray men out of purgatory is all a cheat to get money by, and all their pardons nothing but deceit, for the Lord only hath power to forgive sin. Much opened in my mind, and all he could say came to nothing; so we parted friendly.

Oh! blessed be the Lord, who hath discovered the great deceiver, and all her abominations; and the false prophet, with all his transformings are seen, and both thrown down to the earth together. She is full of the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus, and she thirsts for more; but the Lord hath a remnant that have come out of her, and refuse to partake with her of her sins, lest they should partake with her of her plagues; for strong is the Lord God Almighty, that judgeth her.

I also had good service with many other people, and sometimes got to some meetings at Little-Eaton and other places, but I did not write down what passed in all places, only some things of note.

I wrote to the priests of Derby, about the rude, wicked practices which the people of that town lived in, for they made bon-fires; and one year they carried about a thing they called the pope, and then burnt it in the fire, and the next year they carried about a thing they called Presbyter John, and burnt that

also; and these things, with many others I beheld in the town, grieved me very much.

About this time the priests in their pulpits preached aloud, that active obedience must be practised by all the king's subjects. And one Henry Ward having been one day with the mayor, came to me in the evening, and told me that the mayor said, we must obey the king actively; so that if the king did command us to worship Mahomet, we ought to do it; and if it was amiss, it would be the king's fault, and not ours.

At this time the Act for twenty pounds per month was put in execution, against those who were rich, or such whom the prosecutors were minded to afflict; upon which one Burrows of Derby, to avoid suffering, conformed; and there was scarcely a man in that town, according to the remarks I then made upon them, who was willing to be reputed a Presbyterian, for they had no meeting in or about that town, unless it were in private.

Such is the cowardice of men, whose religion is built upon the tradition and inventions of men, and not upon Christ; for from hence it is plain, how needful it is for men to lay their building upon that Rock, which neither the windy doctrines of men, nor the swelling waves of persecution are able to move.

In this time of my confinement, several people resorted to me in prison on first-days, and we had good meetings there; for though the ministers of the gospel may be shut up in jails for the testimony's sake, yet the word of God cannot be bound, for it had free course, and was glorified.

This prison was made easy to me, and things were well at home with my dear wife and family; and though she was a tender woman, yet she was enabled, through mercy, to keep markets, to carry on our business for a livelihood; she also came sometimes to see me in prison, though it was sixteen miles, which was hard for her in the winter season.

Whilst I was a prisoner I wrote a little book, which I entitled "The Prisoner's Vindication," also some epistles and letters to Friends, and meditations in verse, for my children. The reason why I wrote some remarkable passages of my sufferings for Truth, and also the great things which the Lord hath wrought for me, both in supporting me therein, and delivering me out of, is that my children and others may be encouraged to be faithful to the Lord, and valiant for the Truth upon the earth; for this cause it came into my mind, to tell to others how good the Lord hath been to me, for which I am deeply engaged to praise his great name.

[The following extract is taken from the work above alluded to.]

To all Persecutors, both by words and actions.

"Upon the 16th day of the Sixth month, called August, 1680; I being at Bakewell about my trading, it being a fair, was arrested by two or three bailiffs, by virtue of a writ of *Excommunicato Capiendo*, for not coming to the parish church, so called, and not appearing at the Spiritual court. I had appeared there several times, and offered to the parish priest, that if he could make it appear I was in an error, by clear Scripture, I would take him for my friend. And further, that if he could make it appear from clear Scripture, that it was my duty in the sight of God, to come to the parish church and conform to them, I would do it. But he did not find it his business to seek to inform me at that time, or any other, being not so charitable as to bid me come another time and then he would discourse with me. Although after this I was never cited to the court again, yet upon the day aforesaid I was sent to Derby jail, where I remain a prisoner.

"After I was sent to prison, many false charges were flung after me, to render me and Truth odious to the country people, who were ready to wonder why they should send such a peaceable man to prison. I was by my persecutors highly accused to be an heretic, a factious fellow, the ringleader of a factious people; yea, a blasphemer, an enemy to Cæsar, a dangerous fellow, and a spreader of dangerous principles, and what not. And all to make the people think hardly of me, and believe if they could, against their belief, that I was some dangerous man; insomuch, that they said, I was not fit to live, especially not fit to be loose in a country; for by keeping me in prison, they had hopes to scatter the rest. At the hearing of these malicious and false calumnies, I was grieved, not for myself, but others, who I heard were ready to think hardly of me, because such reports had gained some credit with some, who were thought both wise and sober, and they believed them, because others believed them; those others believed them, because my persecutors, who are looked upon by most to be spiritual men, reported them amongst these uncharitable men. Not one came to show me my reported sad condition, but in prison I must lie, come what will come of wife and children. My wife went, with two friends more, to the Arch-Deacon, so called, and showed him the unreasonableness of my suffering, and the need of my liberty; but his words were great charges as aforesaid, though he never discoursed me

about religion in his life. It is true, he also said, that he would come to me and discourse me, and if I was in the right, and he in the wrong, I should come out of prison, and he would go in for me; but he yet fails to make his words good. I do declare to all that may see these lines, that if I cannot make it appear, that he is wrong, and I right, I then will be content to stay where I am; only I would be judged by men unprejudiced against the Truth, such as are not partial, and make no outward gain of the Scriptures. Many others have desired my enlargement, some by letters, and some have gone in person, but all fails, except I will conform, and pay the charges they have been at in laying me in prison; which thing I cannot, and dare not do. For, first, I believe I ought not to conform to the worship that is now maintained by the priests of this nation by their preaching and practice; I do not mean by their purses; for both they and it cost the people dear. Secondly, I believe, that though it be after the way which they call heresy, yet the worship which I now own, is the true worship of God; and I do find by good and great experience, that the Lord God of heaven and earth, who is a Spirit, doth approve and own it so to be. For the worship I own and believe, is the true worship of God, that is spoken of in John iv. 23, 24. They that worship God must worship him in spirit and in truth; and saith our Saviour, the Father seeketh such to worship him. Thirdly, seeing our Lord, Christ Jesus, did set up, appoint and command this worship, therefore I believe I ought not to leave it, and run to another worship, that is no where commanded, either by Christ or any of his apostles, thinking thereby to save my estate, and to live at liberty in the world, and enjoy those natural rights and privileges I am a free-born heir to, which I see the drunkard, swearer, curser and proud wicked person is not deprived of, though he be so wicked. Lastly, seeing I do those things I believe I ought to do, and have not given any just occasion of offence, or done wrong to any man, therefore I cannot own myself in a fault, and give monies for a pardon to those, who while they are pardoning others, are therein committing the highest sins they can approach unto. If I have sinned, it is against God, and to him I look for mercy; but in this I am not by him accused or judged as a sinner, but owned and justified by him, and can say, it is God that justifies me, who shall condemn me? Now should I come to my persecutors, and own myself an offender, and buy their absolution, and conform to their invented ceremonies, then should I by so doing give God's spirit and my own heart and conscience the lie; from which, I hope, with-

out offence I may take the liberty to say, good Lord preserve me.

"But seeing I must have no better treatment from my persecutors than a prison, which indeed is the way of argument that the false prophets in all ages have taken, with things of the like nature, as fines, whips, lions' dens, fiery furnaces, faggots, and such like; I desire they will be pleased to suffer me to treat them with a few arguments, which are in my mind, and when I have done, I shall leave them to do, as it shall please God to suffer them, as to me, and desire they may consider and consult their own profit eternally, and not forget, that ere long, both they and I must appear before the judgment seat of Christ, to give an account of the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or evil.

"And first, I enquire of you that persecute me and others, whether if it was so, as you say falsely it is, that I was a heretic, a factious fellow, &c., what precept or example you have from Christ or his apostles, to lay me in prison, seeing I am a peaceable man and just in my dealing, and pay to Cæsar his due, as many that know me will witness? But instead of a command for persecution, doth not our Lord Christ prohibit it several times? It may be you will say, it is no persecution that is done in this kind to an erroneous person, &c., though it may be, for all he is so called by you, who call light darkness and darkness light, he is a true Christian, and servant of Jesus Christ. Doth not Christ prohibit all manner of violence, cruelty, imposition and the like, when he bids his followers to love their enemies, not to persecute their friends; and whatsoever they would that men should do unto them, to do so unto men, saying, this is the law and the prophets: and also said, with what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again? Is it obeying Christ's command to lay men in prison? You would not be so done unto for your faithless faith, and worthless worship. Though you profess to love God, yet while you in works deny him, I shall not much heed your profession; for he is a true lover of him that keeps his commandments, as will be found one day, when those that pretended to preach and prophesy in his name, and in his name to cast out devils, shall be bidden to depart from him, as workers of iniquity. And if those that preach and prophesy in his name, and in his name cast out devils, be sent away from him, because they, for all that, were workers of iniquity, what do you think will be the portion of those that preach and prophesy in man's name, and by man's authority only are held up; and instead of casting devils out, tell people, they must live in sin all their lives, and make the

people content to let the devil keep the house, hurry them on into iniquity, transgression and sin all the days of their lives; and for all this, tell those very people that they are Christians, and though they do those things they ought not, and leave undone those things they ought to do, and are miserable offenders, in whom there is no health, yet while they put into the priest's mouth, are owned as a dear brother and sister, and so called when they are buried by him, though it may be they have killed themselves by a drunken bout. O! how dreadful will the end of these things be! It is a grief to my spirit to think of it.

"But further, did not Christ command that both tares and wheat should grow together? And do not these two words, wheat and tares comprehend all mankind? What can you make for your practices here? If I be a tare, you should let me alone till the day of the harvest; for what hast thou to do with another man's servant; to his own master he stands or falls. Christ Jesus showed a reason also, why he would have men to let them alone, and both grow together; for, saith he, lest while you pluck up the tares, ye root out the wheat also. This clearly shows that men may be mistaken, especially those that have not an infallible spirit; for it is the spirit of God that is infallible, which searcheth and makes all things manifest, even the deep things of God. We have had sufficient experience, that under pretence of plucking up the tares, which is contrary to Christ's command, the devil hath laboured with all his might, to root the wheat out of the world; and though Christ saith, he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, yet the devil came to kill and destroy men's lives, not to save them. Christ rebuked his disciples, when they would have called fire from heaven, and told them, they knew not what spirit they were of. My kingdom, said he, is not of this world. He did not come to be Lord and King in an outward manner, and make men yield to him by outward force, for if so, then would his servants fight; but he came to set up his kingdom in the hearts of men. It was promised by the Lord, that he would give him for a covenant to the people, and would create new hearts in them, and write his laws in them, and put his fear in their inward parts, and be their God. So when Christ came, he said to them, the kingdom of heaven is within you; and said the prophet, he shall sit as a refiner's fire, and fuller's soap; what for but to purify the heart, that it may offer an offering in righteousness? It is true, the apostles in their weakness, forbade those that they found casting out devils in his name, because they did not follow him; but did Christ approve of it? Nay, he re-

buked them, saying, he that is not against me, is for me. Methinks this might be taken notice of by you priests, who persecute me and others; since you have seen some of your drunken hearers become very sober men, after they have come to hear the Quakers, as you call us, preach; some of your swearers, cursing, proud, profane hearers become very careful livers, both in words and deeds; and what! doth this grieve you? Methinks you should think such men as these, that prevail so upon people's hearts to be good men, men of your side, if you be for God, and should, like Christ, whom you call your Lord and Master, rather rebuke such as forbid us, than forbid us yourselves. When, like Peter and John, we dare not but speak the things we hear and see and are commanded, not then to take us and put us in prison; and so stop the mouths of them God hath opened, and be angry with them, though they do what they do freely, and look for no part of your great revenues. Remember, you do not desire to be so done by; and also it is worth your taking notice, that those our Saviour Christ whipped out of the temple, were buyers and sellers; what would you think, if such must be whipped out of your steeple-houses now, and such only be admitted to preach as would do it freely! But though he did whip such out, as aforesaid, yet we never read that he whipped any in; or that if any would not come to that place, he imprisoned them, or fined them, or the like. No, he was a Shepherd, tender and loving to them; if any go astray, his way to fetch them in, is ever by his gentle calls unto them, in reproving, rebuking and checking them in their hearts by his spirit, and following them with his righteous judgments in their inward man. So that for want of true peace with God, many have returned again to him, who shows them wherein they offend; and when they return, there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repents, than over ninety-nine just persons which need no repentance. Just persons; mark that! these are none of your church of miserable offenders. But let me ask you, is not faith the gift of God? And that which is not of faith is sin; is it not? If so, then I ask, what you would gain if you could make a man choose to conform to your worship; yours I call it, contrary to his faith and conscience, rather than lose his enjoyments of wife, children, liberty and estate, any more than a hypocrite, one that seemed to be what he is not? Nay, may I not say any better than a heretic; for I take him to be a heretic that is condemned of himself, that allows himself to do that which he condemns himself for. This way of persecuting men for their faith and conscience, is the way

to bring some to become hypocrites and heretics, and this is the way such men have gone in, to hold up their idolatry and superstition in all ages; witness Baal's prophets. The old serpent knows this well enough; therefore it was said in the revelation, the devil shall cast some of you into prison. Some of whom? Some of the servants and faithful witnesses of Jesus, who would not, and could not worship the beast. But further, suppose I wanted faith and a right understanding of the things that belong to my everlasting peace, do you think that a prison will be a means to bring me into the true faith? Can the prison walls rectify my understanding, or give me faith and wisdom? Did ever Christ command the use of a prison or fine, or any thing of that nature, to men that would not hear him, or believe him? What ground have you for this? Show us your foundation for these actions, and bring command, precept or example for them from Christ or his servants, and then I shall think better of you; but if not, let me tell you, one day you may find your portion to be what the prophet said, Wo to him that spoils, and is not spoiled. Therefore I could gladly desire, even in pity to your own souls, that you would consider your doings; not that I am so much grieved for my own sufferings for truth's sake; no, though my poor wife and children are near and dear to me, yet blessed be the Lord, I have faith in God concerning them, and believe he will take care for them and me too, and can trust the Lord upon all accounts, blessed be his name for ever! Though it is hard, and will be so found one day to you that part me from them, to be stripped from them for my obedience to God, and laid in prison, and by you reported to be one of the worst of men. O! this is the way and manner which the serpent and his instruments of old took with the servants of Jesus Christ, witness Paul's accusers, and persecutors. We, said they, have found this man a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition, a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, &c. And the great rabbies of those days, the Scribes, Pharisees, high priests and rulers, that persecuted our great Lord and Master Jesus Christ, accused him to be an enemy to Cæsar, a blasphemer, and a deceiver, &c.

"And you that are my persecutors, are not you much like these men aforesaid, who persecuted Christ and his apostles, and cried to the rulers for help, in your proceedings against me? And though some of you never saw me as I know of, and none of you ever came to discourse me, or see wherein I was mistaken as to my faith and principles; yet you can fling it out, that I am a dangerous person, a deceiver, and run up and down the country to

delude people. These your false charges will one day be remembered, except you repent, which I desire you may.

"Consider your doings, and see who you run parallel with; you are but men, you may be mistaken, seeing you are not led by an infallible spirit, and therefore cannot be sure you are in the right; but you go by conjectures, and rest upon the judgment of ancient fathers, reverend divines, as some call them, heathen authors, or else your own conceivings, or the like, and yet are uncertain, and leave the people unsatisfied, and so manifest yourselves to be such as are not sent with the Lord's message, received from God himself, as by your uncertain beating the air is manifest to every one whose eyes the Lord hath opened. So that there is great danger, if I should leave Christ the true light and teacher of men, who now appears by his pure spirit in my heart, and shows me the things that belong to my peace, and follow you, I should then be led, both in principle and practice, to do those things I ought not, and leave undone those things I ought to do; and then I could not escape being a miserable sinner and offender, in whom there is no health.

"Suppose I should, contrary to my faith and knowledge, come to you, and live and die in error, for fear of being kept here in prison, and brought to poverty in the world, which, blessed be the Lord, I value not in comparison of my peace with him, the God of peace, and think to plead with God, and say, I did what I did in submission to men's will, who said, they were the ministers of Christ, and was forced to it by the chief priests of our country, and must either submit to their wills, or lie in prison, have my goods spoiled, and my wife and children impoverished; so that I did what I did only to save my estate, and have my liberty, &c., or else I would not have done it, for it was against my faith and conscience, and because of the fear of man. Will this excuse me? If not, then I ask you, can you excuse me to God, and assure me of it, if I will conform to your worship, and give you monies for a pardon of my true obedience to God in disobedience to you? For so indeed the case lieth; if you cannot excuse me, if you should or could force me to sin against God, then why should not I, who am a peaceable man, and wrong no man, but love all men, have my liberty to live as I dare to die? Seeing I must answer for myself, and stand or fall to my own master, what have you to do to judge me, who am the Lord's servant? I must stand or fall to him I serve; how dare you smite your fellow servants, and cast them into prison who have done you no wrong, nor owe you any thing but love, when he that put

his fellow servant in prison, who owed him an hundred pence, was so severely judged of his Lord, who had forgiven him a greater debt? And He has taught us to use those words in prayer, forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And would you not have God answer your own desire?

“Consider these things, and learn to do as you would be done unto; for with the same measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again. Remember what your Saviour layeth down as great offences at the last day, to those on the left hand, Go you cursed into everlasting torment with the devil and his angels; or, depart from me, ye workers of iniquity, I know you not; for I was an hungered, and you gave me no meat; thirsty, and you gave me no drink; naked, and you clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and you visited me not. And when they answered, when saw we thee an hungered, thirsty, naked, &c.; and did not minister unto thee? He told them, inasmuch as you did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it not to me. By which it is clear, he takes that which is done to his followers as done to himself; for indeed it is for his sake, who teaches us to live righteously, soberly and godly in this present evil world; and because we obey him, and keep his command, therefore are we hated of all men for his name’s sake. But the wicked are not thus treated by you; the swearer, liar, drunkard, proud person, &c., are left at liberty, and in these days are the men in fashion. But if it be so great an offence not to visit the servants of Christ, when in distress; what will it be to those that lay them in prison, and keep them there, which is a means to bring them into nakedness, hunger, thirst and sickness? Was it not said, that it were better a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than to offend one of those little ones that believed in Christ. What then will his portion be that not only offends them, but persecutes them, imprisons them, spoils their goods, belies and slanders their person, and misrepresents them to the world, takes the righteousness of the righteous from him, and takes him from his dear wife and children, and causeth them to suffer also; though it is said, Cursed is he that parts man and wife. What excuse can you make at the last day for these things! How unlike are you to him who is good to all men, and laid down his life a ransom for all, and doth cause his sun to shine upon all, and his rain to descend upon all, and his grace that brings salvation appears in all, and strives with all.”

I was a prisoner for the gospel’s sake here above five years and a half before I was set

at liberty, by king James II. I was discharged in open court, the 23rd of the first month, 1685–6. Then I went home to my wife, but after I had staid a while, I was concerned to visit friends, and travelled through most parts of this nation, except Cornwall, and was also in some parts of Wales. I had also many meetings in and about Eastwood, Nottinghamshire, and many were convinced, and became obedient to the blessed truth.

But the priest of Eastwood hearing a great rumour about Friends, as also that many of his hearers left him, bade his son who was a priest also, and sometimes preached in his father’s stead, to preach the same doctrine which I did; but when he went about what his father advised him, he was so confounded in his matter, that he could not go on. It happened one day, that I had a very large meeting at the house of Luke Hanks, where I heard that this priest of Eastwood should say I stole his sheep from him, meaning some of those who had been his hearers. After meeting I went to a friend’s house, but that night the priest sent his clerk, desiring me to go to his house, whither I went, and several friends along with me. When we came there, we were invited to sit down, which we did, and sat a while in silence; until the priest of Heynor, who had followed us thither, spake to the priest of Eastwood, saying, he perceived that I was sent for to him, that he might speak with me; upon which the young priest asked me, how I was called to be a preacher. But before I answered his question, he added, I grant that a man may be rightly called, though not of God; for, said he, the king’s call is sufficient. At which a friend, who was present, said, I suppose this king has called none of you. No, replied the priest, I believe he will call you before any of us. I then spake, saying, I deny that any man can be rightly called, if he be not called of God, as was Aaron; and this I was willing to prove by Scripture. The priest of the house laboured to help his son out, but he run himself into the same snare, for they were not able to prove that any man was rightly called to preach, unless he was called of God. We talked further till they were both silent and confounded; in this silence a concern came upon me, on which I stood up and preached truth among them, and when I had done, the priests gave me their hands, and we parted friendly; when we were gone, the priest’s wife was angry with them, saying, they sent for me like fools, and let me go like fools; but if ever I came again, she threatened, that she would either burn or scald me. After this I heard that the priest of Heynor fell into great trouble of mind, and was confounded in his pulpit.

I visited Friends in Lancashire, [and several other parts] and the Lord was with me in his great love and mercy, else my travels had been tiresome and unpleasant, but the Lord helped me many a time; yea, the living know it, and met with him to their comfort, else meeting with me could have done little, for the work was the Lord's, and he wrought in us and for us, of his own good pleasure; glory, honour and praise are wholly due to him.

After this I went into Cheshire, and to Chester again, where I had been exercised, and where there was now more openness than formerly.

I went to Chester several times after, and had good meetings there, through the Lord's goodness and mercy, who made them so with his precious presence, according to his blessed testimony; that wheresoever two or three are met together in his name, there is he in the midst of them. This I have witnessed many a time; for if the Lord had not been with us, we could have done nothing without him. He was mouth and wisdom to us, and gave us to understand Scripture, and also the motion of his holy Spirit, inspiring us by it; for we spoke as it moved us, and gave us utterance. Renowned and exalted over all, be our gracious God; for we came not with words of our own wisdom, or with words which man's wisdom teacheth or taught us, but with words which the Holy Ghost gave us, comparing spiritual things with spiritual.

I went to most meetings in the county of Cheshire; and a fine people there were, and much love, unity, peace and concord were amongst Friends.

After this I travelled in several counties in England, both east, west and south; and through other counties northward; as Worcestershire and Staffordshire in my return home, and found Friends in great love and unity, and many were convinced. Truth prospered, and we were sweetly refreshed and comforted together; for we were an help and a strength one to another, and the body edified itself in love; blessed and praised be the name of our God for ever.

I went much abroad to meetings, and ran to and fro to the utmost of my ability, in most parts of the nation, preaching the gospel freely, and also travelled into Wales, and through great part of it; and had many good meetings there. We were in great danger in passing over the water at Aust into Gloucestershire, but through mercy, got safe to John Bolton's, at Oldstone, and visited most meetings in that county. I was at Frenchay, and from thence to Bristol, and was at many good meetings in Somersetshire, and in Devon-

shire, as far as Exeter, where were a fine meeting and a house newly built; and I travelled through several counties to London. The Lord in great mercy favoured me with his power and presence, to my great comfort and joy. After the yearly meeting at London, I went into Hertfordshire and Essex, and to and fro in Suffolk, Norfolk, as far as Yarmouth, and back to Norwich, and up and down in that county to Downham and Lynn, and into the Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire and Rutland, into Lincolnshire, to Boston and Lincoln city, and through most of that great county. So into Nottinghamshire, and then into Derbyshire home. Having travelled in great love, many in this journey were turned to the Lord, from the evil of their ways, as at many other times and places, where I travelled, and though I often came home much spent, weak and weary, yet I had my reward with me, my sheaves in my bosom, and usually was soon better when I had rested a while.

I had it upon me to go and visit Friends in Scotland; and accordingly I went by Halifax, Leeds and York, where I met Thomas Aldam, who accompanied me. We went to North Allerton, Yarm, Stockton, Bishop Aukland and Durham; thence to Newcastle upon Tyne, where we had great meetings; was at Sunderland, and many places in Northumberland, which I cannot name. We came to Berwick, where the rude people disturbed the meeting, breaking the windows, but a lady who dwelt in Northumberland, being there, went to the magistrates of the town, upon which the rabble were rebuked. Next day we went to Kelso, and had a quiet meeting. James Holliday went with us to Edinburgh, where we were at their yearly meeting for that nation, and it was a comfortable opportunity; the next meeting we had was at Montrose; we had also another meeting before we came to Ury, where the widow of Robert Barclay dwelt. There we staid several days, in which time I observed, 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 and the 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.

From thence we went to Aberdeen, and found a fine meeting of Friends, and staid there some time; thence to John Forbes's, and to Cashore, Kingswells, and back to Aberdeen, Ury and Montrose, Dundee, Leith and Edinburgh, at which place they stoned

us, when we were quietly in the meeting. Thence to Lithgow, and so to Charles Hambleton's, the duke's servant; from thence we came to Durand, and a town where there was a meeting-house, in which we had a meeting. Thence to Glasgow, where the people were wicked, and thence to Hambleton, where we had a good meeting; so to Argyle and Douglass, and to one James Wood's house, where we had a meeting; and he came with us by Dumfries into England. The Lord in mercy helped me mightily with his heavenly power, and gave us many precious meetings up and down in that nation, though I felt the Scotch people in a bitter, envious spirit in several places, and we were in perils twice, both at Edinburgh and Glasgow, where they stoned us. At Edinburgh a stone hit me as I was declaring in the meeting, but did not hurt me.

After our return out of Scotland, we had many good meetings in Cumberland, which were comfortable seasons to us; for the Comforter was with us, and mightily helped us from meeting to meeting. From thence we travelled to Kendal, the Height, and Swarthmore, where we had a fine meeting; we were also at Lancaster, from which place we returned back again to Kendal, and passed from thence to Thomas Camm's, and into Yorkshire, to John Blakling's near Sedberg, and by William Ellis's to Skipton, from whence we went to Leeds and Warnsworth, where I left my companion, T. Aldam, and returned home, and there found my wife and family well, to my great comfort; praised be the Lord for ever.

Friends in Scotland and elsewhere were very loving to us, and fine living meetings there were in that nation. I felt them in the life near to my spirit, in which the living know one another beyond words, and I hope and believe the Lord will have a great people there in time to come, though the enemy be angry, and would hinder the spreading of the holy Truth, by the enemies thereof; yet his weapons are but carnal, silly and weak. I desire many Friends may think of that nation, and in the will of God give up to visit it; for there is a zealous professing people, and were they but brought to the knowledge of the Truth, I believe very many would be zealous for it.

I found that those two worthy men, Robert Barclay and Patrick Livingston, had left a sweet savour behind them, and the removing of them, especially the former, was a great loss to that nation, and cause of great mourning to Friends there, and also to others elsewhere; but blessed be God, he, viz: Robert Barclay, hath left a hopeful family behind him; praises be given to the Lord for ever.

In this year I had a concern to visit Friends with the following lines.

An Epistle to Friends in Scotland, written at Monyash, the 22nd of the eleventh month, 1694.

Truly beloved friends and brethren,

With pure love unfeigned, which springs from the Fountain thereof, do I tenderly salute you, and all true Friends with you, feeling you near and dear to me at all times when I remember you; and am glad that the God and Fountain of all our mercies, hath reached forth so plentifully to your immortal souls, and made you so largely to partake with us of his free grace and gift of eternal life, so that your portions and measures hereof are very large, to the mutual joy of you, me, and many more, for which we are deeply obliged to be truly thankful unto our God, from whom every good and perfect gift comes. Unto him alone we ought still to look, that as men in need of continual supply, we may experience his bountiful hand to minister freely to every one of us for it is he alone that both makes and keeps us and all his, truly living, faithful, fruitful and serviceable in this blessed day of his mighty power, wherein as we abide we have fellowship both with him and one with another. The travail and earnest desire of my soul to the Lord is, that we may all be preserved to the end in true self-denial, humbly, meekly and innocently walking in this glorious day of gospel light, life and power, so as we may help one another's joy; and the blessed unity of his holy Spirit being lived in, no man can take our joy from us, which is only possessed by us as we abide in him, who is life eternal, to whom be praise given by us and all that partake with us, forever, Amen.

Many are the exercises, temptations, sufferings and tribulations which attend us here, both within and without. Well may we say, our God is God and changeth not, else ere this we might have been destroyed, for we are poor, and weak, and insufficient of ourselves, to think a good thought. The enemy knows this, and labours to deceive us with his subtle wiles; for if we keep not in him who is our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, we have no wisdom of our own, or righteousness, or power to save ourselves at all. Oh, the goodness of God to us is undeclarable! And we see as much need as ever to keep looking unto him for help every moment, for all our time is a time of need, and if the Lord was not with us we could not bear up against the enemy's floods, tempests and raging violence and storms, that attend us in this perilous pilgrimage. But

glory, honour, praises, and high returns of humble and sincere thanks, be given to our great and merciful God. He is with us, and is the same he was in ancient days, when he carried Israel through the Red sea on dry ground, and gave them to behold his miraculous deliverance, and saved them out of the hands of their many enemies, who sought to destroy them. The sense of his love, and the experience which I have of his goodness, tenders my poor heart, and bows my spirit before him; and I hope you partake with me, and will also feel with me beyond words or writings.

Dear friends, I desire we may all be mindful of Him who is our rock and refuge, keeping near him always, not forgetting the Lord. Here is divine light, for he dwells in it, and in him is no darkness at all; here we see our states as they are, and that what we are, we are by his grace. Here it is we meet with fresh pastures of life, and feed together, where the enemy cannot come, nor the lofty, unclean Edomite approach. My heart is glad, to feel love run so freely towards you at this time. I do not write these things as though I looked upon you not to know them; no, if I did, I could not be so free and open to you, but a little to remind you, and in these few lines to confer with you in love; for it is the fruits of dear, unfeigned love, I here salute you with, as men that I can say are of my flesh and bones, and members with me, of that sweet, harmonious body, of which Christ Jesus is Head, Lord and King: worthy is he to reign, it is his right; and he that would be great among you, must be least of all; and this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Oh! that we may see this low estate experimentally, for in that place many have met with him, and been met withal by him, who despiseth not the low estate of his servants and handmaids. Surely it behooves us to be low, for our teacher is meek and lowly in heart.

My dear and truly beloved, the meek are most filled with love, even that love which is not puffed up, seeks not its own in that sense the apostle means, but leads us to seek the good of all, and the things that are Jesus Christ's. I pray that we may always dwell in this love, and then we shall be sure to love one another. I was glad in heart, when I felt your love to me in the Lord, when present with you, and to my companion also; and also when I felt your love kept fresh to us after our departure from you in person, not in spirit, and that you remembered me in your prayers; I desire you would still remember me, and I hope I shall not forget you.

I desire you as a brother, to keep up the good order of the blessed Truth amongst you, and let not your monthly and quarterly meetings be neglected, and take care of the whole church of God, in your nation, and delay not to help one another. For God Almighty hath set up his standard, and his controversy is proclaimed against all unrighteousness. I know there wanted some help in some places, when I was with you; the Lord hath gifted some to be helps, and to rule well in the church: and we know the apostles in their travels left the brethren decrees to keep, and took care of the churches as they travelled, and went to see how they did. I hope you will take it well that I make thus bold with you, and will feel my tender love to you.

I was glad when I saw a copy of your letter to G. K., yet sorry to see the answer to you from him, or his wife, or both; he must, it seems, be made manifest. I desire you may grow in the heavenly root, and multiply to the glory of him that hath grafted you into it.

My dear friends, in every respect be truly obedient unto the Lord, and may he by his own power strengthen, establish and root you deeply in his blessed Truth. To him I tenderly commit you all. He is God Almighty even now as in Abraham's days; to him be praise, worship, honour, glory and renown for ever more, Amen.

Read this to all as you see a service, and send honest Bartholomew Gibson a copy of it, and let him know my dear love is to him and his wife, Francis Soneman, and Friends in Edinburgh. Let copies of it be sent to all in Scotland. I thank God I am pretty healthy, but not strong in body. So with my true love to you all, I am your sincere friend in pure love,
JOHN GRATTON.

I staid about home some time, where I had many meetings, and there was a fine increase in the number of Friends. But many of them went into America, about forty from our monthly meeting, and some others, which lessened our meeting pretty much.

After some time it came upon me to go and visit Friends in Ireland; divers of whom had been in England, and a love lived in me to them. I gave up to go, and went to Westchester in order to it, but found there was an embargo laid upon ships, that they must not go out. When we could not go for Ireland, we went to Shrewsbury, and so down into Herefordshire, R. Needham being with me, and to the yearly meeting in Wales, at Ponty Moyle, in Monmouthshire. A fine meeting it was, and after at the Pont, and so over the passage into Gloucestershire, to Bristol,

and into Somersetshire, to Richard Vickris's, at Chew, John Whiting's at Wrington, and William Laurence's at Axbridge, and back to Bristol to the yearly meeting there, and from thence to the yearly meeting at London. After that I returned home with my wife, and staid about seven days, and then set forward again for Ireland with Godfrey Newhall, a Friend of Yorkshire, and went to Whitehaven in Cumberland for George Rook's company, and so to sea; the winds were somewhat contrary, and we were in some danger of our lives; but we put into the Isle of Man, and at last arrived safe at Dublin in the fifth month.

We had many precious meetings in that nation, especially their province meetings, and Friends were generally in sweet love, unity, peace, concord and order, and good government amongst them, and great love and care of one another's families, the poor and youth in all respects. When we had been at all the meetings of Friends that we knew of in the nation, or seen some Friends of all the meetings, and were clear to come away, we left them in true love, being well satisfied in visiting them; and took shipping at Dublin, and came to Holyhead, and through Wales to Westchester, and so home.

Many Friends in Ireland had a great care upon them in the over-sight of the flock, watching over them, that Friends be careful in all respects, to keep their profession without blame, and that none run inordinately after the world, or break in other men's debt; to prevent which they are advised to labour lawfully for the maintenance of their families, providing things honest in the sight of men; by thus watching over one another, doubtless some things are prevented, which otherwise might prove a disreputation to our holy profession.

After his return from Ireland, he kept no exact account of the residue of his travels, though he visited Friends in divers counties, labouring in the work of the gospel, as he found drawings thereto, though in his latter days he was afflicted with disease, which much abated his natural strength; nevertheless he came several times to London, and particularly in the winter, 1699.

He also came to the yearly meeting in 1700; and in his return home had many good meetings in the way, being accompanied by John Cade to Blyth, where his wife met him.

The next year he travelled as far as Bristol, and was at their yearly meeting. From thence he went to Bath, and travelled up to London to the yearly meeting, which fell in the fourth month, 1701. It was a large and

precious meeting: after which he returned home.

He also came up to the next yearly meeting in London, 1702. At this time he brought up his Treatise relating to Tithes, which was an answer to a letter, entitled, *The Clergy's Legal Right to Tithes, &c.*

In the year 1703, he came again to the yearly meeting, visiting Friends in many places as he came.

The 26th of the second month, 1704, he set out again for London, visiting Friends in many places as he came, as in Nottinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, the Isle of Ely, and a great part of Norfolk, and had several meetings in Suffolk, the last of which was at Ipswich, from which place he came to Colchester, and was at their meeting on first-day; after which he visited several meetings in Essex, and then came to London to the yearly meeting; having travelled in this journey three hundred and thirty-four miles, according to his own account.

After his return home at this time, there is no account of his travelling for two or three years: greater weakness growing upon him, it is probable he continued about home, visiting Friends as he was able.

In 1707, he disposed of his estate at Monyash, and dwelt with his son Joseph some time; then he went to visit some Friends in several adjacent places, his wife accompanying him, though both of them were aged and weakly. But after they returned home, his wife growing weaker and weaker, departed this life the 4th of the tenth month, 1707; dying in peace with the Lord, leaving a good report behind her, among those who knew her. The account of her death he gave himself, saying, a very comfortable wife she had been to him nearly thirty-eight years: adding, that she had never hindered him from going abroad to visit Friends.

In the year 1708, he took a journey to London again, and went into some parts of Essex, Surry and Kent; after which he returned to London again, where staying some time, he was taken ill, and weakness increasing upon him, he removed out of the city, for the benefit of the air, to Richard Richardson's, near Uxbridge, where he was carefully attended for three weeks, in which time, several Friends of London went to visit him. From this place Daniel Wharley took him to his house; from thence he went to Ailsbury, and by small journeys he got home, Richard Needham accompanying him. He continued living with his daughter above three years, being weakly until his decease, which was in the ninth month, 1711, aged about seventy years; dying, no doubt in peace with

the Lord, and unity with all the faithful, and is entered into his everlasting rest, among the faithful followers of Jesus.

A small treatise concerning the Light of Christ; to which is added, something concerning the death and sufferings of Christ.

Some time ago I was discoursing with a person, whom I wish very well, about matters of the greatest weight and moment; and he told me they heard that we preached up a new light. This made me sorry, and I thought it strange that we were no better known to a person of that note and so near a neighbour; therefore, to clear us of that scandal, and to inform sober, moderate and friendly inquirers, and to satisfy our enemies that falsely accuse us; and above all, for the propagating the holy Light and Truth, which the good man prayed to God of old to send forth, Psal. xliii. 3, are these few lines written; with desires, that God in his great mercy may make them serviceable to all honest, sincere hearted readers thereof, to his glory for ever.

I testify to all, that we believe in and preach no other light, but that true Light that John preached and bore testimony of; and we know his testimony is true. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." This is that very light we bear witness of, the light of eternal life that was in the beginning, and therefore is no new doctrine, or new light. The apostle John goes on and tells us what God sent John the Baptist to bear witness of: "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of that Light. That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not." Here are two Johns, one the beloved disciple, the other John Baptist, a prophet; and both declare of the very same Light, of which the despised and falsely accused Quakers, do now in these days bear testimony. Well may we be bold to bear witness of it, for we know it is the true Light, the same that these men preached in their day; and that it hath enlightened us and showed us all that ever we have done, and that it is the Lord's mercy that we see

this day; which Abraham rejoiced to see, and saw it, and was glad. Many of the prophets testified of it, as may hereafter be showed; and Christ himself doth very fully and plainly speak of it, in divers places.

But first we will take notice of the prophets; David saith, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, the strength of my life;" and, "With thee is the fountain of light; in thy light shall we see light." What plain evidence is here: he tells what the light is; it is the Lord, his salvation, his life and strength, in whose light we see light, and know it to come from the Fountain of Life; and Psal. xliii. 3, he prays, "O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me; let them bring me unto thy holy hill." What is more desirable or more profitable than that which leads and brings the soul into God's holy hill and tabernacle! David did not despise the light, but prayed that God would send it out, to lead him and guide him to his holy hill; he loved it, and so do all the upright in heart. The Lord is God, and changes not; the same to-day, yesterday and for ever; and they that are enlightened with the enlightenings of the Lord at this day, do know their earthly nature hath been made to tremble; yet hath the sincere soul rejoiced with trembling, and hath kissed the Son, and been glad to see the light, that is sown for the righteous; and gladness for the upright in heart. As Abraham did, so do all his children, rejoice to see the light of the Lord. But some say, How do we know that David speaks of the light within? Answer, his words are full and plain, and agree with John's. John saith, "that Christ is the true Light that enlighteneth every man, and that in him is life, and the life is the light of men." David said, "The Lord is my light, and my salvation;" so David's Lord is his light and salvation.

And John saith, "It enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world;" so herein is manifested God's universal love and good will to all men. As it is said elsewhere, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believed in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;" even that life that is the light of men. So the Lord in mercy causeth his sun to shine upon all, and to give light to the whole world.

There are some parts of the earth that have seen the true light of life, and trembled too, that are not called Quakers, because, though they have seen and felt, tasted and handled of the Light or Word of God, yet they have rebelled against it. They are of those that rebel against the light, they know not the

ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof. And there are some of this sort who walk in the form, but deny the power, and cause the way of Truth to be evilly spoken of. There are some that, though the light shines in them, and lets them see their evil ways, and reproves them, yet they are so in love with the world, and the evils thereof, that they turn away from the Lord, and from his light, grace and holy Spirit, that strives with them; so these lie under guilt and condemnation. Their own hearts condemn them, their heart and conscience is defiled; these see it, and confess it, but will not forsake sin, and therefore they lie under condemnation; as in John iii. 19, 20; This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. These refuse to come to the light, because they love not to be reproved, troubled, or disquieted in their minds. They take pleasure in sin, and to live at ease in iniquity, and love not to be parted from the world, or its evil ways; therefore they love darkness rather than light.

Now it is clear, that if a day of visitation had not come, and the Sun of Righteousness had not risen and shined upon the world, and made all things manifest that are reproved; then there might have been some excuse made. But upon whom hath not his light shined? Who doth not know? The Lord calls for holiness, and lets all men see what is evil, and what is good, that they may love the good and cleave to it, and turn from the evil, and flee all appearance of it. Therefore cease to do evil, and learn to do well, and find mercy with the Lord.

Christ said, "If I had not come, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin." And again, "If you were blind, you should have no sin: but now, ye say, we see; therefore your sin remaineth." If it was not day, then it might be more excusable to the world; but seeing it is day, and that the true light now shineth, therefore that man that runs in the mire and dirt of sin, and sees it, and yet will do it, it is his own doing, and he must bear his own burden; for he doeth what he knows he ought not, and leaves undone what he knows he ought to do. Light shines, and with the light he seeth it is so, and therefore is condemned in himself justly, because he knows the will of God, but doeth it not. God is righteous in all his judgments, and just in all his ways.

Our Lord further says, "He that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in

God." This is the man that loves the light, and is not willing to rest short of being approved by the Lord, and is thankful to God that hath showed him light, who hath made us able to say, his Word is a lamp unto our feet, and a light unto our path. Osaith this man, "Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun." "O house of Jacob! come ye and let us walk in the light of the Lord." For the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it, therefore let us trust in the Lord, that will yet choose Jacob; "Cry out and shout, inhabitant of Zion, for great is the holy One of Israel in the midst of thee. But woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; and put darkness for light, and light for darkness." This evangelical prophet Isaiah, ably declares of the glorious light, Christ Jesus, chap. ix. 2; "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwelt in the region of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." Was not this our state who are Gentiles; and now the light of Zion is come, why should she not bear witness of it? For the Light of Israel "shall be for a fire, and his holy One for a flame, and it shall burn;" and, "I the Lord will give thee for a covenant of the people; for a light of the Gentiles: to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house. I will also give thee for a light unto the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth." "Arise and shine, for thy light has come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." "The sun shall be no more thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee, but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory. Thy sun shall no more go down, nor thy moon withdraw herself; for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended." Here is a testimony to the light of the Gentiles, the light of Zion, the light of Israel. This is that true light we now desire all may come to, both high and low, rich and poor; for it is come, blessed be the Lord our God for ever more.

I proceed to the Saviour's testimony in John viii. 12; Then spake Jesus unto them, saying, "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." Oh! that people would follow him, and not the traditions of men, the rudiments of the world, the com-

mandments and doctrines of men; for all that do so, are living in darkness, and hating the light, speaking evil of it, because their deeds are reprov'd by it, and made manifest to be sinful and unrighteous, are enemies to Christ. He saith again, "As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world;" and he has promised to be with his people to the end of the world, read Mat. xxviii.

Then said Jesus unto them, "Yet a little while is the light with you: walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you; for he that walketh in darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth. While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light." And, "I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness." Is it not cause of great admiration, that men who own the Scriptures, should blame us for preaching Christ the Light of the world, the true Light, that now shines in the hearts of men, and tell us that the light is conscience? Some say, it is the light of nature, and some call it the Quaker's idol.

But now reader, thou mayest see what Christ saith it is: he saith, "I am the Light of the world." John saith, "He is the true light that enlightens every man that cometh into the world:" and the prophet says, "The Lord is my light and my salvation; he is given for a light unto the Gentiles, and for God's salvation to the ends of the earth." And Zacharias said, speaking of his son, "Thou child shalt be called the prophet of the highest, for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord, to prepare his ways; to give knowledge of salvation unto his people, by the remission of their sins, through the tender mercy of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us; to give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of peace." Good old Simeon praised God; "For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel." So these all preached Christ, the true light; and therefore it is no new doctrine, nor new light, as some say that we preach, but the very same that the Scriptures so largely and plainly testify of.

Our Lord said to Paul—"I am Jesus whom thou persecutest; I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to

turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." Now here it is plain, Paul was sent to turn them from darkness to light. Could he do it and not preach it? No, he obeyed the Lord's command; and was Paul a Quaker, or are we who are called Quakers to be blamed for preaching this primitive, ancient doctrine? Surely nay; for God hath called us so to do, and we fear not man that opposes God, his truth and people; nor did Paul, at whom the high priests and rulers were sorely offended; yet he "witnessed both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come: that Christ should suffer, and should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people, and to the Gentiles." But still some may say, Is this light any where preached to be within men? Yes; this apostle saith, "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ. But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us."

Here the apostle preaches the light shining in our hearts. This then is the light within, and God in mercy causeth it to be so, and he that doth not turn in to behold the shining of it, but is gazing at things without him, is yet in darkness. Though the light shines in his dark heart, yet he knows it not, nor believes in the light, nor follows it; and therefore abides in darkness, and loves so to do. These love the world, and the friendship of it, but the love of God is not in them; but the children of the light are said to be a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that they should show forth the praises of him, who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light. Which, in time past, were not a people, but now are the people of God; which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy; 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10.

John, the beloved disciple of Christ, in his first epistle, saith on this wise; "This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth. But 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." Again, "A new commandment I write unto you, which thing is true in him, and in you; because the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth. He

that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother, abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him. But he that hateth his brother, is in darkness," &c. Come try all the churches, and see where this love is to be found, and let that church be manifest that abideth in the light.

In the Revelation the same apostle says; "And there came unto me one of the seven angels, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, and I will show thee the bride, the Lamb's wife. And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God; and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal." And he goes on to speak of her, till he saith, "I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there. And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it. And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life."

Is not here a clear declaration of the state of the true church of Christ, and of her light, that the Lord God giveth her, and that this is wholly what the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb doth freely bring her to, and is to her; so that here is nothing of man, nor of man's wisdom, art or skill, strength or power, or of any creature whatsoever. It is not any thing of that kind that can give the soul acceptance with the Lord. He is fitting his church and people, and making her ready for himself, as he gathers her up into his own, and places her in his holy habitation, where no unclean thing can enter. This is the city of God, the new Jerusalem, the free woman, the mother of us all, who are new born babes, born of incorruptible seed by the Word of God, that lives and abides for ever.

Now it is clear, this true church of Christ being called the bride, the Lamb's wife, denotes that she is really espoused or joined unto the Lord in his own love, life, light, power and spirit, and loves and enjoys his presence, hears his voice, is truly sensible of

his love; knows his name to be as ointment poured forth, and also a strong tower; meets in it, is saved in it, and goes to God in it; and as she is refreshed in it, and in true rest and peace with the Lord in him, who hath reconciled her unto God by the death of his Son, and saved her by his life. So here it is plain, the Lord is unto his people a husband, a father, a fountain of life, light and love; of wisdom, knowledge, understanding, and all good things. And the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God, and they shall live in his life, and walk in his light, even all the nations that are saved, or the saved of all nations shall walk in the light of the Lord God, and of the Lamb. This is the just man's path; "A shining light, that shines more and more unto the perfect day." But some may say, this is the state of the church in heaven, not on earth: answer, it is clear, the Lord showed unto John things that must shortly come to pass here on earth, and that this true church came down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband; and then it follows: "And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men." So the true church is born of God, born of the Spirit, and is in God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and hath heavenly places in Christ to sit down in, and is redeemed from the earth, and is baptized into Christ, hath put him on, and lives in the Spirit, and walks in it, is led, guided and preserved, comforted, and enabled by it and in it, to worship God aright, and to pray aright, preach aright, and praise aright. So all that she hath is come down from God out of heaven, every good and perfect gift. All her fresh springs, all her strength, power, and ability; all her faith, hope, life, light, wisdom, knowledge, joy, great comfort and consolation; all her love and beauty, fairness, comeliness, yea, all that she hath is freely given of God, and comes down from God out of heaven. She is the Lord's, and is nothing but what she is in him, nor can do any thing without him, who is her light and salvation, her portion, her treasure, her beloved, and she is his. Her glorying is in the Lord, her rejoicing in the God of her salvation, on whom she leans, depends and trusteth in the Lord alone, who is her helper, deliverer, redeemer, sanctifier, Saviour and preserver, and all that she hath and wants, and is also her rock, fortress, shield, buckler, strong tower, armour, defender, and habitation of safety. In a word, God is all in all to his true children and people, and is over all worthy of praise,

honour, glory, worship, thanksgiving and everlasting renown; for it is only due unto him, who is Lord of lords, and King of kings over all, to him that sits upon the throne for ever and ever more, amen.

I hope it is very clear from plain Scripture in a plentiful manner, that it is no new light, or new doctrine to preach Christ the light of the world, the light of men, the light within, that enlightens the soul, and gives it to see all things that are reprov'd, and makes all things manifest, as the apostle affirms; "All things that are reprov'd are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever doth make manifest is light:" then follows this advice, "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light. See then that you walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is."

When men by the light come to see all things that are reprov'd, and do turn from those things, and give up to obey the will of God, though they have long lain dead in sin and dead works; yet now they awake out of a sleepy, secure, dead state, arising and fleeing from it to Christ. Then he gives more light, and gives them to know of his doctrine, and the mysteries of his kingdom, when they are given up to do his will. Then, to them that were some time in darkness and very ignorant, it is given to know the things that belong to their peace, and they become light, or lightened in the Lord, and then walk as children of light, and bring forth the fruits of the Spirit, in all righteousness, goodness and truth, "proving what is acceptable unto the Lord; having no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprov'd them;" so are become one with him that reprov'd them when they were in darkness.

Therefore, dearly beloved friends and brethren, who make profession of this holy light and day of the Lord, be careful to walk in it, so as to give no occasion of stumbling; for the enemy watcheth for occasion, and though he can find none in the Lord our light and head, law-giver, and all in all, yet he endeavours to reproach him through us, and by any spot or shortness in us. Those that depart from the Lord and become wicked, "The light of the wicked shall be put out, and the spark of his fire shall not shine. The light shall be dark in his tabernacle; for his candle shall be put out."

It is sadly experienced even in these days, that men may be enlightened and taste of the heavenly gift, and be made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and taste the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and yet

fall away and crucify unto themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame, or to be openly reproached by wicked men.

And as Peter saith, "There shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you." "An heart they have exercised with covetous practices; cursed children, which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, who loved the wages of unrighteousness," but, "it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them; but it is happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire." Jude also speaks of these: and my dearly beloved friends, let it be our care to abide in the vine, partaking of its sap, virtue, and fatness, that we may bring forth much fruit to the glory of him that hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light.

Let us walk in the light, that we may have fellowship with God and one with another, and know the blood of Christ to cleanse us from all sin. Then shall we, in the light, love as brethren; yea, love all men, even enemies, and be concerned for the prosperity of the holy light and truth of God, that many may come to the knowledge of it, and be saved.

And all sober people of all sorts that may see these lines, unto you doth the love of God reach, and in my heart at this time is it felt; let me entreat you to turn in your minds to this pure light that shines in your hearts, to give you to discern all things, and to divide between the precious and the vile, between him that serves God, and him that serves him not. Let it be your choice, for it is of God, and will outlive all its opposers; and let not the loud clamours and false accusers of God's truth and people, cause you to reject the light, and embrace darkness, to choose evil and refuse good; but mind this grace or gift that appears in you, for there is no guile in it, nor can you say it ever consented to evil, but reprov'd it. This is He that none charges justly with any evil, wherefore hear him, for God speaks by him; his love is great to all, he died for all, tasted death for every man, and enlightens every man that comes into the world; come and walk in him for ever more, amen.

Concerning the death and sufferings of Christ.

But some are ready to object, and say, You Quakers do mightily preach up the light within, but you say little of the death and sufferings of Christ without the gates of Jerusalem.

Answer; we have many accusers that say all manner of evil against us, which we patiently bear, knowing it is for his sake that suffered for us, who is become not only our light, but also our salvation as we abide in him, as he hath commanded us. And we declare, that as he by the grace of God tasted death for every man; so every man hath this benefit by it, that he may now come to him, receive him, and in him receive power to become a child of God. Therefore, when he came into the world there was great joy, for the angel that appeared unto the shepherds said unto them, "Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people: and there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will to men."

Here is universal love; "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life." So all the world are put into a capacity, by the death and sufferings of Christ, to come to him, and he that comes to Christ, he will in no wise cast out; "For God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that fears him, and works righteousness, is accepted of him." So we say, it is Christ that suffered for us, "The just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit." Yea, "He laid down his life a ransom for all; who himself bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead unto sin, should live unto righteousness; by whose stripes we are healed. Whilst we were sinners, Christ died for us, and by himself purged our sins. Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil, and deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their life time subject to bondage."

This now I declare, we own the death and sufferings of Christ according to the holy Scriptures; and he, only, that suffered without the gates of Jerusalem, hath been our peace-maker, and is now come by his light and Spirit, to give us the knowledge of God, and what he hath done for us; so that in his light we see him, who is our light and our

salvation. Isaiah said, "He hath borne our sorrows, and carried our griefs;" which were the sad effects of our sins, so that now remission of sins that are passed is freely preached unto all men through him, and all mankind are invited to come to him, and all the ends of the earth to look unto him and be saved.

After the prophet Isaiah had largely spoken of his death and sufferings, and the great love and mercy of God which flows forth through Christ unto all, and how he is enlarging his habitation, he shows that the Gentiles, who had been as barren and desolate, should come to bring forth more children than the married wife; and that they would break out on the right hand and on the left, and that her Maker should be her husband and redeemer. Read Isaiah liv., which is full of precious promises, viz: "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children: in righteousness shalt thou be established: thou shalt be far from oppression." And lv., "Ho every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, &c. Behold thou shalt call a nation that thou knewest not, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God."

Thus it is clear from the prophet in these three chapters,

First; That we are all like lost sheep gone astray.

Secondly; What Christ hath suffered for us, and how he appeared in the world, and was rejected and despised of men.

Thirdly; How after his death and sufferings, the good will of God is plentifully seen to flow forth to all people, and an invitation is given to all who are thirsty, to come to the waters, as it is also in John vii. 37; "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink; he that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water; but this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified."

But after our Lord Jesus Christ had suffered and risen from the dead, and ascended far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, as the apostle says, he sent the Holy Ghost. Then the fountain opened more plentifully, and men out of all nations were spoken to, and heard in their own language the wonderful works of God declared. Now the day of deliverance dawned, and the day spring from on high did visit the children of men; the Son of Righteousness was risen with healing in his wings, and his light broke forth in obscurity; they that sat in darkness saw the light of life, and life eternal was risen over death, hell and the grave, shining in the

hearts and souls of men; and the Spirit was poured out upon all flesh, according to the Lord's promise, Joel ii. And whosoever will, is now, by the death and sufferings of Christ, put into a capacity of salvation; and this benefit comes unto all, whether they will accept it or no; the Spirit of God is poured forth upon all; the Fountain of living water is open to all; the grace of God that brings salvation appears to all, Tit. ii. 11. And the day of salvation is broken forth, and the true light now shines unto all, even to them that sat in darkness and saw no light, and in the region and shadow of death. "The Spirit and the bride say, Come; and let him that heareth say, Come; and let him that is athirst come; and whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely."

Thus the invitation goeth out to all, and whosoever will may receive or take of the Fountain of living water freely, without money or price, or any thing to merit or purchase it, for the pardon and remission of sins that are past is freely preached to all in Christ, and for his sake that died for them, and bought them with his precious blood.

But this is not all the benefit that comes to poor souls by his death and sufferings, for now, the true light shines, the hidden things of darkness are manifested, reprov'd, judg'd and condemn'd; for he is also given for a witness to the people, and he doth bear witness for them, if they follow him, and live to him who died for them. But if they still live to themselves, and follow the devices and desires of their own hearts, and do those things they ought not, and leave undone those things they ought to do, then he doth witness against them, judge and condemn them, for their evil ways, words, &c.

Let me speak freely, and say, while we were enemies, we were [by the death of Christ] put into a capacity to turn from that which made us so, viz: sin, and be joined to the Lord, who stood ready to receive us in him who died for us, and would not impute our trespasses unto us, because he had suffered for us, who now unites and reconciles us to God, and by his life we come to be quicken'd and rais'd from death to life. And we see in his light, that as we come to him, receive and follow him, we feel his life and power more and more unite us to God, the giver of this unspeakable gift, and he manifests his love unto us, who is in Christ reconciling us unto himself; and the more we are gathered into the life of him, the more God is with us, and his peace witnessed by us, to his praise and glory, for ever more, amen.

So in Christ we reap all the benefits of his death, sufferings, rising again, ascending and

mediatorship, who gives peace to our souls, and is our light, leader, teacher, commander, king, law-giver, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. Come then to Christ, believe in him, follow him, and thou shalt not abide in darkness, but shalt have the light of life. The Lord complain'd of the Jews of old, that though they searched the Scriptures, and thought in them to have eternal life, yet they would not come to him, that they might have life. This is still the cause of all that death and darkness that people lie in; they will not come to him, nor do they love him or his appearance, or light, which makes all things manifest that are reprov'd. "How oft," said Christ, "would I have gathered thee, but thou wouldst not." Here it is plain, God would have all to be saved, but they will not come unto him, nor be gathered by him. Oh! therefore come and let us walk in the light of the Lord; let us walk honestly as in the day-time, that our sanctification may be throughout, for it is Christ that sanctifies, washes and purifies with the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost; for if he wash us not we have no part with him, but 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; 1 John i. 7.

Thus it is clear we had need to come to the Lord Jesus Christ, and give up to be saved by him, and in a word, to receive him who hath done all this for us, to be all to us, and we to be what we are in Him, who is the way, the truth and the life, and no man cometh unto the Father but by him. This is the one thing needful, the good part which Mary chose, the pearl of price, that is better than the whole world.

Therefore let none rest in notions and empty profession, dead forms, dry opinions, and beggarly elements, but come and kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way. For in him we have peace; in the world is trouble, and no true peace to be met with but in him; he is the way of peace: blessed are they who know him, and abide in him unto the end; they will lay down their heads in peace, when time with them here shall be no more.

JOHN GRATTON.

A few words in true love to all who believe that Christ Jesus, the Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world, is come the second time, without sin unto salvation.

So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation. HEB. ix. 28.

It is needful for all who believe the holy Scriptures, which testify of Christ, to look

for him as he appears the second time without sin unto salvation; that they may know him so to appear in them, as to take away all their sins, that being washed by him, and made clean, they may have a part in him, a part in his life, in his Spirit, in his love, in his light, in his wisdom, and in his power; that they may know experimentally he is in them, and they in him, and be truly made new creatures; for if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; and thus by Christ be made heirs of the covenant made with Abraham. God is faithful who hath promised; and many are made partakers of his great and precious promises, in Christ Jesus the Seed, in whom all the promises of God are yea and amen, for ever, and are and will be fulfilled to them that receive Christ, in his appearance the second time, without sin unto salvation; which is in spirit by the Holy Ghost, as he promised. It was to as many as received him, that power was given to become the sons of God, even to them that believe in his name. To such he said, "He that is with you shall be in you," and without him we can do nothing; we have no strength of our own, nothing at all that is good, but are by nature children of wrath, whilst we live in the lust of the flesh, and so have need to be delivered. But there is no deliverer besides Christ; no way, no truth, no life: no man can come unto the Father but by him; "He that hath him (as Scripture saith) hath life, but he that hath him not, hath not life." The law did not give life, nor doth the Scripture, by the letter or reading of it, give life; for though it is a testimony of him who is life, light, wisdom, power, God over all, blessed for ever, yet it cannot give life; the life is in Him. For as in the beginning all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made; so no man is sanctified or made new but by him, and they that are sanctified by him, are joined to him; "For both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified are all of one, for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren."

He is the true vine, the root of life; "By him kings reign, and princes decree justice;" but without him men are dead in trespasses and sins, miserable offenders, in whom there is no health, but wounds, bruises and putrified sores, from the head to the foot, until he heals us, and quickeneth us by his Spirit in us, which is the Comforter, whom he sends to guide into all truth, and as many as are led by it are the sons of God. By him we can call God Father, for he is all in all to the children of God: and saith the Apostle, "All is yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's:" and again, "Ye are not your own,

ye are bought with a price, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without spot or blemish."

"Behold," saith John, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." And John's disciples beheld him and left John, and followed Jesus Christ, who asked them whom they sought. They said unto him, "Rabbi, where dwellest thou?" he said, "Come and see;" and they came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day. This is very precious; to see him and know his dwelling place, and to abide with him during the time which is given us to live.

Let it be thy joy to abide with him all thy time, and see where he dwells; this is more than to hear of him with the hearing of the ear, to see and hear him thyself, and be taught by him. Oh! he is well pleased with those that sell all, or leave all to follow him, who is the Lamb of God, that is greater than John. "This is he," saith John, "that cometh after me, but is preferred before me, for he was before me, and I knew him not; but he that sent me to baptize, said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Holy Ghost descending, and lighting on him like a dove, the same is he that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost: and I saw, and bear record, that this is the Son of God."

John was not offended that his disciples left him, and followed Christ, but rejoiced to hear his voice, and to have him made manifest to Israel. "Therefore," said he, "I come baptizing with water; but I must decrease, he must increase:" of the increase of his kingdom and government there shall be no end. For the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of God, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever; even so, come Lord Jesus! come quickly!

This is He that John saw, "Clothed in a vesture dipped in blood, and his name was called the Word of God." "And the armies which were in heaven followed him."

Oh! that all who are upon the earth would follow him, hear him, and obey him; for God speaketh in and to men by him, "Whom he appointed heir of all things; by whom also he made the worlds, who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power; when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high."

This is Christ the Son of God; the Word that was in the beginning with God, and was God; the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last; who was dead, but is alive again. But all flesh is as

grass, and the glory of man as the flower of the field; the grass withereth, and the flower thereof fadeth away, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever. Cease therefore from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of? And again it is said, "In vain is the help of man." O then remember, God now speaks by his Son, who laid down his life for us, and suffered, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us unto God. And if ever thou comest unto God, it must be by Jesus Christ, the new and living way. He is the Rock of Ages, the foundation of many generations, the offspring of David, and also his Lord.

This is the Foundation of God to men, that standeth sure, and the Lord knoweth them who are his. The whole house or church of God, and every member of it, is built upon this Rock and Foundation; "For other foundation can no man lay, than that which is already laid, which is Christ."

This is the foundation of Christianity, this makes true Christians, which weak and beggarly elements cannot do; for they cannot sanctify men, or make them new creatures: there are none true Christians who are not in Christ, and he in them spiritually; for he is the Lord from heaven, a quickening Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

O that men would live and walk in the spirit of Christ! for all the children of God are chosen in him, and blessed with all spiritual blessings in him, through whom they obtain the adoption of children. He is our peace, the Prince of peace, and until I knew him in spirit, I never knew true peace with God, nor peace of conscience.

We cannot be heirs with Christ, and members of the church which is in God, but as we come to sit together in heavenly places in Christ, and fitly framed together, become a holy temple to the Lord, in whom men are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit. God is in the midst of that house, church or assembly, wherever it is, it being gathered in the name of Christ, to whom all power in heaven and earth is given; and those that receive him now into their hearts, receive power to become the sons of God, being born again. "For that which is born of the Spirit is spirit, but that which is born of the flesh is flesh. He that is in the flesh cannot please God." For such do those things they ought not, leaving undone those things they ought to do, and are miserable offenders, in whom there is no health: but in vain do these worship God, teaching for doctrine the commandments of men, following the rudiments, traditions and ordinances of men, which afford no life to their souls, and being

beggarly elements, cannot nourish the soul immortal. Therefore touch not, taste not, handle not, for they all perish with the using, being not after Christ; for in him is life, and he gives life to them that receive him, but nothing which is earthly can give life. "He that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth; but he that comes from above, is above all." Earthly men are in the wisdom that is from below, that is earthly, sensual, and devilish; not pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of righteousness, goodness, truth and love.

"Thus saith the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, to him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers, kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship; because of the Lord that is faithful, and the holy One of Israel, and he shall choose thee." And Isaiah xlix. 22, 23; Thus saith the Lord, Behold I lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people; and kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord; for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me. And chap. l. verse 10; Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness and hath no light? Let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God. And chap. lii.; Oh captive daughter of Zion! Ye have sold yourselves for naught, and ye shall be redeemed without money. Read chap. liii. and see who is given for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people: and seek the Lord whilst he may be found, and call upon him whilst he is near; let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, and he will abundantly pardon.

The Lord God, which gathereth the outcasts of Israel, saith, Yet will I gather others to him, besides those that are gathered unto him; Isaiah lvi. 6, 7, 8.

What [Him] is this?

This is Shiloh; the peaceable Saviour, of whom Jacob prophesied, on his death bed, when he was near his end; Gen. xlix. 10. This is He that the holy prophet Isaiah speaks of, in the 53rd chapter: and to him the same prophet invites men to come, saying, Ho every one that thirsteth, come, &c., chap. lv. Those therefore who embrace this invitation, and dwell with him, are of that church which God will make an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations; Isaiah lx.

These are redeemed out of the fall; these have received the spirit of adoption, and know

grace to reign in righteousness; these are come into the mountain of the Lord's house, into Christ, in whom none hurteth or destroyeth. These know that Jesus is the Lord, the King of kings, the Ruler of princes; these are his sheep, hear his voice and follow him; these will not set up such as know nothing, but what they know naturally as brute beasts, and therein corrupt themselves, and neither know the Scriptures nor the power of God, but are such as the prophet complaineth of, saying, "His watchmen are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough; and they are shepherds that cannot understand, they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter."

"The Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder the soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow; and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart, neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight, but all things are naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do." Those that have not this Word of God to preach, they are neither quick nor powerful. Those that put into their mouths please them, but against them that do not, they prepare war. These receive honour one of another, and like the Pharisees of old, walk in long robes, and have the chief places in the synagogues, and the uppermost rooms at feasts, love greeting in the markets, and to be called master; they come with good words and fair speeches, by which they deceive the hearts of the simple; they run when God never sends them. Christ speaking to such saith, The Father himself, which hath sent me, hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape; and ye have not his Word abiding in you; for whom he hath sent, him ye believe not. 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 may have life; John v. 37, 38, 39. Read on, and see how like these are to those, who had not the love of God in them, but loved the praise of men, and received honour one of another, but sought not the honour that cometh from God only.

But Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, is come the second time, viz: in spirit; and tells us all that ever we did, as he did the woman at Jacob's well; who, when she heard him, and believed in him, went into the city and bade them, "Come see a man that told me all that ever I did! Is not this the Christ?" Many of the Samaritans of the

city believed on him, and besought him to tarry with them, and he abode with them two days; and many heard and believed because of his own words, saying, "We have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world." He gave them to see, hear, believe and have everlasting life. Oh that men would look unto him, come unto him, and learn of him; blessed are they that hear the Word of God, and keep it. "Thy Word have I hid in my heart," saith David; "the Lord is my light, and my salvation." And he prayed, saying, "O send out thy light and thy truth!" O, that all our kings and rulers were of king David's mind, and of the same spirit, who said, "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed. Be wise now, O ye kings! Be instructed ye judges of the earth; serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling; kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him."

Oh! that the kings and rulers, and great men, would hearken and hear the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and remember that it is the meek that shall inherit the earth, and that God gives more grace to the humble; but the proud he beholds afar off: humble yourselves, therefore, under the mighty hand of God.

Seeing you are all enlightened, turn your minds to the light; "For there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth it understanding." It is said, "Great men are not always wise, neither do the aged understand judgment." It is hard for rich men to enter into the kingdom of heaven; for they have great possessions on the earth, and stately palaces, and are worshipped and honoured like gods, and the women sow pillows to their arm-holes, and kerchiefs upon their heads. The prophet said, "Wo to the women that sow pillows to all arm-holes, and make kerchiefs upon the head of every stature to hunt souls! Will ye hunt the souls of my people, and will ye save the souls alive that come unto you? And will you pollute me among my people, for handfuls of barley, and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying to my people that hear your lies?"

These are such as tell people, they must live in sin term of life; and teach them to say, "They stray from the ways of God like lost sheep, and follow the devices of their own hearts, and are miserable offenders." Yet if

they put into their mouths, they will speak peace; but if not, they will prepare war against them.

These are the hirelings of the blind people; blind guides that lead the blind, and despise the true prophet, quench the Spirit, and speak evil of the light that shines in the hearts of men, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God and his Truth, that is the sanctifier of men, and the way to God, and the life of every living soul; "For he that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life." He is the anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, and despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. These things hath God made known to the weak of this world, whom he hath chosen to confound the strong, and foolish things hath God chosen to confound the wise; unlearned men, like Peter and John; but they had been with Jesus, and learned of him, and received the things which were freely given them of God: the manifestations, revelations and operations of the Spirit, and the comfort of it, were freely given them from above. They received not faith, wisdom and power from man, or by man, but from Christ, in whom all fulness dwells, and of his fulness, they, with others received, and grace for grace. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. By grace they were made what they were, they believed in the light, and walked in it; and did not call it a natural light, as the merchants of Babylon do. Christ said, "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil."

Christ appears the second time to them that look for him, Heb. ix. 28; see that ye refuse not him that speaketh, [mark, he speaketh now in you.] It doth not say here, he did speak, he had spoken, or he would speak, but speaketh; now hear him, for he speaketh from heaven. While it is called to-day, hear him; for the night cometh, and utter darkness will be the portion of all those who reject so great salvation, so great love, mercy and good will; for Christ speaks very plainly in men, and to men's weak capacities and understanding; so that it need not be said, Who shall ascend, &c., to bring him to us. But the anointing, which they receive, teacheth all things that are needful; so that they need not that any man teach them, but as the same anointing teacheth them all things; see 1 John ii. 27. This an-

ointing is in them. O that men would hear the words of this teacher! How often hath he called by his prophets and apostles, and the Scriptures have in them many calls, to come and hear what the Spirit saith; and none can be saved but they in all nations who walk in the light of the Lamb. O that men would consider, and turn from evil, and cease from man, and gather to Christ, the Word that abides for ever, who never failed the prophets or apostles, nor any man that ever believed in him. He is the Rock of Ages, the tried stone, elect and precious, he that believeth in him shall never be confounded. This is the foundation of all the righteous generations, which bore them up in all their sufferings; see Heb. xi. All power is his in heaven and earth; "And to as many as receive him, he gives power to become the sons of God."

This short testimony I have had in my mind some time, to leave behind me, as an invitation of love, to come to him that is freely given of God to all mankind, and is calling to all to come to him. "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness." And again, "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." And John iv. 14; "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life."

All ye that read these lines, I desire you to take the counsel of God, and come out of Babylon, and partake not of her sins. She is in that wisdom that is from below, that is earthly, sensual and devilish; she is full of blood, and is the abomination of the whole earth, and her plagues will assuredly be poured out upon her, and her great and rich merchants shall partake of her plagues, and her golden cup by which she hath made them drunk, shall be seen to be no profit to any soul.

But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits. This is the true and heavenly wisdom, hear her voice ye sons of men! and take her counsel; "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." JOHN GRATTON.

An epistle to Friends in Pennsylvania.

Truly beloved Friends,

Mahlon Stacy, John Wilford, George Wood, John Blunstone, Francis Davenport, Samuel Jennings, Job Bunting, and all other dear friends as if named, that live near you inwardly or outwardly, my sincere love in the blessed Truth tenderly salutes you all, with your tender loving wives and families, earnestly breathing to the Lord, the fountain of living waters for you, that you may be kept and preserved living, faithful and fruitful in the blessed Truth, in which alone our souls are made capable to rest with God in all times of trouble; praises to him for ever.

Dear friends, the weighty sense of how things have been for some time, and still are amongst you, hath bowed me much before the Lord in spirit secretly, having none to ease my mourning soul unto but him alone, who takes notice of all our unutterable sighs and groans; and I hope in his great mercy, love and pity, as he hath hitherto helped us, so he will still appear for our help, preservation, comfort and consolation, if we carefully keep low and inward, being bowed humbly before him, waiting for his pure appearance in our inward man. Emmanuel, God with us, is known to be wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God, and Prince of peace, able to dispossess the man of sin, who opposeth, and would exalt himself above all that is called God; but, blessed be the Lord our God! he hath enabled us to say in truth, "Greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world;" so that we witness the apostle's testimony true, viz: "That which is to be known of God is manifest in men, for God makes it known to them." Therefore, dear friends, keep your minds to the appearance of God, who is our Saviour, and there is none else besides him; and rejoice and praise him for his great mercy to us, in making known himself in us; and for those that boast of what they know of God without them, pity them, pray for them, and take heed of being entangled or snared by them. For, according to the tenor of holy Writ, we ought to be thankful for what we know of God in us, if what is to be known of God is manifest in us. Then we ought also to consider the Almighty is free, and dispenses knowledge as it pleases him, and doth manifest what and how much he pleases to the children of men; and if he please to manifest more to another than to me, I ought to be content, and make a right use of what I have; and not envy my brother for having more, nor exalt him; nor despise my brother that hath less than I, but consider that no man hath any thing but what he re-

ceives from above; and that it is God makes men to differ. And he that improves what is freely given, shall have an increase; "For to him that hath, it shall be given," said Christ, "and he shall have abundance."

My dear friends, let us look inward, and wait for what the Lord pleases to manifest, and take counsel of him, and abide in him and in his counsel, and strive not at all without him; but see that we do all in the meek and peaceable spirit of the Lamb, for the Lamb shall have the victory, yea, hath it and reigns, glory to God for ever. So fallen Adam, corrupt self, with all their knowledge, arts, tongues, studies, faith and trade must all come down and come to naught, for the Lord alone is and shall be exalted over all.

Dear friends, as it is said, the Lamb shall have the victory, so it is observed and plainly seen in all places, where his life, light, love, meekness, patience, gentleness, long suffering, purity, wisdom and truth are manifest, and kept in, victory is obtained by the Lamb of God, that takes away the sin of the world, and saves out of it, all that truly receive him, and gives them power to become the sons of God, and to obtain conquest and victory over the evil one. O, therefore, friends and brethren, abide in him, and be sure to live in a sensible knowledge that he abides in you, as you may remember he prayed to his Father, that we might be in him and he in us; this is precious, Christ in us the hope of glory, the great mystery of God. Hold this fast, hide him in your hearts, let him be head in you, secretly ruling in your souls, yield obedience unto him, and live in a sensible feeling of his life, light, joy, comfort.

Friends, keep here and you will know enough, you cannot want any thing if you enjoy this; but if you had all knowledge without this, all languages, mysteries, yea, faith to remove mountains, and have not this love, all is worth nothing. This is he whose lips preserve true knowledge, he teaches the way of God; truly, never could any man speak like him. In hearing him, dear friends, he keeps us in communion, unity and fellowship with God and one with another, and in peace that passes the understanding of the wise knowing men of this world. This is the best knowledge, to know God to be our God, Christ Jesus to be our Lord and Master, our head and law-giver, and wonderful counsellor: Oh! let us see this to be our knowledge, and wait, watch and pray to grow in it; and flee contention, strife, vain disputations and janglings, for the victory is to the Lamb, and all they shall overcome, that abide therein; therefore watch and pray in his name, and suffer with him. His sufferings are very great, yea, won-

derful at this day, and many suffer with him, yea, and also shall reign with him for ever; such know their overcoming to be through sufferings. Behold the Lamb of God, feel his divine nature in your inward man, and be gathered thereinto and put him on, and be clothed with him, that he may make you comely with his own comeliness; thus shall you know the armour of light, yea the whole armour, though many a sharp arrow and keen dart have been shot at you, yet it still remains armour of proof. Keep it on, dear friends; neither say, nor do, nor think any thing contrary to the divine will, but learn in silence and stillness; watch to know what the Lord speaks, for he works the work no other can do, nor can any of the sons of men do what he doth; let him therefore have that pre-eminence that is due to him, and be all in all and then there will be an end of strife, and peace on earth, good will to all men will ensue, and glory to God on high. As we experience this we are by him redeemed out of the earth, and out of the evils thereof, being followers of the Lamb wheresoever he goes, and whatever riseth up against these shall not prevail, for no weapon formed against such shall prosper, neither shall the gates of hell prevail against them. The Lord is known at this day by a remnant, blessed be his name, to be both Lord and Christ, yea, our sure Rock of safety, strength, power, life, righteousness, sanctification and salvation; yea, all we are to God we are in him, and him only.

Dear friends, keep close with him in spirit; his tabernacle is here with us, and we find he delights in the sons of men, and to make his abode in the habitable parts of the earth. Therefore, dear friends, come into the temple, and tarry there with him, and look unto him, and if another saith he sees more of him than you do, be still and look not at man, but take heed; for Christ said, "Many shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ! or, Lo, he is there! believe them not." But watch and pray, and let nothing separate you from him; and what he shows you plainly of the Father, be thankful for; enjoyment is the best knowledge, and keeps the soul low, humble, meek, patient, gentle, holy, harmless, quiet and peaceable, when the knowledge that is without enjoyment puffs up, exalts, is not gentle, nor holy, nor harmless, but hurtful and dangerous, carrying the mind quite away from God, like the raven that flew from Noah's ark, which returned not again.

What is man out of Christ Jesus the way, the truth and the life, the power of God? Truly nothing, worse than nothing; but in him man comes again to stand up in the image of God. He is the unspeakable gift,

stand fast in him, quit yourselves like men, be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might; remember his noble acts, he made the weak strong who had faith in him, though they were weak, he quenched the violence of fire, stopped lions' mouths, made armies of aliens flee, yea, death and the grave were conquered by him who is the conqueror, and gives victory to all his true disciples and followers, and enables them to overcome, and his promises to such are great and precious. Read them with the Spirit, as follows; "To him that overcomes," saith he, "will I give to eat of the tree of Life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God; he shall not be hurt of the second death; to him will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in that stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, save him that receives it; he shall have power over the nations, and he shall have the Morning Star, he shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels: him 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, and I will write upon him my new name. I will grant him to sit with me in my throne, he shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son," saith the Lord.

They that overcame, overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; they loved not their lives unto death, they came through great tribulations, they washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, they kept before the throne of God, and served him night and day in his temple, and he that sitteth on the throne dwells amongst them, they shall hunger nor thirst no more, the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and lead them to living waters, they have their Father's name written in their foreheads, they sing a new song before the throne, they are redeemed from the earth, and are not defiled with sin, but follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, they are redeemed from amongst men, being the first fruits unto God; in their mouth is found no guile, for they are without fault before the throne of God. They have patience, keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus, and he overcame; for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings, and they that are with him are called, chosen and faithful. Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of Life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

My dear friends, what sweet encouragement is here. Let us make it our business to know these things experimentally, according to our measures, and keep in the love of God, and in it live and love one another; this will cause us earnestly to desire and travel for the good and welfare one of another, and of all mankind. We cannot be truly religious out of this love; in this it is we feel one another, as true members of the body, of which Christ is head; herein we love as brethren, and are ready to wash one another's feet. But if a man say, he loves God, and hates his brother, he is a liar. This commandment have we from him, that he that loves God, loves his brother also. "A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another," said Christ our Lord; "by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." This is a certain mark of a true disciple. But false apostles cannot love true ones.

Friends, keep your habitation that God has gathered you into, viz: the spirit of meekness, love, gentleness, patience, purity, truth; suffer quietly in this, and with it, for it will overcome all, and then you, as you abide in it, will overcome by it. I am glad you have not appeared in print, and very sorry G. K. and G. H., with others have, by which occasion hath been greatly given to the enemies of the blessed Truth, to speak evil of it. I desire you do not meddle in that matter, except the Lord constrain you to it by his holy Spirit, but leave your cause to God, he will plead it. And if in any word, or otherwise, you have done amiss, own your fault, and seek to preserve the honour of Him, his truth and name, and seek none to yourselves, nor strive together, for you are brethren, if you be as you profess; but be gentle, long-suffering, and wait upon God, and whatever he bids you do, do it and keep in a sense of the love of God, and this will make you fruitful before him and men, and keep in the living faith, which is not without good works, but it works by love to the praise of the Author and Finisher of it, and your Teacher will be with you, and fill you with his merciful goodness, wisdom and strength. If God be with us, who can be against us? Surely none. Therefore, look not out, dear friends, at the tree of knowledge, though it seems pleasant to the eye that is not single, but covets to be something more than God makes it, and seeks its own exaltation and honour. But let it be your care to know a being truly kept in covenant with the Lord.

Dear friends, let those alone that fly into the third heavens, as they may think, and run into high things, great sights, and deep mys-

teries, yet love them, and seek peace as much as in you lieth, and if any be offended at you, because you see not what they pretend to, bear it patiently, for they ought not so to be; the apostle Paul did not so, but became all things to all, seeking to gain all to Christ Jesus; even so do all that abide in the same spirit to this day. They gather to him, viz: Christ the gift of God to all mankind, and in all, according to their measure; the Lord fill many with it, and double our portions of it, if it be his blessed will. This is our treasure indeed, and by it we are led and guided into all truth, and enabled to believe all things that are written in the holy Scriptures of truth, concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and do know him to be the author of our faith, and not man. No man can give any faith that is true and living; there is no man hath any power over it; yet men may be free to give an answer of their faith, if the Lord require it; but take heed of men that run into needless questions, and doubtful disputations, and vain janglings, in their own will and wisdom. Remember our Lord Christ was sometimes silent to those: therefore, if any friend of God be drawn forth to give a relation of what the Lord of his own free grace hath brought them to believe; let him do it in obedience to the Lord, and it is well; but if any friend or friends be not yet come so far as to believe in all respects what he doth, let him not be offended with them, because they are weak, but exhort them as Paul did some of old, that unto what they have attained, walk by the same rule, mind the same thing, and wait upon God to be carried on from faith to faith, and from grace to grace, &c., in and by the spirit of the Lord, not by man; "For he cannot add one cubit to his stature," by all he can do, neither is it Christian for any to be offended at his brethren, if they believe not in all respects just as he doth; for children must be admitted to have milk, and not be forced upon strong meat till they be able to digest it. And tender fathers are careful to administer such necessary food to their children as is nourishing, and tends to their growth and strengthening, and it is their joy to see them in a thriving condition, and come up to be young men, to have the word of God abiding in them, and dwelling plentifully and richly in them. Oh! that we may all truly travail for this, but to be offended with them, because they see not, know not, or believe not all a father doth, and disown them for this; O, this is unnatural, unkind, inhuman, therefore, surely it is not Christian.

Therefore, my dear friends, keep low and dwell in the meek spirit of the Lamb, that hath suffered deeply for us, and passed by

many a weakness, and helped us to eye salve, and given us to see the things that belong to our peace, opening parables to us. Let us keep close with him, and then by him we shall be fitted and furnished to every good word and work, to his glory, praise and renown for ever, amen.

How doth my love flow secretly unto you, from the exercise that my soul hath had for you; you are dear and near to me. I should be glad to see you, and be with you a little season, in the will of God; but I think I must never see your faces more, that is to say in the body. But I have hope in the Lord, to meet you in our Father's kingdom of glory, and abide with you for ever. This helps to comfort me many a time, when I think of you, though I could wish, if it so pleased the Lord, to see you either here or there. Dear friends, pray for me, and for all the flock of God, every where, for we know not what we have yet to meet with; tried we must be, and proved many ways, and those that are approved shall be made manifest, and those that are otherwise will be known. Oh! that we may be approved ones for ever.

To the Lord I dearly commit you all, knowing he is able to keep you from falling; and I dearly salute you all, both those whom I know by face, and those I do not, who are true Friends, and abide in that in which they cannot be otherwise. I pray God to be with you all, and all his, every where, and keep us all by his own power, fitted and prepared for himself, and in every thing enable us to be fruitful, every way to his praise, glory, honour and renown, and our souls' everlasting joy, comfort and consolation; even so, let it be, O Lord! for thou only art able to say, Amen to it in truth. So prays your dear friend and brother in the service and sufferings of the blessed Truth, that lives and abides for ever.

JOHN GRATTON.

Written at Monyash, in the
Seventh month, 1693.

A copy of a letter sent to a great person, after I had been in discourse with him at his own house, in the Tenth month, 1694.

Beloved friend,

In true love I write these lines. It is cause of grief to me, that thou being a magistrate, and knowing how men have been harmed in these days by swearing, and it hath grieved thee that thou couldst not ease thy quiet and peaceable neighbours, and yet thou pleadest for swearing, though it is so plainly and fully forbidden, both by our Lord Christ and the apostle James, and yea and nay set up instead

of an oath, saying, "What is more comes of evil."

The law said, "Thou shalt not forswear thyself;" so the law forbids false swearing, but Christ Jesus forbids all swearing; and we are commanded to hear him. Is not Christ greater than Moses, and above angels and men? Yes; then surely his commands we ought to obey. Is not all power his, in heaven and in earth? Then ought not the powers of the earth to obey him? Ought not he to rule whose right it is?

Is there any command in all the holy Scriptures for swearing, since Christ said, "Swear not at all?" It is plain, Christ was before the law, or sin and transgression were; because of which the law was added, till Christ the Seed came; but he is come, and as many as receive him, receive power to become the sons of God. Must not the children of God be believed without swearing? In the beginning it was not so. Sons of God are true men, their yea is yea; they speak truth to their neighbour; but the sons of Belial are false men, whose oaths cannot be believed.

Christ saith, swear not; but you magistrates say, swear: but whether we ought to obey judge ye. Again, Christ saith, "I am the light of the world." If so, then this light is divine, and ought to be believed and walked in.

Again, Christ saith, "Be ye therefore perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Doth Christ command impossibilities? Read Ephes. iv. from verse 3 to 14, where the apostle speaks for what service some men were gifted, viz: Some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man.

"There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit;" these have but one Lord, and do not serve two masters; these are clean, for no unclean thing is in Christ. These are bidden to abide in him; and saith he, "Every branch in me that bringeth forth good fruit, my Father purgeth, that it may bring forth more fruit." So it is plain, men may be really, perfectly, sincerely, children or branches, yet may grow from strength to strength, faith to faith, in and by the spirit of the Lord, yet be perfect children, and grow to be young men, and overcome the wicked one, and still grow to be fathers, and still press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded. This is the perfection we mean;

we do not mean such a perfection as that nothing can be added unto it.

It would be in vain for us to press after and labour to attain unto a heavenly place in Christ Jesus, if it be not attainable; and if it be a heavenly place, it is perfectly so, for heaven admits of no mixture. If we be children of God, we are perfectly so, for we cannot be both children of God and of the devil too, neither can a good tree bring forth bad fruit, nor a corrupt tree good fruit. Yet good trees grow as they are ministered unto from the root, and the root bears them, and not they the root. So children are real, perfect children, partakers of the same nature with young men and elders, but the root, Christ, is all in all.

I ascribe nothing to man in all this, for God is the great Husbandman, who works in us, and for us; for he sows his seed in all grounds, and gives of his talents to all. No man hath any thing that is good, but what he receives from above, for every good and perfect gift comes from thence, and the glory of all belongs to him who is God over all, blessed for ever more, amen.

This is written in true love, with desire to be better understood; for our principles are Christian, sound, and agree with holy Writ: but the world hates us, wrongs us, and misrepresents us and our principles too. I wish we and our principles were better known to all men, for we are hated without just cause. I pray God forgive them that do it, and am thy true friend in sincerity.

JOHN GRATTON.

Christ is all, and in all, &c., or a true testimony concerning Jesus Christ, the unsearchable gift of God, who so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believed in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

Christ came into the world in the form of a servant, and went about doing good, and healing all manner of diseases; yet the world knew him not, though the world was made by him. He preached the gospel, after he had been baptized by John in Jordan, and the Holy Ghost came down from heaven like a dove upon him, and the Lord, by a voice from heaven, said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." He was led into the wilderness and tempted of Satan, but he overcame him, so that he departed from him, and angels came and ministered unto him. Having thus cruised the serpent's head, he went on conquering and to conquer, and preached the gospel of the kingdom of God, saying, "The time is fulfilled, and

the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe the gospel." He went about in their synagogues, preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healed all manner of sicknesses and diseases amongst the people; they brought unto him sick people, that were taken with divers diseases, and those that were possessed with devils, and those that were lunatic, and he healed them.

He preached wonderful, good and holy doctrine, as appears by his sermon in the mount, where his counsel was sweet, precious and profitable for all to put in practice. He taught them how to live, how to pray, and to please God in all things; so that the people were astonished at his doctrine. He showed infinite love both to body and soul; the blind he made to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the lame to walk; he cleansed the lepers, he healed the palsy, he cast out devils, he raised the dead, and had mercy on the very worst of men, turning publicans and harlots from their evil ways. He turned water into wine, and fed several thousands with a few loaves and fishes; he spake wonderful parables, his doctrine was more excellent than man by all his own wisdom can understand. He showed great love and pity to all sorts of people, and great dislike of all evil, hypocrisy and sin; yet encouraged such as repented and turned therefrom, and came to him to be healed, and obeyed him; not one of these was rejected by him.

But what shall I say? Who can declare the good he did! It is undeclarable, his goodness surpasses the understanding of all mankind; he fulfilled the law of Moses to a jot or tittle, and was so holy, harmless, righteous, just and good, that no man could convince him of sin. He was and is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. He suffered for us, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God; he laid down his life a ransom for all, and tasted death for every man. He offered up himself a Lamb without spot unto God. He poured out his soul unto death, and became an offering for sin, and was a propitiatory sacrifice, our passover, sacrificed for us, offered up himself once for all, and by one offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Those who receive him in the love of God, he works in them and for them, makes them new creatures, and quickens them who were dead in trespasses and sins. He is the resurrection and the life; "He that believes in me," saith he, "though he were dead, yet shall he live; and he that liveth and believeth in me, shall never die."

He is our peace-maker, the Prince of peace, our reconciler to God, the word of reconcilia-

tion; he is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; he that believeth in him shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of life—he is our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, our life, strength and way to God, our all in all.

Oh! the benefits, advantages, favours, blessings and mercies accruing by the coming of Christ into the world, by his living and dying in it and for it, perfecting the work of our salvation, without any merit of mankind; for all had sinned and fallen short of the glory of God. There were none in that state righteous, no, not one; there were none that did good, they were altogether become unprofitable, the way of peace they did not know, there was no fear of God before their eyes; yet when we were without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly. God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Here is the love, not that we loved him, but God so loved us, that he gave his only begotten Son, that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man. The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all men, then were all dead, and that he died for all, that they who live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him that died for them, and rose again. So all things are of God, and nothing of man in this great work of salvation, but all of God, "Who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation. Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God; for he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him."

It appears very fully by the holy Scriptures, that after Christ had abundantly benefitted the world while he lived in it, he also by his death hath done much good to all mankind beyond utterance, yea, beyond the understanding of man. What, to all mankind? Yea, to enemies, to sinners, to ungodly men, as is clear from Rom. v. 6; For if when we were enemies he were reconciled to God, by the death of his Son; much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life. So now we joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the atonement. Here is good will to men, yea to enemies.

Here is great advantage by the coming, suffering and death of Jesus Christ to all men. First; The sacrifice is offered, and acceptably too, a propitiatory sacrifice once for all. Secondly; The atonement is made, and a peace offering, and that freely by Jesus Christ. Thirdly; The law and prophets, and John's baptism are fulfilled; so that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to all them that believe. So that where Christ reigns, the kingdom is come, the divine will done in earth, and grace reigns through righteousness unto life eternal. Fourthly; The middle wall of partition is broken down between Jew and Gentile, and those who sometime were afar off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ, "For He is our peace, who hath made both one; having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances, for to make in himself, of twain, one new man, so making peace: and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body, by his cross," that is, both Jew and Greek, having slain the enmity thereby. And came and preached peace, so that "in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God." In him "we have redemption, through his blood, even the remission of sins. Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time his righteousness; that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus. Who was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification."

Fifthly; When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men; yea, to the rebellious also, according to the measure of the gift of Christ, and they that keep the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace, are one body, and one spirit. They have one Lord, one faith, and one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, through all, and in you all; to him be glory. "There are diversity of gifts," saith the apostle, "but the same spirit. There are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God, which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit, is given to every man to profit withal." The same apostle tells us for what these gifts were given, viz: "For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of

Christ; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, the Head, from whom the whole body, fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love."

From all which, it is clear that the Holy Ghost or Spirit, is poured forth or given to all, to every man, to all flesh, according to Joel. Christ is given to all, the Sun of righteousness is risen, and shines upon all, enlightens "every man that cometh into the world. For in him is life, and the life is the light of men;" who is the same to-day, yesterday and for ever. Yea, he shines in darkness, though the darkness comprehends it not. The grace of God that brings salvation, appears to all men; and they who receive this grace, and learn of it, "It teacheth them to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." He is God's salvation to the ends of the earth; which he hath prepared before the face of all people, as Simeon said, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel.

"God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believed in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life." Here salvation is offered to all, whether Jew or Gentile. "God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." This is good news, glad tidings to all people. Shall it be told abroad? Yea, Christ said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Here Christ the Lamb of God, who tasted death for every man, sheweth his universal love, and came that they might have life, and preached himself, the light of the world. God would have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. There is good will in him to all men, and mercy for all men with him; he is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. For all are his, both by creation and purchase, and he hath laid help upon one that is mighty, who is able to save them to the utmost that come unto God by him; and those that come, he will in no wise cast off: so that it is man's

fault if he will not come to Christ, who is come to give life.

The Lord calleth, saying, "Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live." And in the "great day of the feast, Jesus stood up and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water; but this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him should receive." Here is great encouragement, in much love and mercy, good will and fatherly kindness. None are excluded here; seeing they that have no money are invited. This is surely glad tidings to the poor, to whom the gospel is preached; and without respect of persons, to all people. And whosoever will, may come, for the gift is given to all, not only offered, but freely given. For "the Spirit and the bride say, come, and let him that heareth, say, come; and let him that is athirst come; and whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." The water of life is the flowing of the Spirit of God; for God is the Fountain, and hath poured out his Spirit upon all flesh, and given his Son to the world, who invites all to come to him and drink. None need fear any want in this Fountain; for it is a Fountain that can never be drawn dry: it is now unsealed, and the thirsty are invited to come and drink freely, and his beloved to drink abundantly. "Eat, O friends, drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved." And Christ invites such as are weary and heavy laden, to come unto him, and take his yoke upon them, for it is easy, and his burden, for it is light, and saith, "You shall find rest unto your souls."

It is clear from holy writ, that man's destruction is of himself. "But ye will not come unto me," said Christ, "that ye may have life." He was despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: men hid their faces from him, and saw no beauty or comeliness in him. They who follow him must deny themselves, take up the daily cross, and suffer with him, if they ever reign with him; but he that denies him before men, him will he also deny before his Father which is in heaven.

Oh! that all who read the holy Scriptures, which testify of Christ, would come to him, believe in him, hear and learn of him, and obey him, who is Lord and King over all, and Judge of quick and dead, that they might have life. When Christ comes and works by his spirit in men, and they feel it, then, and not till then, they know the mystery hid from ages, but now made manifest, which is Christ

in us, the hope of glory; the riches of the Gentiles, the Star of Jacob, the bright and Morning Star. He is the Sun of righteousness, the tree of Life, the true Vine that enables every branch to bring forth fruit, as it abides in him. And they who partake of his life, power and spirit, he is in them, and they in him; and they do not walk as other Gentiles in the vanity of their minds.

Come, friends, have ye heard him, and been taught by him, or are ye past feeling? If ye do not feel, taste and handle these things, and hear Christ in you, as he said, "My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me," ye know not the Truth, nor are ye sanctified, or made free by it, and then it is no matter what ye profess. For he that is in Christ is a new creature, and in covenant with God, abides in Christ, and he in him. Oh! therefore, lay hold of, and hold fast eternal life, and if Christ be in thee, thou wilt find ability to come to God by him; for he is the way, the truth and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by him. He is the one thing needful; the pearl of price: if ever thou find him, it must be in thee, giving life to thy soul, love in thy heart, wisdom beyond man's, and power over all thy enemies, yea, over death, hell and the grave, the world, the flesh and the devil; all power in heaven and earth is in him, none else can give thee any.

Therefore be persuaded to look unto him, and wait for his appearing in thee, or else thy faith is dead, and thou feelest no life in any thing.

"Come taste and see," said David, "that the Lord is good:" find him and thou findest all. How glad were those that found Christ. Simon said, "We have found the Messiah:" and Philip said to Nathaniel, "We have found him, of whom Moses and the prophets did write." Nathaniel said unto him, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" "Philip said unto him, Come and see:" so say I unto thee, who art apt to say, Can any good thing be found in me? Turn in and see; there is that which reproves thee for evil, is not that good?

Oh! then seek the Lord while he may be found, call upon him while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and turn unto the Lord, and he will have mercy on him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

Christ prayed for his, to his Father, saying, "Sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth." Truth in the inward parts changes the heart, and enlivens the soul; for it is a quickening Spirit. Christ is the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by him. This is he that brings to God: this is the bridegroom of the soul, the beloved of the church, and the church is his: this is the glory of the living; the living glory in the Lord; all things else are to them as dross and dung in comparison of Christ.

The apostle speaking to the church, said, "All is yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's:" so the Lord is the portion of his people, and the Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance, to whom he said, "Fear not, for I am with thee; when thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee."

Oh! that men would trust in God, obey and follow him as dear children, keeping their minds staid upon the Lord, that they may be kept in perfect peace, and walking in him, they walk in the light; for "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all; and they that walk in the light, have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth them from all sin," and sets them free; "and if the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

It is clear from what hath been said, that Christ is all, in all his people, viz: their wisdom, strength, power, righteousness, light, life, peace, sanctification, justification, consolation, and salvation; with him we have all things, without him we can do nothing. In him all fulness dwells. Though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be rich. And He who is heir of all things, was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time, without sin unto salvation. Blessed are they who love his appearance. They are ready to say, "Come Lord Jesus, Come quickly. Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be scattered;" make haste and come away. "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done."

To the Lord I leave all, and in true love am a friend to all men, and servant for the Truth's sake.

JOHN GRATTON.

A DIARY
OF
SOME RELIGIOUS EXERCISES AND EXPERIENCE
OF
SAMUEL SCOTT,
LATE OF HARTFORD, DECEASED.

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Go set a watchman, let him declare what he seeth. ISAIAH XXI. 6.  
Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost. JOHN VI. 12.  
And what thou seest write in a book. REV. I. 11.  
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INTRODUCTION.

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The testimony of Hartford monthly meeting, concerning our deceased friend, SAMUEL SCOTT.

THIS our beloved friend was born in Grace-church street, London, on the 21st of the third month, 1719; and, as appears by an account left in writing by himself, “was, in the seventeenth year of his age, remarkably favoured with a divine visitation; by which his understanding was enlightened, and the great beauty, heavenly order and economy of a truly religious life, at seasons even ravished his soul:” and having walked in conformity thereto till about the thirty-fourth year of his age, he then came forth in the work of the ministry, in which his gift was truly edifying and convincing; tending much to awaken the attention of the careless and formal professor to the weighty concerns of truth and righteousness.

He was a man fearing God and hating covetousness, deep in divine things, of a humble mind and benevolent disposition, extensive in Christian charity, and unfeigned love to the brethren; very useful in the discipline of the church among us, for which he was well qualified; yet very diffident of himself, ready to forgive, and seek forgiveness even of the meanest.

During the latter part of his life, we were frequently deprived of his company at our meetings, especially those for discipline, by reason of the prevalence of a disorder which

had attended him for several years; notwithstanding which he was often in deep travail of soul for the restoration of inward rectitude, not only among us, but mankind in general; as also for himself, that he might find a place of rest and peace.

A few days before his decease, being in a tender frame of mind, he expressed himself to a friend that visited him, in these words,—“I have done with all things but one, and that is, working out my soul’s salvation with fear and trembling, through Him that worketh in me, both to will and to do of his own good pleasure.”

His removal was rather sudden; which, considering his anxious concern respecting that awful event, was, we believe, to him a favour: and we doubt not he is entered into that rest which his soul so ardently longed for.

He departed this life on the 20th day of the eleventh month, 1788, and was interred the 30th of the same in Friends’ burial ground at Hartford, after a very large and solemn meeting, being attended by great numbers of Friends, and also of his neighbours, by whom he was much beloved. Aged near seventy years; a minister about thirty-six years.

Signed in our monthly meeting held at Hartford, the 2nd of the third month, 1789, by forty-seven men and women Friends.

Read and approved in our quarterly meeting held the 23rd of third month, 1789, at Hartford, and signed in and on behalf thereof, by

WILLIAM LUCAS, Clerk.

Such is the testimony to the character of the author of the following Diary, by many of his friends and neighbours, who appeared best qualified to delineate the same.

Those who read the Diary will probably observe the difference, which apparently exists between the foregoing account, and the description he has given of himself. His friends were chiefly guided in their judgment by his general conduct and actions; but his spiritual eyes being opened to a more extensive view of his real situation, his judgment of himself appears to have been formed by a comparison thereof, with that state of purity unto which all are called, and where all is beautiful, and not a spot or wrinkle can be discerned. It was for this state that his spirit panted, and short of which his soul refused to take lasting rest; for he saw the "one thing needful," and in degree tasted of that peace which prevails in Sion, the city of the saint's solemnity.

For the attainment thereof, for obtaining the unsearchable riches which are found in Christ, and largely possessed when he becomes in man his only hope of glory, his solicitude appears to have been nearly unremitted; as not small was his anxiety, when the Beloved of souls withdrew his animating influence; fearing that it was not for the trial of his faith, that seasons of poverty and abstinence were allotted to him, and deep baptisms and conflicts his frequent portion; but that it proceeded from just displeasure, and that the Lord had therefore ceased to be gracious: whereby his soul was cast down and disquieted, without ability to adopt the encouraging language, "Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God." Thus desolate and disconsolate, he expressed himself in the pathetic language of the prophet Jeremiah: "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow." But this is a path not unfrequented by the regenerate; who, having attained to the state of young men, are fed with strong meat; when, for weaning their affections from all sublunary objects, from every thing that has not endurance, but perishes with the using, and for enabling them to receive and retain, without mixture, the perfectly refined wine of the kingdom, the Bridegroom withdraws his presence, the sensible succour of the Spirit is not felt, and the earth with her bars is closed upon them. Thus is poor, frail man apparently left in his weakness, without a hand extended which is competent to succour, or able to save; that his dependance may be fully proved, and his faith rendered more pure than the fine gold of Ophir. But,

though for a trying time unfelt and unseen, yet there is a hand, an Almighty hand, stretched out for the preservation of the children of the bride-chamber, which preserves them in afflicting extremities, and manifests itself when necessary for salvation or reward. This is a path wherein the regenerate have trodden, and wherein our friend, Samuel Scott, had his faith proved, purified and increased. But who are, even in this respect, so blind as the Lord's servants, as the children of the Most High? Humbled to the dust under a sense of their own unworthiness, pressed upon by an increased view of their frailty and entire inability for any good thought, word, or work, towards promoting their soul's salvation, they are more prone to view dispensations of this kind as marks of divine displeasure, than for the trial of their faith; and therefore fear, lamentation and mourning, are their portion, until their hopes are revived by the sensible renewing of that grace, which gladdens the whole heritage of God. Then "the wilderness and solitary place shall be glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing."

The natural abilities of Samuel Scott were above the common rank, and he was versed in literature. Yet these he counted but as dung, that he might win Christ, have a fellowship with his sufferings, be made conformable to his death, and experience the power of his resurrection.

The vast variety of dispositions which are found amongst mankind are, by some authors, supposed to be formed by the mixture and predominancy of one or other of the different temperaments, which the operations of grace do not destroy, but purify and direct: so that the lively in a state of nature will be found lively in a state of grace; and the zealous in nature will be found zealous in grace; but lively in a different pursuit, and zealous for the attainment of a different object. When the heavenly principle is in dominion, this variety, which in fallen nature tends to disorder, is reduced into harmony, and forms a body, or whole, inexpressibly beautiful. How wonderful are the ways of Providence! How gracious his design! But when any of these temperaments predominate, unseasoned by grace, they cast a shade upon, or place in an unjust view, the ways of Divine Wisdom; the paths of pleasantness and peace.

The melancholic temperament appears occasionally to have prevailed in the author of the following Diary; which, when seasoned and regulated by grace, has been deemed the most favourable to a religious life, being in its

nature fixed, retentive, and circumspect, prone to search, and anxious to ascertain, yet cautious in receiving important truths, but when received, tenacious in retaining them; but which, in some instances, it is to be feared, produced sadness in Samuel Scott, where joy might well have prevailed. But it is encouraging and instructive to observe, how, through all the conflicts and baptisms to which such a disposition appears more peculiarly liable, there lived that, which many waters could not quench, or the grave retain; and this at times in Samuel Scott beautifully broke through the dark clouds, and showed that all beyond was harmony and light; of which there is no doubt his afflicted, anxious soul at length gained permanent possession, when the work was finished, and the tempestuous waves for ever ceased to rage. "O thou afflicted, tossed with tempests, and not comforted, behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires, and I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones."

Here, reader, pause, and wisely consider, that although "many are the afflictions of the righteous, the Lord delivereth out of them all." For "the Lord redeemeth the soul of his servants." By repeated trials and afflictions permitted or dispensed, they are induced to look at, and duly appreciate, the things that can only be discerned by the spiritual eye of the regenerate, the things that are eternal; and are also prepared to receive and retain, the unsullied joys of heaven. As affliction and trials, well endured, produce the peaceable fruits of righteousness, with quietness and assurance for ever, although grievous when they prevail; how will they be estimated when the work is finished? when

faith is lost in fruition, and uninterrupted rewards are possessed. Can they be viewed otherwise than with awfulness and gratitude, as well expressed by a deeply tried and experienced servant of the Most High, when on the eve of ceasing from his labours, and of receiving permanently glorious rewards: "Many and painful have been the probationary exercises of this life to me. Ah! were there probability of strength, how I could enlarge, for my heart seems melted within me in retrospective view; but all the former conflicts, however grievous in their time, are lighter now than vanity, except as they are clearly seen to have contributed largely to the sanctification of the soul; as they are remembered with awfulness and gratitude before him, who has not been wanting to preserve through them all; and as they seem likely to introduce, either very shortly, or before a very long time, to an exceeding and eternal weight of glory." When afflictions are thus viewed; when, as to duration, they are compared with the permanence of those joys which they may be said to produce; and as to severity, with that exceeding weight of glory which they ensure; great will be the encouragement to seek for patience during their continuance, and not small the desire, that the design, in their prevalence, may be fulfilled.

Considerations of this kind are well adapted to a state of probation, of infancy, and twilight; where seeing only as through a glass, darkly, we know but in part; and truly profitable, as they tend to prepare for an entrance into those realms, where they see face to face, and know, even as they are known; where that which is in part shall be done away, by that which is perfect being come.

R. P.

DIARY OF SAMUEL SCOTT.

APPREHENDING that the keeping a Diary might have in sundry respects been useful, and contributed to an increase in the spiritual life, essays have at various times been attempted; the last in the summer, 1776, on being relieved from a disorder which I esteemed dangerous: but after a short continuation, "The bough was lopped with terror."

On the first day of the sixth month, in the year 1780, and in the sixty-second of my age, I renew the recording of some circum-

stances which have occurred, and which may yet occur. The number of my days, or, perhaps, only hours, remaining, being certainly few and evil, the present attempt seems unseasonable. Nevertheless, if it please the Lord to look upon it with approbation, "new wine may be found in the cluster," and the Watcher and the Holy One may say, "destroy it not, for a blessing is in it."

Fifth month 14th, 1780.—I went up to the yearly meeting at London, and attended

divers of the meetings both for worship and discipline; the former were in the general large and solemn; much peace presided in the latter; brotherly exhortations were in love imparted, and a concern expressed for the manifold deviations from our ancient Christian testimonies, respecting "speech, behaviour and apparel." Babylon is within; but from her very outlines were our ancestors called forth, and these testimonies were committed to them and their children, as increasing testimonies, until they have filled the earth; the customs of the people are vain; but honour is the most unmeaning ceremony, the merest phantom that ever pride and folly obtruded on their deluded votaries.

20th.—I returned from London to Hartford, impressed with some sense of the preservations of the preceding week; sought a tribute of praise to the Preserver of men; but, as on the mountains of Gilboa, "there was no rain, nor dew, nor fields of offering."

21st.—I went to the forenoon meeting at Hartford in distress of mind; very unexpectedly some qualification for a public ministry seemed to attend; the words presented were, "Work while it is day, for the night cometh, in which no man can work;" an explanation of the nature of the work was attempted, accordingly as it is written, "This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom God hath sent;" a degree of solemnity prevailed.

23rd and 24th.—The quarterly and yearly meetings at Hartford were not large, but measurably favoured.

25th and 26th.—In my solitary retreats this inquiry occurred, "When shall the fir-tree appear instead of the thorn, and the myrtle instead of the briar, that it may be to the Lord for a name, and for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off?"

27th.—I cautioned a neighbour against addressing me with a flattering title; the caution was received in a friendly manner, and the propriety of the remark allowed.

28th.—Mary Ridgeway and Jane Watson from Ireland came to our house, and were at our meeting on first-day; the meetings were large, and their service in them was lively and acceptable. I sat with them in the gallery, but although somewhat elevated in respect to local situation, deeply depressed in spirit; esteeming myself not only unfit for the ministry, but even to be an attendant upon or entertainer of, the Lord's servants.

Sixth month 3rd.—It is written, "The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the habitation of the righteous;" but for many days past my soul hath been far from peace: the roll written within and without, with mourning, lamentation and woe, hath seemed

to be the sole furniture of my solitary habitation.

4th.—In the forenoon meeting at Hartford, I sat under a deep and almost agonizing sense of my past iniquities, and frequent deviations from the paths of peace; not a penitential tear produced: but wherefore dost thou complain, O my soul! for the punishment of thy sins? The immaculate Lamb, who knew no sin, suffered much more abundantly; "thou art justly in this condemnation," "but he had done nothing amiss."

6th.—With much reluctance, and under great distress, I accompanied Samuel Spavold and John Miller in visiting five families at and near Hoddesdon; the gospel was preached; in one of them particularly so. Some cause of thankfulness for the preservation and attendance of the day.

7th.—I was particularly condemned for conversing unnecessarily respecting politics and religion. Peace is thy profession. Labour to live peaceably with all men.

8th.—I went to Ware with Samuel Spavold, and visited five families; I had in one of them a remarkable opening respecting my own state, on these words, "It is only the Lion of the tribe of Judah," that can cause the "lion and the lamb to lie down together;" my lips were sealed in silence.

9th.—This day was passed in serenity and composure; a miracle of grace.

10th.—Much mischief hath been done this week in and about the metropolis, on account of the protestant petition having been presented, but not immediately considered. O! the infatuation that the professors of a religion, whose characteristic is peace and love, should by any means become the instigators of bloodshed and devastation; or that they should at any time begrudge others the immunities which they themselves wish to enjoy! "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon," lest the infidels triumph.

12th.—I am convinced from a daily heartfelt sensation, stronger than ten thousand arguments, that until we cease to do evil, we cannot learn to do well. No acceptable worship can be either internally or externally offered to the God of truth, while we are acting contrary to the dictates of truth in our own consciences. "There is no peace to the wicked." "If we regard iniquity in our hearts, the Lord will not hear us." "Let him who nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." These testimonies were formerly borne by free-grace men, who lived by grace; and they will forever baffle the efforts of antinomianism. The only ability to cease to do evil is in a divine and supernatural principle,—the grace and truth which comes

by Jesus Christ; or, in other words, in the Comforter, the agent and representative of the Holy Head, by which he is present with his people always, to the end of the world; "Christ in them the hope of glory." Some days have been spent under a sense of his presence, who said to his servant formerly, "Walk before me, and be thou perfect;" be all the glory ascribed to him through Christ Jesus, our only Mediator. Amen.

18th.—The effusions of anger and evil speaking have been of late rather suspended, but the hostility within has been at times too sensibly felt. O may not only the branches be lopped, but the root eradicated! When the creation was formed in primæval rectitude, the Divine Originator beheld it was good; but how is the gold become dim since the defection of the first Adam; "how hath the whole creation groaned and travailed in pain, even until now;" and they who have received the first fruits of the Spirit groaned within themselves, for redemption from the bondage of corruption.

23rd.—"By nature I was in almost all evil." The seeds of corruption, which were sown in human nature by the fall of our first parent, produced many exuberant and bulky plants; some of which were measurably removed in the day of an early and awakening visitation; others have since seemed to perish, and their roots to die in the ground, viz: infidelity, injustice, and the love of money; those which have been the most deeply rooted, and most prevalent of later years, are peevishness and impetuosity. May the command go forth from "the Watcher and Holy One, Hew down the tree, and cut off the branches, shake off the leaves, and scatter the fruit."

25th.—The forenoon meeting at Hartford was rather lively; a short testimony was borne to the Lord Jesus Christ, "the faithful and true witness." M. P. concluded the meeting very acceptably in supplication.

Seventh month 1st.—Bodily pain hath of late attended. The sufferings which are sustained in this respect, being unfelt by others, are much unnoticed and uncommiserated by them; but they are known to Him, who is touched with a feeling of the infirmities both of the saints, and of the most vile and abject of his creatures, who are alike the work of his hand: "for all things were created by him and for him." O! may my afflictions in the flesh be sanctified by Him "who suffered without the gate," whose head was crowned with thorns, whose hands and feet were pierced.

3rd.—At the monthly meeting some difficulty attended respecting the acceptance of a paper produced; my lips were sealed in si-

lence; passiveness appeared my proper province. Afterwards a caution was imparted against holding the faith of Christ with respect of persons, and against a spirit of emulation and personal dislike, as equally inconsistent with our Christian discipline.

4th.—I read Henry Brooks on Redemption; an admirable poem.

9th.—The meeting at Hunsdon was large. "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself." The gracious interposition of the Deity, intended by the apostle in the preceding expression, seemed measurably attendant in a state of silence; and under the ministry of M. P. afterwards, there was a dry wind from the wilderness.

15th.—Divers vexatious incidents were attendant, and I was wanting in patience and resignation; capital virtues, which calm the storms of life. I was too fretful on slight and immaterial events.

16th.—After a long waiting in deep poverty in the forenoon meeting at Hartford, a degree of travail was begot both on behalf of myself and those present: a short testimony was also borne to that universal redemption which is in Jesus Christ, and the necessity of an inward application thereof, in ourselves, and for ourselves.

20th.—I went to London. At times I was favoured to look towards the God of patience and consolation, but the want of due resignation barred the influences which proceed from him; "for what doth let will let, until it be taken out of the way." During this dispensation I considered the propriety of the apostolic injunction, "Remember them who are in bonds, as bound with them, and them who suffer adversity, as being also in the body;" "bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." A practical adherence to these precepts, next to the grace which is sufficient and soul saving, would be as the balm of human life; it would alleviate the diversified cup that is handed forth to mortals; but how deficient am I herein; how deficient also are others.

30th.—Pretty early at the Park meeting, a degree of solemnity clothed my mind, not without some presentations for a public ministry, which, on proving, appeared immature. How suitably adapted are the following precepts, not only to me, but to all who at any time appear in the ministry. "Be more ready to hear, than to offer the sacrifice of fools." "Be not rash with thy mouth to utter any thing before God." And when thou speakest, "let thy words be few." "Be slow to speak." All true and profitable ministry arises from the ability which the Spirit gives in a rightly exercised understanding; as it is

written, "I will pray with the spirit, and with the understanding also." Nonsense proceeds not from the ability which the spirit giveth. But what is nonsense? Here it may be difficult to draw a line. "For the preaching of the cross, is to them that perish, foolishness;" and "the foolishness of God is wiser than man."

Eighth month 1st.—In the week-day meeting at Horsleydown, something opened by way of ministry; but waiting under the opening, silence seemed most advisable; and after long sitting, the meeting closed lively. I had rather refrain from speaking, when perhaps I might have spoken with a degree of profit, than at any time to speak unprofitably. There are, comparatively speaking, but few ministers left amongst us; yet frequently many words are uttered. The following sentiment, contained in the Apology of that skilful minister of Christ, Robert Barclay, is therefore, I think, worthy of the observation of all concerned. "Yea, we doubt not, but assuredly know, that a meeting may be good and refreshing, though from the sitting down thereof to the rising up, a word may not be outwardly spoken; though the life may have been so known, as that words might have been acceptably spoken, and that from the life." Barclay's Apology, sixth edition, p. 360. The above is not referred to as an insinuation that the ministers now among us are of a dissimilar disposition from Barclay, and the brethren of that day, but rather as a caution to myself and others, than as a censure upon any. We are voyagers on a tempestuous ocean, stationed on a sea of glass, surrounded on every side with rocks and sands;—may not therefore a little one, who needeth himself to be more perfectly instructed in the way and work of the Lord, recall the attention of the brotherhood to such beacons as have been held forth by such, "who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises." There is a spiritual worship and introversion of spirit, which excels outward ministration. In it, honey is imparted from the Rock—Christ.

6th.—The general meeting at Cross Brook-street was large, composed, and chiefly held in silence. "It is thy word, O Lord, which healeth." "The word which was in the beginning with God, and was God;" the same which in the fulness of time was made flesh, and dwelt amongst men; and they beheld His glory, as the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; "of whose fulness we have all received, and grace for grace." "I waited patiently for the Lord," said one formerly, "and he heard my cry." In this patient waiting is experienced the ministry of the Spirit, and the glory of Christ.

20th.—After long sitting, and some solemnity in silence at our forenoon meeting, I stood up simply with an opening on these words, "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." Some more expressions were uttered in a testimony to that kingdom, worship and work, which consists in the manifestation of a divine and supernatural power. I sat down with a degree of freshness; but speaking a second time, I seemed to flatten both myself and others.

22nd.—Some good desires were attendant; good desires will not carry a man to heaven, but they proceed from heaven, and tend heaven-wards, as it is written, "It is God that worketh in you to will."

27th.—I attended Mims general meeting; divers friends ministered to a mixed auditory.

I was much shut up, as I usually am on such occasions; and may I never attempt to open by any efforts of my own.

Ninth month 1st.—The Parliament being dissolved, a general election is coming on; the devil cometh forth, and hell from beneath; the heart of man will be moved for him, to meet him at his coming. The present period is important and interesting beyond many others; but if it pleaseth infinite Wisdom to punish a people for their iniquities, it mattereth not whether it is done by one man or by many: but it becometh not the members of our Society to meddle much in those matters, or to be active in political disquisitions. Our duty and felicity consist in peaceably acquiescing in the all-wise determinations of Him, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men. In respect to elections, we ought to go no further than voting for the candidates we best approve, and declaring our preference of them, without endeavouring by any other means to influence others. "Israel is to dwell alone, and not to be mixed with the people."

6th.—An excellent letter dispersed, concerning the sin of perjury.

7th.—This day I voted for members to represent the borough of Hartford, in the ensuing Parliament. To the best of my knowledge, I maintained "a conscience void of offence," in the course of the contested election; only, by attending at the polling place the second day of the poll, for about two hours, contrary to the dictates of truth in my own mind, I became wounded: my religious exercise was obstructed, and death and darkness was the covering of my spirit for many days. Thus it pleaseth infinite Wisdom to visit for our unfaithfulness; sometimes even in, what may be esteemed by others, little things.

24th.—The forenoon meeting was large. This day sharp doctrine was delivered, and seemed in the general to be pretty well re-

ceived; the compassions which are in Christ Jesus being measurably prevalent.

29th.—Recollection in weakness was this day experienced.

30th.—A member of our Society having suffered his premises to be illuminated, I was induced to review the testimony of our ancient Friends against illumination,—a testimony I have ever approved and maintained with unremitting perseverance. At one season the fleshly part would have gladly joined in rejoicing after the flesh. From my being first convinced of sin, righteousness and judgment, I have been shy of receiving either doctrinal or practical truths upon trust, or only because others have received or believed them; my concern having rather been to try them by the law and the testimony—"the law of God after the inward man," and the precious testimonies of holy Writ. If all who profess the truth, as held forth by us who are called Quakers, were built upon the rock of divine and internal revelation, the rapid inroads of libertinism would be repelled, and deism extirpated. But the law written on the fleshly tables of the heart, the Scriptures of truth, and the advices of our brethren contained in their yearly meeting minutes, would, as a threefold cord, unite, and not easily be broken.

Tenth month 8th.—At the forenoon meeting, truth measurably prevailed in silence. I have often been fearful lest, in our Society, human reason, and the works of a mere moral and creaturely righteousness, should be substituted in the place of the law of faith and the new creation work; for according to the testimony of our truly learned and deeply experienced friend, Isaac Penington, "God is all in redemption; God doth all, as fully therein as in creation; it is a new creation; yet the creature quickened and renewed is in unity with him in its operations." Penington's Works, vol. i. p. 526. All boasting of supposed rectitude and self ability is excluded by the law of faith; if the most perfect compliance with its requisitions was attained, the reward would be not of debt, but of grace only; but every deviation from the line of duty merits death, and that condemnation which is most justly and rightfully the sinner's portion; as it is written, "The wages of sin is death."

16th.—As I walked in the fields, the following sentences concerning the incomprehensibility of the Supreme Being were suddenly impressed. "Touching the Almighty we cannot find him out." "He comprehends all things, but is comprehended by no man." "His ways are not as our ways, neither are his thoughts as our thoughts." "There is no searching of his understanding; he giveth power

to the faint, and to them who have no might he increaseth strength." What is to be feelingly and savingly known of him, is manifest in man, by the revelation of his Son Christ Jesus; as it is written, "He was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." And again, "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ; but we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us."

22nd.—Standing up pretty early in a meeting, I was soon doubtful of the rightness of my concern; or, at least, I was apprehensive of having stood up too soon.

28th.—I was much solicited to engage in a conference, between two Friends, respecting misconduct during the town election, but found no freedom to intermeddle with strife, my principal business at present being in the vineyard of my own heart. "My time is not yet come," said the Saviour to his immediate followers. The Lord's remark might not only relate to the matter then proposed, but might also be intended as a watch-word to his followers, throughout all generations. Many of our Society have suffered loss by hastily engaging in supposed services, both in the ministry and discipline, at the instigation of others, without duly waiting to feel their own way.

29th.—I went to the forenoon meeting at Hartford, in lowness of mind and pain of body; after some time of waiting, the nature of that charity, so emphatically described by the Apostle, 1 Cor. chap. xiii. fell very unexpectedly on my mind, and a short testimony was delivered respecting it. S. R. and S. W. afterwards appeared in a line somewhat similar; it was measurably a favoured season.

Eleventh month 1st.—A day of treading down in the valley of vision; "the heavens being as brass, and the earth as iron."

2nd and 3rd.—There is no journeying for Israel while the cloud remains upon the tabernacle; these have been days of clouds and thick darkness.

4th.—This day I was favoured with some glances towards that city, where neither sorrows exist, nor pains annoy.

9th.—I walked by the Grange to Shad Thames, with some desires after those comforts which are in love, and those consolations which are in Christ. May "the beloved of souls come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruits." "The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, gentleness, meekness, temperance and faith." They indeed are not profitable to God, nor meritorious in man; but the most

minute or inconsiderable movements, either in mind or body, even to the giving a cup of cold water, when performed by the leadings of divine life, are accepted; and the creature receives an answer of well done, through him, "who gave himself to God for us, as an offering and a sacrifice, for a sweet-smelling savour."

11th.—The simple and sublime are admirably blended in the prayer of Manasses, king of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon. I read it with some application to my own state.

18th.—Under pain of body and in distress of mind, I was favoured with some sense of those everlasting healings which are in the High Priest of our profession. "The leaves of the tree of life are for the healing of the nations."

22nd.—I was visited by my friend Thomas Hartley, who was just setting out for East Malling; peradventure, we may never more meet in mutability; a final adieu, in respect to time, may have this day been taken. The Park evening meeting was a solid and satisfactory season; some motions were presented for a public ministry, but this consideration crossing my mind—perhaps silence may be attended with a degree of firmness and propriety, but in speaking there may be folly and weakness—I readily received the intimation, and my exercise was continued in silence.

Twelfth month 1st.—In the monthly meeting, the quarterly meeting's queries were answered, and those present reminded of "the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the oxen." The low estate of our Society was lamented, and the manifold deviations which appear, in a conformity to the world, in speech, behaviour and apparel, and in respect to the antichristian yoke of tithes, were in much love and tenderness reproved.

20th.—The week-day meeting was held in silence: this expression occurred, "Their spot is not the spot of his children." Variance, wrath and strife are the spots of an enemy and his children, on whom his diabolical features are impressed. May I, in the multitude of the Lord's mercies, be fully purged from them! I afterwards received a letter from a minister in our Society, expressing a fear of being a castaway. "Thus deep calleth to deep."

22nd.—We possess many privileges; a considerable one is the cloud of witnesses, who, however diversified in character and sentiment, have united in testifying, "that the Lord is good to them who wait upon him, and to the soul that seeketh him."

28th.—In the Park evening meeting, some

inward exercise and labour of spirit were experienced; in it consists the essence of prayer. "God is a spirit;" he needs not the medium of words. "There is only one Mediator, who was manifest in the flesh, and offered himself a ransom for all;" but remains an everlasting High Priest in the sanctuary within.

First month 1st, 1781.—Since the commencement of the former year, the messenger on the pale horse, has arrested many, who, respecting age, were nearly my equals; their lot is for ever fixed; I still remain "in a land of pits and drought." "Without are fightings, within are fears." I may reasonably expect, from my age and various infirmities, that the days remaining will be few and evil. O! may not the spirit of prayer depart from me, but that the travail of my soul may be increased, until death is swallowed up in victory. Amen. I attended the monthly meeting of ministers and elders at Gracechurch street; some exercise of spirit was maintained; our worthy ancient friend, Isaac Sharpless, had an acceptable time in testimony.

4th.—The meeting this day was chiefly held in silence; I experienced some enlargement in silent prayer.

5th.—I pressed through the crowds, internally, to attend the week-day meeting at Gracechurch street; a lion was in the way: upon the whole it was a favoured season.

8th.—I attended the quarterly meeting at Devonshire house, and seven meetings in the week preceding: a necessary inquiry occurs; what improvement hath been experienced in the peaceable fruits of righteousness?

14th.—I had an inclination this day to sit with my friends at Devonshire house meeting, where some inward exercise was experienced, and openings were attendant in both meetings; but it seemed my proper business, rather to adhere to the inward exercise and the Great Opener, than to minister in those assemblies. Between the meetings, at J. R.'s, some time was spent in retirement, and I had unity with my friends in the exercise. The vision of the Holy One is not wholly suspended, "nor the glory departed from Israel," but dispensed as a seed sown in weakness. We see at times darkly, as through a glass; we know but in part, and prophecy but in part.

23rd.—During a time of retirement in a Friend's family, a watch-word was imparted, but nothing expressed; if the opening had been retained, it might have been the means of preserving me from some unnecessary discourse, which left me naked and wounded, and caused me to lie down in sorrow.

24th.—This day I read some of J. W.'s early journals, being before acquainted with

those of a later date. He appears from his early years a diligent seeker after truth, "not slothful in business, but fervent in spirit," serving the Lord according to the apprehensions of the present hour; not one of those, of whom the Lord speaks by the prophet Zephaniah i. 12; "I will punish the men that are settled upon their lees, that say in their hearts, the Lord will not do good, neither will he do evil." His great activity in thinking, and a hasty divulging of his present sentiments, hath undoubtedly led him into many inconsistencies and contradictions; not having sufficiently practised the thinking and speaking with deliberation, nor learned the spiritual import of these testimonies; "their strength is to sit still;" "in resting and returning shall ye be saved;" "in quietness your strength shall be." In each of his journals are many mistakes; but some instructions in righteousness; I cannot justify or condemn him altogether; I believe he means well: if I err, it is on the charitable side of the question; let them who think otherwise try their own spirits. This week I also perused the visions of John Engelbert, a Lutheran protestant, published by Frances Ohcley, of Northampton, a seeker after spiritual and vital religion. A belief or rejection of some particulars contained in them may be most safely suspended: however mistaken, he appears to have been one of great piety and devotion, a severe reprover of the formal priests and professors of that time; by which means he became subject to great persecutions. He was also opened into various points of doctrine, since promulgated by George Fox and many brethren, viz: The necessity of the Spirit's teaching, and the superior excellence thereof to the letter; the salvability of the heathen through Christ, and the internal operations of the Holy Ghost upon their spirits; the insufficiency of water baptism, and an external commemoration of the Lord's supper; bearing a faithful testimony to the one saving baptism and spiritual communion of the body and blood of Christ. In the writings of the mystics of former times, there appears to me a great mass of abstruse and unintelligible matter, and likewise some glimmerings of divine truth, answerable to the feelings thereof in my own mind, as "face to face in a glass." Let us therefore, who are called Quakers, be cautious how we adopt or reject in the lump, or at least join in the cry of enthusiasm or fanaticism; remembering those epithets were plentifully poured forth on our predecessors in profession, not only by the openly profane, but even by some serious professors, not themselves wholly strangers to inward and heartfelt experiences,

but shy of them in those not wholly of the same sentiments. Some inward concern and exercise of spirit hath been maintained, but at other times too much unprofitable discourse hath been attendant.

28th.—In the forenoon meeting, those present were recommended to an inward feeling after the immediate presence of Christ their Saviour; some other points of doctrine were also touched upon; it appeared a solid and favoured season. Having been some time absent in London, our friends and neighbours seemed pleased with our return. It is very agreeable to maintain the habits of good neighbourhood and esteem for each other; but infinitely preferable is "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." May it be increased and multiplied amongst us. Amen.

31st.—In the preceding night, unpleasant dreams attended; when I waked, I looked to the Lord, but thick clouds were before me.

Second month 4th.—In the forenoon meeting at Hartford, faith in God and Christ was recommended; as it is written, "ye believe in God, believe also in me."

5th.—In a meeting for discipline, my mind was oppressed under a sense of some present not sufficiently esteeming the sufferings of Christ, without the gates of Jerusalem, nor having fellowship with him in them; and of a dark, libertine spirit, that would trample upon those precious testimonies of the cross, delivered to George Fox and others, against that honour, the heathenish appellation of days and months, the unchristian language of you to a single person, and the calling of men, master, contrary to the express prohibition of our blessed Lord; "Be ye not called of men, master, for one is your Master, even Christ." Some well disposed Friends may, perhaps, have strengthened these libertines, by laying too great a stress on externals: "for in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth nor uncircumcision, but a new creature;" and if those called Quakers walked according to this rule, they would neither wear gay clothing, nor give flattering titles to men. Much expense and exactness in dress, sumptuous houses and costly furniture, comport not with the seamless garment of a crucified Saviour; who was himself the most perfect pattern of plainness, "and had not whereon to lay his head."

9th and 10th.—These days have I been in the deeps. "Deep hath called unto deep." All the waves and billows have gone over me.

11th.—"A grievous vision hath been declared unto me;" "My heart and my flesh faileth."

18th.—I went to the forenoon meeting in

great distress; but soon after sitting down was measurably relieved by an opening concerning a dead and a living faith; the former being barely an effort of the human understanding gathered from without, but the other proceeding from the operation of God upon the heart: the distinction was stated in a short testimony.

22nd.—This day I read the third part of the Pilgrim's Progress; I do not remember to have perused it for many years; it is not so united with the clouds of Calvinism as the other parts, which were written by honest John Bunyan; and as free from Arminian errors. The following sentiments respecting prayer are peculiarly just and striking. "Prayer is the soul's discourse or conversation with God: now, seeing God knoweth all things, and discerneth the secret thoughts of our hearts, it is a thing indifferent, in private prayer, whether we use words or not; for the soul may discourse and converse with God as well in silence as with words; nay, sometimes better;" in short, "my judgment is, that in respect to God's hearing us, it is all one whether we use words or not, either in public or private." Third part, bound, page 79-82.

28th.—During the course of the present month a little cloud arose, apparently no bigger than a man's hand, which hath thickened so as to darken the face of heaven, and pour down torrents of distress upon my poor soul. I have been broken by a tempest, and my wounds have been abundantly multiplied, but the great Superintendent of the universe "doeth all things well," his judgments are righteous altogether. We have all sinned, and fallen short of the glory of God; manifold have been the iniquities of my youth, and more advanced years: the Lord correcteth our transgressions with the rod and will not suffer our lives to go wholly unpunished. Blessed are they whose sins are recalled to their remembrance, and go beforehand to judgment, that the transgressors may be made white, and purged by the blood of the covenant. This day I again perused Joseph Ball's account of the dying sayings of his father-in-law, R. Reynolds, who had been nearly forty years a minister in our Society; and in his last illness was freshly awakened to a sense of sin, and brought to trust in Christ alone for salvation, who was made sin for us, "that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." The great sin of our deceased friend, appears to have been too great an attachment to, and assiduity after, the things of this world; that is not my foible; mine have been manifold.

Third month 12th.—Uneasiness and dis-

content were too prevalent. I was agreeably amused with Dr. Hurd's Tribute to the Memory of Dr. Fothergill; a worthy performance. The extent of Dr. Fothergill's application to professional pursuits, to physical and philosophical correspondences and benevolent communications, was indeed amazing; his encouragement of genius, in a further display and extension of the works of nature, was indeed respectable; but much more abundantly so was his attachment to some doctrines of the Christian religion, which, if not wholly rejected, are at least but lightly esteemed by divers who are renowned in the republic of letters. "I should think myself guilty of a neglect injurious to the memory of my deceased friend, did I not observe," says Dr. Hurd, "that he abhorred the prevalent infidelity of the age, and gloried in the name of Christian." He valued the Scriptures as the repository of divine truths; and was never ashamed of those grand fundamental doctrines,—salvation through the mediation of Jesus Christ, and sanctification through the influences of his Spirit; and thus, by believing in God, it appears by the preceding anecdotes, that our worthy friend was unremittingly careful to maintain good works. His steady adherence to some peculiar testimonies to the simplicity of the gospel, held forth by the Christian Society called Quakers, was also peculiarly exemplary; they being despised by too many of his fellow-professors, under the picture of more liberal and extensive ideas, who are themselves greatly his inferiors in that real liberality of heart and sentiment of which he was so eminently a possessor.

21st.—This day I have entered into the sixty-third year of my age,—an awful event; to many it hath proved the last of human life; perhaps before another I may be added to that number; but days and times, signs and season, are in the hand of the great Proprietor of the universe, who made the sea and the dry land, and man as a monument of his mercy.

23rd.—This day, that exercise has been maintained which is the essence of prayer, and which our Lord intended, when he said, "Watch ye therefore and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to stand before the Son of Man."

25th.—W. T. and M. P. appeared in testimony; something was freshly impressed upon my mind, but the meeting ended well, without any ministerial additions.

31st.—During the last month, some propriety in my outward conduct has been supported, an inward exercise and reading the holy Scriptures have been daily maintained; nevertheless, I am as a man that earneth

wages, to put it in a bag with holes; what spiritual profit is reaped in meetings, or out of them, is too much "as the early dew."

Fourth month 1st, first-day.—In the afternoon a spirit of poverty and penitence was recommended, in a short testimony.

4th.—At the week-day meeting, those present were directed to the inward appearance of Christ.

11th.—The duty of repentance, as it is written, "except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish," and of the mediation of Christ, as represented by the dresser of the vineyard, being powerfully impressed, was stated to those present; a door of utterance was measurably opened, and some solemnity seemed to attend.

13th.—I attended the funeral of W. M., from Horsleydown meeting; sundry acceptable testimonies were delivered, under which I sat with satisfaction; I hope, likewise, in some degree under the ministration of truth, internally, for my own profit. "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ," but would gladly proclaim to thousands the glad tidings of the gospel, if properly influenced thereto; "but no man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God." It is indeed somewhat strange that I should be so generally shut up from such an exercise, when my brethren in the ministry are present, or those not in profession with us, and have so frequently something to deliver by way of testimony amongst a few at Hartford; but who is sufficient for these things? "The wind bloweth where it listeth." "He that hath the key of David openeth, and no man shutteth;" but when he shutteth, no man ought to attempt to open.

15th.—"Christ was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification." I sat under some solemn impressions thereof, and of the necessity of believers being quickened together with him; but felt no necessity to utter words.

22nd.—The forenoon meeting was large, and Friends were recommended to the word of reconciliation within.

28th.—The spirit of prayer hath this day been obstructed by unnecessary converse, which it ought not to have been. "If any man doeth the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine;" and again, "if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth:" hence it appears, that doing the will of God is necessary to render prayer acceptable. The will of God is our sanctification; the sanctification of our hearts and mouths, as it is written, "Lo, this hath touched thy lips, thy iniquity is taken away, thy sin is purged." Iniquity is not only to be

taken away by remission and non-imputation, but sin is to be purged by real renovation; in order to our becoming the sons of God without rebuke. "In your patience possess ye your souls," was the command of the great Master to his immediate followers, and remains obligatory on us; not only in the case of national and public calamities, but also in respect to those domestic inquietudes, which "arise not out of the dust."

Fifth month 7th.—"With my spirit within me will I seek thee early," said one formerly. I am convinced of the propriety of the exercise and the universality of its obligation, and to will is present with me. In my way to the monthly meeting at Stortford, amidst much weakness of flesh and spirit, some hoverings of the Anointed seemed to attend. I was unwilling to shut out the true Opener, or what might proceed from him; but, at the same time, shy of any particular impressions of the matter; being ever desirous of entering religious assemblies "neither bearing purse nor scrip," or aught but a sense of my own poverty. In coming home, some unnecessary altercations would have presented, which were through grace measurably repressed.

11th.—I was again at Stortford, at a meeting appointed for our worthy friends Mary Ridgeway and Jane Watson, who returned with us to our house at Hartford.

13th.—Mary Ridgeway and her companion delivered acceptable testimonies, both in the morning and afternoon meetings. Mary Ridgeway in the forenoon recommended occupations which were diligently and prosperously practised by our worthy ancestors, viz: digging and begging: a lively and pertinent opening, on which she was enlarged with strength and propriety.

19th.—Mental prayer and reading the holy Scriptures have of late been practised; it is true that the bare "letter killeth," but a diligent, and I think almost a daily attention to these sacred records is the duty of all; not so much with a view of immediate satisfaction and sensible comfort, neither with a view of laying up any stock in our memory, but in a dependence on the Spirit that quickeneth. The ministers in our Society are particularly recommended to be conversant in them, by the yearly meeting 1702 and 1706. Nevertheless they ought to have no treasury but the divine gift,—"the well of water springing up into everlasting life."

23rd.—Being much indisposed in body, I attended the week-day meeting with little expectation of life or labour; sitting down in great nothingness, a desire was impressed that all present might be earnestly seeking after that salvation which is only attainable through

Jesus Christ, for the remission of their sins, and the sanctification of their natures;—a perseverance in the exercise, as set forth in the parable of the unjust judge and the importunate widow, were much illustrated in my mind. The children seemed to be brought to the birth, but there was neither strength nor freedom verbally to bring forth; towards the close, I was freshly convinced that a ministration of the Spirit in one individual may reach also to others, without words.

28th.—In a meeting for discipline, I sat in pain and bowedness of spirit, under a sense of formality and libertinism being too prevalent in our Society; some resting too much at ease in the form, and a pretty punctual compliance with it; and others trampling on the witness in themselves, and the precious testimonies of truth, in respect to speech, behaviour and apparel; esteeming them little things, or the productions of enthusiasm. Thus hath the outward court been trodden under foot by the Gentiles. Instead of an inquiry, “what shall we do to be saved,” a language has been substituted by the formalist and libertine: “The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, are these;” “what shall we eat, what shall we drink, and where-withal shall we be clothed?”

30th.—I came from Hartford to London, in order to attend the yearly meeting.

Sixth month 9th.—I returned from London to Hartford; the preceding yearly meeting had, in its several sittings, both for ministers and elders, for business and public worship, been measurably favoured with the attendance of that divine power which gathered us to be a people. May a frequent and customary speaking of the life and power never be substituted instead of the thing itself; it being as possible to adopt a roaded use of such mode of expression, as of any other; but may it really be the crown and covering of our assemblies at all times, and our glory for ever.

23rd.—The fruits of righteousness have been of late measurably sown in peace; this evening, condemnation for unnecessary discourse was attendant.

Seventh month 1st.—Our worthy friend Sarah Crawley, of Hitchin, attended both meetings. In the evening, our friend W. S., of this town, very suddenly departed this life. I attended his funeral, which was large, on the 8th. When I heard of his decease, he having been for some months indisposed, I became doubtful whether I had not been deficient in the visiting of him, and waiting for the renewal of divine help and counsel. It is certainly a duty to visit the sick, and sit with them; but in such sittings words have been expected, and they have been, per-

haps, too frequently uttered in a customary manner amongst us, as well as others.

13th.—Unprofitable disputations grievously prevailed; we should never speak any thing but truth; and frequently no advantage accrues from speaking of what we most firmly believe to be the truth; speaking often is folly, when in silence there is strength.

14th.—I have lately perused, to my satisfaction, and, I hope, spiritual advantage, sundry treatises published in the last century, composed by Roman Catholics and Puritans. I am glad to reap “the grape-gleanings of the vintage” from every quarter, considering the Lord’s vineyard to be of a great extent, and “his commandment to be exceeding broad:” “there standing before the throne, of all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, clothed in white robes, and having palms in their hands, ascribing salvation unto God and unto the Lamb.” It is a great weakness in the Calvinists, and perhaps in some others, that they reject every thing that is not coined in their own mint, and reduced to the standard of a supposed orthodoxy: they may indeed narrow and limit themselves and their fellow-creatures, but they cannot limit the Lord of Hosts; his ways are illimitable, “and his thoughts are not as their thoughts;” “the glorious Lord being a place of broad rivers and streams.”

17th.—I was under condemnation for speaking too freely on various occasions; in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin, and what causeth sin causeth sorrow. The Lord is more pure than to behold iniquity. “Salvation is only of grace, through faith.” But every work and secret thing shall be brought into judgment before a more perfect tribunal than that of human prudence and partiality. “Wash thou me, O Lord, and I shall be clean;” purge thou me with the blood of sprinkling, “that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.”

18th.—Being afflicted with pain of body, these aspirations attended; Lord, sanctify the chastening of my flesh, that my spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.

25th.—A silent meeting, with the illustration of these words, “He that doeth evil hateth the light.”

26th.—Before dinner, in Morgan’s Walk, with feebleness, and amidst interruption, these ejaculations were inwardly uttered; Lord, sanctify; purify; that I may be perfected in holiness, according to the measure of my faith in Christ. This day and yesterday have been spent pretty satisfactorily, although not without defects. In the midst of bodily and mental pain, may my looking be more and more unto him who was made perfect through

sufferings; not as to the purity of his own nature, for he was the immaculate Lamb who knew no sin; but in respect to the appointments and designations of the Father, for the redemption of mankind through him, and that he might be the more gloriously opened as a fountain, not only to the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, but to the whole race of Adam, for sin and uncleanness.

30th.—This day being the summer assizes, the judge came in. I am likely soon to appear before the Judge of the whole earth; at so important a crisis, some are ready to say, we have faith, and others, we have works. I can boast of neither, but can only say, "Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief;" thou canst fulfil all the good pleasure of thy goodness, and the work of faith with power; thy mercy reacheth the depth of misery; righteousness and strength are with thee, and one day is as a thousand years.

Eighth month 8th.—The following aspirations were attendant; Lord, spare me yet a little longer, that I may obtain an increase of strength and faith in thee; the work is thine: reform also my exterior conduct, shew forth my faith by my works; "Instead of the thorn may the myrtle appear." Let thy works praise thee, and thy long suffering be salvation.

25th.—Some feelings after the meekness and gentleness which are in Christ Jesus were this day attendant. I read divers accounts of such, who, near the conclusion of their lives, obtained an evidence of peace with God, through Jesus Christ.

31st.—After a deeply-exercising night, in which the alarm of death was as loud within as the tempest without, I wrote out a fresh copy of my Will, which I design to get speedily executed. I have nothing to boast of, but many backslidings bitterly to bewail; nevertheless, since I have possessed some outward substance, I have been desirous to expend it in the most equitable manner I could, and that my fellow creatures, both professor and profane, might partake of the benefit; and my own reputation, as an individual, hath been pretty much absorbed in the consideration of my religious profession, that none might have any cause to reproach the blessed truth, as having a narrow, illiberal, and selfish tendency.

Ninth month 12th.—I was attended with pain of body and lowness of mind; a distinction betwixt the life of faith and the life of sense was the object of my meditation. I have lived more than three-score years, too much after the bias of my senses, at least in those things that are esteemed innocent by men.

"The life that I now live," said the blessed apostle, "is by the faith of the Son of God:" almost daily desires after the experience thereof have attended for more than forty years; yet I remain to this day too great a stranger to the full enjoyment of that "life which is hid with Christ in God." O may I daily experience an increase in it! that when he, who is the life of his people, shall appear, I also may appear with him.

14th.—It hath long been my judgment, that the circulating of reports, which, in any wise, have a tendency to depreciate others, is inconsistent with our Christian duty; the mortifying our natural propensities, in that respect, is certainly a branch of the Cross of Christ, and compatible with his spirit and precepts. Great, indeed, even in this particular, is the prevalence of the law in the members against that of the mind, and of corrupt propensity over a more rightly informed judgment.

25th.—Having been for some time past pretty much confined, I had an opportunity of perusing some tracts, lately published, written by my long acquainted friend Joseph Phipps; in which our religious sentiments concerning baptism, Christian communion, silent waiting, oaths, fasting, and rejoicing, are stated and supported. The great error of the Calvinists, and those called remonstrants, or predestinarians and free-willers, has been in endeavouring to reduce the deep mysteries of the incorruptible God, into an image or system made in the likeness, and after the manner of corruptible men; and so seeking, by the arts and devices of their own hearts, to elucidate the ways and works of an infinite Creator by those of finite creatures:—a most vain and fruitless effort, replete with absurdity, and inconsistent with the express declaration of the Lord Jehovah, "Let the wicked forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and turn to the Lord, and he will have mercy, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon;" "for my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord; for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."

Tenth month 9th.—Being, without my knowledge, nominated to attend the Meeting for Sufferings, as one of the committee of the yearly meeting, in considering and digesting the Book of Extracts, containing rules and advices relative to our religious Society, I went from Hartford to London.

Eleventh month 6th.—This day the committee on the Book of Extracts was dissolved for the present, having sat from the 19th of last month inclusively. I was enabled to attend pretty closely; my lips were generally

sealed in silence, but some inward exercise of spirit was at times experienced for the revival of the law and the testimony, that Zion might be redeemed by judgment, and established in righteousness. How good is it for brethren to dwell together in unity, and to be preserved from anger, wrath, clamour, envy, and evil-speaking; which favours were measurably experienced in the course of the foregoing service. Thanks to the God of Peace, and Master of Assemblies, to whom the glory of every good word and work belongs, now and for ever.

20th.—Myself and wife dined at Youngsbury: after dinner I had some discourse with David Barclay concerning that excellent man and skilful minister of Christ, his grandfather, and the elaborate Apology he wrote for the true Christian Divinity: his memory I much esteem, for the evangelical testimonies contained in that work, and the distinctions between the doctrines of truth and Calvinistical and Pelagian errors. May none, professing with us, forsake “the Fountain of living waters,” who thus speaketh; “If any man is athirst, let him come unto me and drink,” and turn not aside to the corrupted channels of carnal reason and creaturely power; for if so, “the strong shall be as tow, and the maker of it as a spark,” when the Lord shall shake terribly the earth, and exalt his only-begotten Son, as the refuge of the poor, and “strong hold of the daughter of Zion.”

22nd.—I read the 3rd and 4th chapters of the prophet Daniel; in the former, there appears a striking instance of the tyranny of despotic princes, in the person of the king of Babylon, his unreasonable requisitions of the Chaldeans, and his tyrannous decree concerning them, because they were unable to comply therewith. Equally arbitrary and irrational was the command of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to the children of Israel, to make brick when their usual allotment of straw was withheld. The mighty Lord and Ruler of princes, “the blessed and only potentate,” “the King of kings, and Lord of lords,” dealeth not so with his creatures. He hath, indeed, a right to do what he pleaseth with his own; and who will say to him, “What doest thou?” His works, indeed, are marvellous, and “past finding out;” but “just and true are all his ways.” There is also exhibited a striking instance of the divine superintendence, and the faithfulness of the Almighty to them who trust in him, in the preservation of Shadrach, Mesheck, and Abednego, in the midst of the fiery furnace; because they would not serve the gods of Nebuchadnezzar, nor worship the graven image he had set up.

25th.—“What shall I render to the Lord

for all his benefits? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord.” In an introversion of the heart to God, in mental supplication, and the breathing of the Spirit, which “maketh intercession with groanings which cannot be uttered,” consists the essence of all acceptable prayer and praise.

Twelfth month 1st.—I remembered the patriarch Jacob, who set up the stone and anointed the pillar. ‘The Lord of Hosts is his memorial.

5th.—Appeared at the week-day meeting; but omitting to close at a proper time, when a pointing so to do was internally presented, and proceeding to utter a few more expressions, flatness and uneasiness ensued. O the spiritual skillfulness, distinction and propriety, which ought ever to attend the exercise of a gospel ministry! What was predicted of the Holy Head also appertaining in measure to the members; “he shall be quick of understanding in the fear of the Lord;” “but who is sufficient for these things?”

21st.—I was favoured with some internal direction to “the cloud of witnesses,” and Jesus, the author and finisher of their faith, who is entered within the veil.

23rd.—I was desirous of attending the quarterly meeting at Hartford, but was prevented by indisposition from going thither until this day. On the journey I was favoured with some renewed convictions of the benefit and excellence of waiting upon the Lord in silence; in it consists the very essence and marrow of prayer, of which, words the most fitly spoken, are only a signification. Upon a mature investigation of the New Testament, I can perceive no obligation on believers to keep the first-day of the week. By divine direction, the seventh was ordained as a sabbath to Israel after the flesh, “whilst the first tabernacle was yet standing,” and the transgressors of the divine command were to be judged with a legal and rigorous severity: but when “the Word was made flesh,” and magnified as the glorious rest and hiding place of his people, we find the apostle Paul contending for the liberty of the gospel, and prohibiting the saints in Christ Jesus from judging one another, in respect of an holy day, or the new moon, or the sabbath days; which, says he, “are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.” Nevertheless, I greatly disapprove of travelling on the first-day of the week, to the neglecting of our religious assemblies for divine worship; it being highly conducive to a proper discharge both of divine and moral duties, that one day in the seven should be peculiarly appropriated to sacred purposes.

31st.—The last day of the year 1781. Another year has now been added to my life, but in the due improvement of it I have been too deficient. How wonderfully have I been preserved; even from my youth upwards, my life hath been a life of wonders, inwardly and outwardly: when I look back, I am filled with astonishment. What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits and innumerable mercies, which have been more than the hairs of my head!

First month 1st, 1782.—This day we made a feast, consistent with our Lord's direction: although not in every respect literally so, I would maintain a spirit of hospitality and becoming liberality towards all; but the feasts of our Lord's institution are the most satisfactory to those who are desirous of being his disciples.

6th.—In the forenoon meeting, a testimony was delivered to the universal grace and benignity of the Supreme Being, and that healing, and salvation which is in Jesus Christ, according to what is written; "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up," that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.

27th.—At Horsleydown meeting, in the forenoon, my mind, after a time in silent waiting was strongly impressed with a sense of the divine omniscience and compassionate notice of Him, who "beheld Nathaniel under the fig-tree." The matter remaining with weight, a few words were spoken relative thereto.

30th.—The week-day meeting at Gracechurch street was a solid and satisfactory season; my mind was powerfully impressed with a sense of the great mercy of the Supreme Being, in the forgiveness of sins, and the indispensable obligation, which we mortals are under, of forgiving one another, as it is written, "and forgive us our sins, as we forgive those who are indebted to us." The meeting was chiefly held in silence, M. P. only appearing in a short, but very acceptable testimony.

Second month 4th.—I attended the meeting of ministers and elders at Gracechurch street, which was to me a season of humiliation, and of treading down in the valley of vision. I remembered the humiliating language of one formerly, who was ordained a prophet to the nations; "Ah, Lord God! behold, I cannot speak, for I am a child." Such a sense of natural and creaturely impotence, notwithstanding any gifts or qualifications which may have been possessed, ought to be the frequent experience of every one concerned in the work of the ministry. Towards the close of

the sitting, our ancient friend, Thomas Corby, delivered a pertinent exhortation.

6th.—Unprofitable discourse prevailed. "The tongue is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison, which no man can tame."

11th.—As my fathers were, so am I, a sojourner here, and my days are passing over more swiftly than a weaver's shuttle; "this is my infirmity, but I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High," his wonders which have been of old; "and him who is an high priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedeck;" in whom "death is swallowed up in victory." May my desire and hope of salvation be in him, although I am a dwarf in Israel, and far short of having attained a proper growth, in the "measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

12th.—This day, being commonly called Shrove Tuesday, I considered those seasons which were set apart by the church of Rome for peculiar purposes of devotion, and in commemoration of certain signal events, relative to the redemption of the human race: many of that communion very conscientiously and piously adhered to them, not only in respect to the outward observance, but also to what passeth within; the latter ought also to be our concern at all times, that we might experience, indeed, a holy day to the Lord, and an acceptable fast, in ceasing from sin, from anger, and wrath, clamour, envy and evil speaking; as likewise from an inordinate gratification of our palates in meats and drinks, and whatever else is inconsistent with the gospel of Christ.

17th.—In the afternoon meeting I perceived a disposition to catch at sundry passages of holy Writ, which passed as it were the surface of my mind in such a transient, superficial succession, as not only to be unprofitable, but painful; however, I was preserved in silence, with some desires after living substance.

Third month 10th.—I sat down in the forenoon meeting in lowness; but in silent waiting, matter was presented relative to my own state, which afterwards seemed to extend to others; but other ministers being present, I was loath to break in upon their silent waiting, or what might be upon their minds to offer to the people. We are not to have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons, nor the exercise of our ministry according to our own time and will. Yet "the Lord is a God of order;" and there is justly a "preferring one another in love, wherein the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets." Reduced and small as the number of ministers

in our Society now is, if a similar care was at all times prevalent, the dignity and decorum of our religious Society would be better maintained. Two Friends afterwards delivered acceptable testimonies.

11th.—I attended a meeting of the Watton trust; the matter under consideration was, the dismissal of the toll gatherers for a supposed breach of trust; one of them appearing, made but a poor defence; nay, out of his own mouth he was condemned. If the Judge of the whole earth should mark iniquities with severity in the day of a righteous retribution, who could stand before him, “whose eyes are as a flame of fire, and his voice as the sound of many waters?” This remark is not intended to annul the distinctions betwixt right and wrong, the praise which is due to moral virtue, or the censure which may be properly applied to the breach thereof. In my own conscience I stand justified from infidelity in the unrighteous mammon; but being at the same time convicted of how much I am indebted to the Lord, for want of a due improvement of his manifold grace, my soul was humbled within me; and I withdrew without annexing my signature to the order for his dismissal.

20th.—This day was closed the sixty-third year of my age; a period I did not expect to have passed; it hath been a year of various distresses and desolations; I have been brought down to the sides of the pit, and lifted up. How wonderful are the works of God, who maketh all; “his ways are past finding out.”

31st.—This day is observed by the churches of Rome and England, in commemoration of the Lord Christ, “who was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification.” It is written in the Scripture, “Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.” How few among the various sects in Christendom are concerned in heart so to do! Notwithstanding their appointed fasts and feasts, their loud boastings of justification by Christ, and pompous praises of virtue and moral rectitude, in their hearts they regard iniquity.

Fourth month 5th.—Walking in the Grange, and parts adjacent, and reviewing scenes and places with which I had been acquainted in early youth, I became profitably recollected in spirit, in a sense of the promised Seed, by whose mediatorial influence I have been preserved to this day, when many of my cotemporaries are unalterably stationed in regions unexplorable by us who are on this side Jordan. May I, together with many brethren, be concerned, as at the eleventh hour of the day, with much spiritual travail and great searchings of heart, to seek, as treasure hid

in a field, “Christ in us the hope of glory,” “who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification;” being according to the flesh of the seed of David; but who is God over all blessed for ever. And as our ancient friend, George Fox, used to testify concerning him, “Christ Jesus the true seed, both in the male and female! the head of the body, the church!”

7th.—I was under some difficulty respecting what meetings I should attend, or whether any, being low in mind and indisposed in body. I looked towards divers, but there was a giant in the way. I was in some degree peaceably recollected at Gracechurch street, in the forenoon, and Westminster, in the afternoon; but silent in both: by accident this evening, hearing one speak of that “hope” that “maketh not ashamed,” he declared that the foundation of it was God, Christ, his blood, righteousness, and spirit; that the subject was the awakened sinner, who despairing of any other means of salvation, casts himself on God and Christ; and having this hope, Christ in him, is purified, “even as he is pure.” To me, a degree of spiritual savour and soundness seemed to attend the remarks. I was thankful for the preservations and favours of the day.

17th.—Openings respecting divine things were plentifully attendant. What is rightly opened may be both profitable and pleasant, but not at all times “lawful to be uttered.” The day of the Lord is to be on all “pleasant pictures,” for their probation.

22nd.—I read part of an essay on the present state of England; an excellent political performance; the author possessing clear ideas, and adducing strong proofs of former errors, and prejudging those which may hereafter happen, in case Providence should permit a spirit of pride and intoxication still to prevail, for a further punishment upon the inhabitants of this nation.

24th.—In the week-day meeting, a testimony was delivered concerning that purity of heart, which is the righteousness of faith; as it is written, “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.”

28th.—In the forenoon-meeting, those present were recommended to seek after an experimental knowledge of the truth. After sitting long in the afternoon meeting, in much heaviness, very unexpectedly some matter was powerfully impressed, with a pointing for a public ministry: a minister not belonging to our meeting being present, for fear of interrupting any concern he might be under, I kept the concern to myself, until the proper time for speaking passed over. Neither did the other friend appear.

Fifth month 1st.—Two testimonies were delivered, recommending to a state of inward poverty; as the reverse to that Laodicean fulness, which was so severely reproved by the “faithful and true witness.”

8th.—Great was the distress and perturbations of my mind during the early part of the week-day meeting; afterwards some solemnity attended in silence, and under the acceptable ministry of R. Valentine. O for more fervency of spirit, and striving to enter in at the strait gate!

18th.—Some pertinent advices were delivered in the yearly meeting of ministers and elders; and a language passed through my mind, “O Lord God, forgive, I beseech thee! by whom shall Jacob arise, for he is small.”

22nd.—At dinner we were unexpectedly visited by our ancient friend Thomas Hartley; probably the last time: he appearing to be much emaciated, and his countenance languid and meagre; but attended with a fresh and lively sense of vital and experimental religion. Retiring with him from some company who were present, he expressed himself in much tenderness of spirit, to the following effect: “O my dear friend! I have lately passed through many fiery trials and deep baptisms, such as I had never before fully experienced: all the secret and concealed sins of my former life, even many which had passed unnoticed, have been brought to light and set in order before me. I have been laid more low than ever before the throne; and so humbled in a sense of my own nothingness, that I could stoop even to the meanest of my fellow creatures. But I hope these severe dispensations have been for my further purification, and meetness for that rest and glory, which will be the fruition of sanctified spirits to all eternity.” In the year 1776, I was introduced to a personal acquaintance with him, by a worthy minister in our own Society, and esteem the same one of the blessings of my advanced years, for which I am accountable to the Author of every good gift. He lived some years in the neighbourhood of Hartford, and left a sweet savour behind him, both among rich and poor. It was my lot to differ much from him in my natural disposition, and also in some points to which he was much attached; but he sought not so much to promote the sentimental part of religion, as the life of righteousness, and the experimental knowledge of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; which crucifies to the corrupt propensities of fallen nature, and produces the fruits of the Spirit, which are love, “peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.”

29th.—The yearly meeting at Hartford was small, by reason of the prevalence of

disease. The ministry of our worthy ancient friend, Isaac Sharpless was singularly distinguished with brightness; his matter being evangelical, and his expressions correct, nervous and animated.

Sixth month 1st.—The reports already recorded may rather seem of a discouraging nature, and not dissimilar to those of the evil spies formerly; “there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak,” “and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers;” “the cities are great, and walled up to heaven.” O! that I might yet more possess the spirit of Caleb and Joshua, who followed the Lord fully, and through faith and patience inherited the promised land.

7th.—Early in the morning, being pretty easy in body and mind, I remembered the Lord, to whom mercies and forgiveness belong.

9th.—Towards the close of the forenoon meeting, some matter was opened, but I was most easy to leave the people to the great Opener, who opens, when, where, and what he pleaseth; and without whose inspeaking Word, the voice of all outward preachers is but as “sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.”

10th.—This day, unexpectedly and unsought for by me, I had a conference with a warm Calvinist, who seemed to lay an unwarrantable stress on the peculiar tenets of that sect; and to be too much a stranger to that meekness and benignity, which peculiarly characterize the religion of him, who came not “to destroy men’s lives, but to save them.” I asserted Christ to be the only means of salvation and “the Lord our righteousness;” both in respect to his meritorious and propitiatory transactions in the flesh, and his being revealed within, as the hope of glory. To the former part of the proposition he heartily assented; but appeared too great a stranger to the mystery which had been hid from ages and generations, “but is now made manifest to the saints.” I spoke only the words of truth and soberness, as they are set forth in the Holy Scriptures, Robert Barclay’s Apology, and the writings of other faithful men: but I fear neither myself nor friend were sufficiently baptised into an inward and immediate feeling of the things which were spoken.

11th.—As I was walking in the evening, agreeably with what was expressed in the conference of yesterday, in a degree of the immediate feeling, the language of our worthy friend, Isaac Penington, was inwardly uttered; “None but Christ; none but Christ, can my soul say, from a sense of my continual need of him.” Not only as he was a propi-

tiation without me, but as a light within me: "for in him was life, and the life is the light of men." And not only by the report of what he hath done for them, without them, but by his immediate presence and saving help, are the souls of the desolate and distressed led, at seasons, to trust in him, who, for their sanctification, "suffered without the gate."

28th.—As I was walking in the fields, it was immediately suggested, that the doctrine of the divine decrees and final perseverance, as set forth by John Calvin, and which are so strenuously supported by his partisans, have a strong tendency to promote a spirit of pride, self preference, and security, in those who suppose themselves the favoured subjects. On the other hand, believers, who hold the doctrine of universal redemption and remission, through the blood of Christ, are equally interested in the promises: especially reprehensible are such among them, who judge as heretical and inimical to the gospel, all who cannot coincide with their sentiments on those points.

Seventh month 15th.—An intended journey to Tooley street had afforded me some prospect of satisfaction; but, alas! every pleasing vision vanisheth. Indeed, what views of sublimity satisfaction can be reasonably entertained, when past the grand climacterick. But even to the very latest hour of human life, how propense are mortals to the illusions of a world that perisheth; how obscure their views, and dull their movements, towards the "good land that is beyond Jordan; that goodly mountain and Lebanon."

28th.—In the meetings at Hartford, matter was impressed with a pointing to the people; but I was loath to stand up hastily; an exercise under religious openings being, at times, as profitable to those present as the expressing of them; "that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." In the afternoon I had no clearness to utter any thing, until the usual time of sitting was expired, and then thought it most expedient to omit delivering what was before me. The Spirit of truth, and the ministry which in any degree proceeds therefrom, is not to be limited by a dial or hour-glass; yet "wisdom is profitable to direct," and "is justified of her children."

Eighth month 10th.—For some days past, I have been deeply affected with a sensibility of the poverty, emptiness, and dryness of human nature, when devoid of that faith which is by the life of the Son of God, who came that we might have life, and that we might have it more abundantly. "His foundation

is in the holy mountains;" "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God."

15th.—I went to the evening meeting in much poverty and emptiness, possessing nothing; but remembering, with a degree of freshness, that when the Lord Jesus went into the synagogue, the book of the prophet Isaiah being delivered unto him, he read that which is written; "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, and to heal the broken hearted:" and the eyes of the people were fastened on him. Some desires also attended, that the attention of those present might be fixed on Christ, who is "a high priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec;" and who, not only for the short space he was on earth, but throughout all generations, is graciously appointed to "preach the gospel to the poor," and "to bind up the broken hearted." A diffidence was prevalent, lest, by speaking, the solemnity which seemed to attend should be by any means diminished; and other Friends were more ready to deliver what was before them. On the whole it seemed a favoured season.

19th, first-day.—Being low in mind, and indisposed in my health, I spent the forenoon in Tooley street; and in my retirement received a renewed conviction, that "what is to be known of God is manifest within," by the immediate revelation of Jesus Christ: for, although the invisible things of him may be understood by the things that are made, yet these exterior demonstrations of his eternal power and Godhead are rather adapted to the reasoning, than the feeling, part in man; and being objects of the understanding, rather than the heart, can never afford a soul-satisfactory evidence to deep, inward, exercised seekers. The Holy Scriptures, being written by the inspiration of God, are profitable for doctrine, correction and instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be furnished to all good works. Yet they are of themselves a dead letter, and unable to give life, only as they are opened by "the Spirit that quickeneth;" and then they are precious, inestimably precious, beyond all words which have been written: a single sentence of them, so imparted, being much more profitable and edifying to the inward man, than long and elaborate discourses, or the voluminous productions of men. When in a state of darkness, distress, and uncertainty, our attention ought therefore to be inwardly turned to Him, who "hath the key of David;" who, in the days of his flesh, commiserated the poor and distressed among the people, inviting them on this wise; "Come unto me, all ye that labour

and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." The doctrine taught by some, that the Scriptures are the only rule of faith and practice, and may be sufficiently understood by the light of reason, is therefore equally erroneous and uncomfortable. At Grace-church street, in the afternoon, I was exercised under some lively impressions of the foregoing truths, without any pointing to impart them to those present.

20th of eighth month to the 13th of ninth month.—I was, by Dr. Hooper's direction, almost wholly confined in a reclining posture, by reason of a broken shin. No chastening is joyous; nevertheless, if thereby the peaceable fruits of righteousness are in any measure produced, there is abundant cause for thankfulness to the all-wise Disposer of events. During this afflictive dispensation, my mind has been covered with a deep and humbling sense of the manifold errors of my past life; and in some degree favoured to seek after the spring of mercy and forgiveness, the Lord and giver of life, and his Son Christ Jesus, in whom is life, and "the life is the light of men." In a reading of the holy Scriptures, some inward feeling of the truths in them contained was at times experienced. From my youth upward, I have been frequently conversant in the Christian pattern by Thomas à Kempis; and particularly so in the elegant translation of it by my esteemed friend, John Payne. By a secret pointing in my own mind, I was incited again to peruse it: the striking descriptions of creaturely depravity and impotence were consonant with my own experience, and heartfelt sensations within; and the testimonies, not only to the power of a merciful Creator, but to his readiness to relieve the most weak and destitute, were as "good news from a far country." Divers other books were measurably profitable; as *Hearts Ease*, in *Hearts Trouble*, by John Bunyan, and some other of his tracts, in which the marks of a day of grace not being finally closed are set forth. The sentiments in them expressed, in my opinion, not comporting with that strict and rigid Calvinism which the author professed; but rather with the gracious declaration of the great Master, concerning a favoured people formerly; "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!" "if thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes."

23rd.—A contested election happening this

day in the Borough of Southwark, I was burdened in spirit, by hearing much, and speaking unnecessarily, concerning it.

Tenth month 12th.—I was low and distressed in mind, being also indisposed in my health. For the greatest part of my time, pains and indispositions have been my frequent companions; and how can any long respite be expected from them at so advanced a period of life. Lord, make me peaceable and patient when in pain, and thou shalt have the praise.

17th.—In the morning watch, upon my bed, these words were impressed with power; to them "who believe, he is precious;" and were divers times renewed in the course of the day. O! may I, amidst declining years and increasing infirmities, experience the preciousness of Christ; to whom coming, as to a living stone, disallowed of men; but who is the High Priest and Teacher of saints; their light and their atonement.

20th.—In a meeting at Hartford, some matter was freshly imparted with a pointing for the ministry, but I was fearful of interrupting the solemnity in silence. In the evening, I read in the family a memorial, in manuscript, which I received from Isaac Gray, concerning Dorothy Barham, of Bedford; who was a member of the Moravian congregation there, and appears to have been a humble, pious, and devoted servant of Christ Jesus. There is an uttering of words without knowledge, to the darkening of counsel; there is a scattering and yet increasing, and there is a withholding more than is meet, which tendeth to poverty. But who is sufficient for these things?

26th.—For some time past have I earnestly sought to serve the law of God; the spirit hath been willing to serve the law of God: the spirit hath been willing, but the flesh weak. "O Lord! I am oppressed, undertake for me:" thou tookest upon thee "our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses," and art "able to save to the uttermost."

Eleventh month 2nd.—"What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?" In the sixty-fourth year of my age, and amidst great desolations, both of flesh and spirit, I humbly hope the gentle attractions of heavenly love are measurably drawing me to the Lord Jesus Christ; the great Prophet and High Priest of his people; who declared in the days of his flesh, "No man can come to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him." "And he that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." How ignorant are mankind of the great "mystery which hath been hid from ages and generations." Many are indeed professing faith in the coming of Christ, and

his death, and sufferings; and some, likewise, of his being an inward teacher, and the true light which lightens every man; who have no more experimental knowledge of these important truths than either Jews or heathens. They may have, indeed, at times, experienced the convictions of the Spirit of truth for sin, and heard his voice, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock:" but they have not desired the knowledge of his ways; and therefore having eyes, they see not; having ears, they hear not; neither do understand the things which belong to their peace. O! that I had the tongue of an angel, and a voice to extend from "pole to pole," to declare "the unsearchable riches of Christ:" but "I am a child, and cannot speak," my "strength is to sit still."

11th.—On reading William Dewsbury and A. Boehm on Regeneration, I appeared far short of having attained that love and perfection which is in Christ Jesus. I have long professed, pressed after, and even at times preached, the new birth; but being myself weighed in the balance, I am found wanting. A divine call hath often gone forth, Go into my vineyard and work. Nevertheless, dissipation hath been too prevalent, and an undue attention to sublunary engagements; although perhaps, for the most part at least, those which are inoffensive in the estimation of men. But, the Lord looketh not as man looketh; "he requireth the whole heart." I have answered not feignedly, but with the whole desire of my heart, "I go."

16th.—Bodily pain this week hath almost continually attended. I have gone mourning all the day long. When I have looked for light, behold thick darkness, "and on my eye-lids hath been the shadow of death." "But God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." Christ Jesus is "the true light which lightens every man:" and in the celestial regions, on the other side Jordan, there is no night; for the Lord God "and the Lamb is the light thereof."

24th.—This day, visiting an ancient and long-acquainted friend, she expressed convictions for sin, and particularly for having been too much at ease. The friend, likewise, although far advanced in years, signified the being now afraid to die; which I was well pleased to hear, for all have abundant cause to be so, yea, to tremble at the king of terrors; excepting such as are complete in him, who is the head of all "principality and power." O may the fruit of the spirit be more manifested among us! "By their fruits ye shall know them," said the blessed Jesus; "he that abideth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit:" the branches whereon no

fruit is found are therefore in a withering state, and in danger of being cast forth. Nevertheless, our dependence ought not to be so much on the fruit, as on him who is the Vine; the root that beareth us: that in all things we may grow up into him, who is the head, even Christ; our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. Amen.

Twelfth month 8th.—What is man, that the Lord is mindful of him, or the sons of men, that he visiteth them? They are less than nothing and vanity. Yet many, thinking themselves to be something, are soaring aloft on account of their moral characters, or a supposed interest in the Redeemer's righteousness. But is not the heart of man "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked?"

17th.—In the week-day meeting at Horsleydown, I had some glimpses of those consolations which are in Christ; as likewise the blushing and humiliation which belong to man, when he beholds himself in the true light: as it is written, "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee, and I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." O that I may yet obtain more confidence in God, through the Mediator! The glorious doctrine of the mediation of Christ has this day been much illustrated in the view of my mind, according to that which is written, "there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time."

30th.—I read some part of an excellent treatise, entitled the Heavenly University, written by Francis Row, which I had not seen for some years. I think it well deserves a new edition; not doubting but that it will be well accepted by the spiritually minded, of various denominations.

First month 1st, 1783.—We dressed more meat than common, and distributed great part of it among our poor neighbours. We are told by the apostle Paul, that "with such sacrifices God is well pleased." May this year, or that part of it which may be my portion, be increased with the increase which is of God, viz. an inward exercise and travail of spirit towards him, and acts of benignity towards my fellow-creatures. The former is essential to salvation, the latter are good and profitable to men, and adorn the doctrine which is according to godliness; but when trusted in as a compensation for secret sins, and a covering for the errors of the heart, they are "filthy rags." Only "in the name of the Lord will we set up our banners."

25th.—I have long esteemed it my duty to be conversant in the Holy Scriptures, and daily to read some portions of them. But in

this, as well as in other respects, when I would have followed the secret pointings of truth in my own breast, interruptions have been attendant. Notwithstanding "the boastings of them who are alive without the law," unless the motions of sin, which are "by the law in the members, that warreth against the law in the mind," are subdued by the power of Christ, there can be no complete redemption through his blood; as it is written, "except I wash thee, thou hast no part with me." Anger, wrath, clamour, envy, and evil-speaking, must therefore be purged by the blood of the covenant, before we can inherit that kingdom, which is "righteousness, peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost."

Second month 10th.—Fresh cause for self-condemnation was this day administered. What cause is there for condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, may some say. It is true, there is none; but who are in Christ? "those who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." But whilst the law which is in our members, and the motions of sin which are thereby, bring forth fruit, there is death and condemnation. The language of—no condemnation to them who are in Christ—I fear, frequently proceeds rather from speculation than sensation; and is the dicta of a vain hope, by which the creature speaketh peace unto itself, and prophesieth deceit. There is, indeed, a being baptized into the death of Christ, and a following the Redeemer through the bloody process of his sufferings, before there is an experience attained of being "complete in him, who is the head of all principality and power," and risen with him into that dominion in which he dieth no more; and in which those who believe are dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. The wrathful propensities of fallen nature have, indeed, been measurably repressed; but my desires are that they may be totally removed by Him, who is "able to subdue all things to himself."

12th.—In the week-day meeting at Horsleydown, some sentiments were livingly impressed, concerning that hope which is not seen; but nothing was expressed. Under the law, nothing was to be offered that died of itself; there was a pointing in love to those present; but not a sufficient necessity to utter words: at some such times, when I have refrained from speaking, flatness and poverty have come over my mind: there is a scattering, and yet increasing; but it is more eligible to withhold, than to scatter unprofitably.

Third month 5th.—Late last night was closed the assizes for the county of Hartford. Five received sentence of death as evil-doers. And who among the sons of men can plead

the purity of his heart, or the rectitude of his conduct before him, "whose eyes are as a flame of fire." In the name of Jesus is our only hope; who "saveth his people from their sins," not only by imputation and remission, but also by a real renovation and renewal into the heavenly image; as it was testified concerning some formerly, who once were the servants of sin and free from righteousness: "But ye are washed; ye are sanctified; ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God."

8th.—This week some deliverance from sin hath been graciously experienced. As the day of my departure draws nigh, may I daily experience an increase in the fruits of the Spirit; in no wise esteeming them "the works of righteousness which I have done;" but as marks of his gracious assistance and acceptance, "who worketh both to will and to do of his good pleasure," and justifieth his own works both for and in his people; according to that which is written, "Ye see, then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only." They err, therefore, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God, who teach that the works of the Spirit influence not the justification of the saints; but that they are dross, dung, and filthy rags. "Was not Abraham, our father, justified by works, when he had offered his son Isaac upon the altar?" "Was not Rahab, the harlot, justified by works, when she had received the messengers, and sent them out another way?" Even the giving a cup of cold water, in the name of a disciple, is justified before God. The coming of the Lord Jesus in the flesh, his sufferings, and blood-shedding on the cross, and the work of the Spirit, were, in the eternal counsel of God, essentially necessary for the salvation of sinners. Manifest are his works, in unerring, unsearchable wisdom, hath he made them all.

9th.—Great and inexpressible have been the mercy and loving kindness of the Lord, more particularly in my advanced years, by drawing me in spirit to his Son the Lord Jesus Christ; that I might be justified freely by his grace, through the redemption which is in him; according as it is written, "every man therefore that hath heard and learned of the Father cometh unto me." What a linsey-woolsey garment may some say; and what contradiction betwixt the sentiments of the present day, and the remarks on yesterday, in which the doctrine of justification by works is asserted. I answer, to me no contradiction appears; the holy men of God, who spake as they were moved of the Holy Ghost, having declared that "a man is justified by faith," and that "by works a man is justified,

and not by faith only;" and they respectively had the mind of Christ.

10th.—Pained in body and distressed in mind, but not without some secret, solitary lookings towards Zion, the city of the great King, concerning whom the decree was declared, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee."

18th.—With the assistance of a glass, I beheld a total eclipse of the nocturnal luminary. Mystically and spiritually, for some days past, I have seen neither sun, moon, nor stars. May the Lord be pleased to enlighten my darkness. When primæval darkness covered the deep, the Spirit of the Lord moved upon the waters: "He said, let there be light, and there was light."

19th.—David declared the pains of hell had got hold of him. In the week-day meeting, my soul seemed to possess sensations somewhat similar, and measurably to participate in that tribulation and anguish, into which human nature is fallen; and which must be unalterably the lot of those who depart out of the body in an unreconciled state. How necessary therefore is it for those who have received that calling, which is of grace, to keep themselves in the love of God, and in a sense of those bowels and mercies, which are in Christ Jesus: some days past, I was favoured with a glimpse of them. But, since my bonds are become strong, I am removed far from peace. "Thy word, O Lord! is like a fire and a hammer," "thou breakest the rocks," "thou touchest the mountains, and they smoke."

24th.—John Pemberton, from Philadelphia, and Christiana Hustler, and H. Wigham, of Yorkshire, attended our meetings for worship yesterday, and the quarterly meeting this day; the said meetings were respectively very large; and the aforesaid Friends had acceptable service in them.

25th.—Our worthy ancient friends, Isaac Sharpless and Samuel Spavold, being on a religious visit to the families of Friends in this town, I was inclined to accompany them in the afternoon; and during the first sitting, being in great affliction of soul and spirit, something was powerfully impressed concerning that diseased woman, who said within herself concerning our blessed Lord; "If I may but touch his garment I shall be made whole." And a short testimony was delivered, concerning that healing virtue which was, and is, in the Lord Jesus Christ. I was almost instantaneously relieved both in body and mind, and sat with the said Friends in three other families.

Fourth month 5th.—This day, and yesterday, I have been under strong impressions to

revise and transcribe a corrected abridgement of my diary, which commenced the 1st of sixth month, 1780; to me an important work, by reason of my unfitness for penmanship: yet, considering the great long-suffering which hath been extended to me by a merciful Creator, it is my bounden duty to follow every secret pointing to such little services, as may in any degree conduce to the spiritual improvement of my fellow-creatures; particularly of the desolate and distressed among them, who are asking their "way to Zion, with their faces thitherward."

26th.—Accidentally looking over a publication of the last century, I met with the following quotation, which I do not recollect having seen before, either in the Bible or elsewhere, viz: Deuteronomy xxviii. 65, 66, 67; The Lord shall give thee there a trembling of heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life: in the morning, thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even, thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see: a most pathetic description of the disconsolate state in which man is corrected for iniquity.

Fifth month 2nd.—I perused a printed letter, from a Baptist to an adherent of Dr. Priestley, in which some errors contained in his Appeal are scripturally opposed; especially those respecting the divinity and atonement of Christ. But where read we, in the Holy Scriptures, of an infinite satisfaction being required from finite creatures; but rather, that, "God so loved the world (that is, all mankind) that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." "But God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us:" and again, "In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." These are the concurring testimonies of two apostles, who respectively had the mind of Christ, and by which Christ appears rather to be the effect, than the cause of the love of God; although in some respects he is both. But, alas, how are truths and errors commixed in the minds even of good men; and who, among the sons of men, fully understands his secret faults?

5th and 8th.—I was with our worthy

friends John Pemberton and William Matthews, from North America, at the monthly meeting of Hartford, held at Bishop Storford; and also at the week-day meeting, at Hitchin. In the latter, the errors of my past life being awfully recalled to my remembrance, I was abashed before the Dread of nations, in a remembrance of his holiness. In the week-day meeting, the preceding day at Hartford, a short testimony was delivered concerning the love of God in Christ Jesus; according to that which is written, "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends."

18th.—In the fore part of the forenoon meeting, distress and perturbation of spirit attended; some solemnity was afterwards experienced in silence; and some sentences were uttered concerning the heavenly vision, which only is capable of alleviating the ills, and calming the storms of human life; according to that which is written, "When I awake, I shall be satisfied with thy likeness."

31st.—Respecting my own state, long, very long, even from my youth to the present day, I have been crying, not with my mouth and lips, but from my heart, unfeignedly, Lord! Lord!—Nevertheless, for want of continually standing on the watch tower, where understanding and strength are imparted from above, I have in many respects erred. But wherefore doth a living man complain? a man, for the punishment of his sins; is it not of the Lord's mercy I am not consumed, and because of his Spirit, that any sense of sin, righteousness and judgment, is yet remaining? This forenoon came to our house our friend Matthew Johnson, of Cornwood, in the county of Northumberland.

Sixth month 1st, first-day.—Three years are now elapsed since the commencement of my diary. During the last year, both in respect to body and mind, I have been brought down to the sides of the pit, and lifted up. I have been faithful in the "unrighteous mammon;" and, in respect to divers moral duties and religious performances, adhered to that which most nearly resembled the right line: but is there not an iniquity in our secret things, which needs to be purged with better sacrifices than those which were offered under the law and made nothing perfect as appertaining to the conscience.

5th.—This morning our friend Matthew Johnson went from our house; having lodged under our roof five nights, and been chiefly with us in the day-time. I was with him at four meetings at Hartford, and two at Ware: his public ministrations were pertinent and lively, and his conversation adorned the doctrine he preached; grave, but not austere;

courteous, but not light. It is highly necessary for those who profess themselves the disciples of a crucified Saviour, and who, in some exterior respects, imitate the plainness and simplicity of his seamless garment, to be careful, lest by any assuming airs, consequential and self-preferring appearances, or levities in converse, they should give libertines any cause to say, are not we more consistent than they, and doth not our dress more comport with our deportment.

6th.—This evening I was awfully affected by seeing the earth thrown over a fellow-creature; according to that which is written, "Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return." This must be the lot of all; yet how unmindful are the generality of mankind of that most important period, when their "mortality must put on immortality;" or, otherwise, they must be consigned to unending perdition.

9th.—In the meeting for ministers and elders, divers pertinent cautions were imparted, against the wisdom and will of man in the exercise of the ministry: but is there not also a danger of their being exercised in the discipline? Is it not necessary that the active moving part in man, which is always ready, should be mortified in both; and that those who are concerned in the ministry or discipline should be reduced into the same state with those believers, concerning whom it was formerly testified, "Ye are dead," "being buried with Christ by baptism into death?"

14th.—This week I was favoured to attend divers meetings for worship, and most of those for business: in the latter, a spirit of brotherly love and condescension, with some small exceptions, was mercifully prevalent. In case some well-minded Friends had more steadily adhered to the apostolic injunction, "Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak," the dignity of those assemblies would have been fully as well maintained.

15th.—In the forenoon meeting at Hartford, some matter was early impressed on my mind, with a pointing to the people, and repeatedly revived; but I endeavoured to feel my own weakness, the validity of the opening, and of my commission to impart it, and was silent; some degree of profit and solemnity was, I hope, attendant: in the afternoon, a spirit of heaviness was painfully prevalent, which, after long waiting in silence, was measurably abated.

18th.—In the evening meeting, after the quarterly meeting, some observations were delivered by Mary Gurney, on the prophet's waiting at the entering of the cave, "for the still small voice:" may the instruction resulting from the revival of the passage be duly attended to by such who sometimes speak,

and they who hear. For some time past, my soul has dwelt in desolation, but, I hope, measurably under the operations of that Word which is as a hammer, and powerful "to the pulling down of strong holds." In the afternoon, a passage in holy Writ being impressed on my mind, I was rather refreshed; but desirous that I might not be satisfied, unless my spirit was baptized into a sensible and experimental knowledge of the truths declared.

22nd.—For some days past my flesh and my strength have seemed to fail, by reason of various conflicts, and severe inward exercises.

23rd.—I perused an excellent little tract, entitled "Divine breathings," well deserving the attention of those who are spiritual.

25th.—The week-day meeting was a solid sitting; divers sentences were imparted, with an application both to myself and others; but I was rather desirous of ministering their import in silence, than by words. To the ignorant and unlearned I speak as a barbarian, but ye who are spiritual, judge what I say.

28th.—Some unnecessary, unprofitable words having been uttered, during the course of the present week, for want of watchfulness, I was self-condemned.

Seventh month 13th.—I went to the general meeting at Hunsdon, in great lowness; and, on sitting down, so great was the feebleness both of mind and body, that it appeared rather doubtful whether I should survive the present day: but, after sitting some time in silence, I was enabled to look towards the Lord and giver of life, with such an efflux of tears as hath been of late unusual. I was strengthened, and some matter was presented with freshness and demonstration; but I thought the present exercise might prove a ministration of the Spirit fully as profitable without words. A verbal ministry is at times of advantage. But it is "God only who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which are not, as though they were."

20th.—I sat in both meetings in great bowedness of spirit, bewailing my desolations both of body and mind. The preceding week was attended with unusual spasms and palpitations of heart: the poor worn-out machine seems declining, and drawing apace to the dust, from whence it originated. I am now incapacitated from reading any thing; being scarcely able to look into the volume of the book without, or the law, which is light: but "the Lion of the tribe of Judah can unloose the seven seals;" "the bright and the Morning Star can even yet irradiate the dreary regions of the shadow of death;" "he can break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut asunder the bars of iron."

23rd.—Not having, for many days past,

either read in the Scriptures, or had any portion of them renewed in my remembrance, the application of the poor leper unto the Lord Jesus, and the relief he obtained, was impressed with a degree of consolation; as was also that very gracious promise, recorded in the 2nd of Hosea, "I will give her the valley of Achor for a door of hope." When he, who so emphatically expounded the Scriptures to his disciples, withdraws his spiritual presence, by which he promised to be always with his people, the whole Bible is a blank, and no part of it affords light or consolation; but, when he appears, the words which are recorded are as "apples of gold in pictures of silver," "and as nails fastened in a sure place, by the Master of assemblies," who teacheth his people to profit.

"29th.—Still shut out of the Scriptures; and the inward exercise of my mind so weak, as to be scarcely discernible.

Eighth month 4th.—Death so remarkably reigned in my own individual, on sitting down in the monthly meeting, that it seemed like a canopy to cover the assembly. Notwithstanding whatsoever formalists and mere rationalists may suggest, I have been long firmly persuaded, that, at times, when either life or death, darkness or light, prevail in a particular person, it not only extends itself to others, but is a ministration of the Lord of life, or the prince of darkness, to a meeting in general, without the medium of vocal language.

8th.—As I sat under the trees by moonlight, I was favoured with some glimpses "of the unsearchable riches of Christ."

9th.—The forenoon was spent comfortably; I was measurably recollected, and enlivened in spirit.

10th.—I sat down, in the forenoon meeting, under great distress and perturbation of spirit; but before long, notwithstanding the desolations of yesterday, my heart and my lips became touched, in some degree, as with a live coal from the altar. J. M. and M. P. ministered with much acceptance: although the meeting was detained longer than usual, a living solemnity continued to the close.

19th.—Being in London, I attended the marriage of E. G. and J. G., at Horsleydown; a low meeting: our friend Nicholas Waln, of Philadelphia, was present, but silent. Silence seems to be the dispensation of the present day; at least among us as a religious Society, peculiarly called from a dependence on the teachings of men, and to that worship which stands not in word, but in power.

20th.—I went to Gracechurch street meeting on the fourth-day, in fear, and a cross to my own will, without any expectations, either

immediately or instrumentally. I sat in lowness, but well satisfied. We ought to have no dependence on any works of obedience, but our only hope of acceptance ought to be on Christ: nevertheless, *that* acceptance is not attainable in a state of disobedience, but as we obey the gospel; God being either pleased or displeased with us every hour, according to the tenor of our hearts and conduct; a proposition reprobated by many who are orthodox in heart, and suppose themselves to be so in sentiment. But I esteem the Holy Scripture the only written standard of orthodoxy.

23rd.—This week has passed pretty comfortably, not much cause for condemnation having attended; nevertheless I have fallen short in respect to unnecessary words and thoughts. "When we neither act, speak, nor think, any thing inconsistent with the divine will," this, says one, is "perfect sanctification;" and this is the mark of our high and holy calling in Christ Jesus; who, himself, "was holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners."

25th.—I received a letter from our dear and worthy friend, Thomas Hartley; who, although aged and infirm, appears to retain a fresh and lively sense of that true and experimental religion, which consists not in the letter, but the spirit, and that circumcision which is inward.

29th.—The last two weeks have been spent pretty comfortably, but not without various defects.

31st.—In the meeting of ministers and elders, those present were reminded of former days; of the early visitation of the Spirit, which moved upon Samson in the camp of Dan; and their losses sustained by the too frequent prevalence of the Philistine nature within them.

Ninth month 1st.—In the afternoon meeting, something was expressed concerning the dominion of death, and the power of him, "who hath the keys of death and of hell."

12th.—Early in the morning, I was desirous I might be preserved during the ensuing day from unprofitable speaking; the desires of the morning were measurably answered; according to that which is written, "It is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do, of his good pleasure."

19th.—Two robbers having been taken up in the neighbourhood, an inquiry occurred—how much better am I than they, who am guilty before God of having too frequently withheld my heart from the Proprietor of heaven and earth; who hath said, "My son, give me thy heart."

28th.—In the forenoon meeting, various

presentations and sentiments concerning religious subjects were suggested in the early part of the meeting, and continued nearly to the conclusion: they appeared rather the progeny of the creaturely cogitative faculty, than to arise from a superior origin. "By their fruits ye shall know them." I intend this not so much in respect to what may be offered from without, as what passeth within; whatsoever sentiments and presentations promote dissipation, or leave the mind barely where it was before, are hurtful, or at least indifferent; but those which draw the mind nearer to God, and strengthen an inward exercise and travail of spirit towards him, are good, and to be received with thanksgiving. Every offering, exhibited either internally or ministerially, is to be seasoned with the salt of the everlasting covenant. But as ministerial administrations offered in weakness and child-like simplicity, may possibly be more acceptable in the sight of Him, who seeth not as man seeth, than some which may more nearly resemble the life and wisdom of truth, we ought to be very jealous over ourselves and our offerings, and as cautious and tender in the judging of others, or what may be offered by them; as it is written, "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come; who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the heart; and then shall every man have praise of God." When George Fox was sent forth to preach the everlasting gospel, and to turn men from darkness to light, many illiterate persons, both men, women, and children, were also sent forth with him to labour in the Lord's harvest-field, in which there were supposed to be many labourers, under various characters, abundantly superior to them, not only in human wisdom and acquirements, and the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, but likewise in deep experience and heartfelt religion, who became jealous of them, whom they esteemed no people. Thus in various dispensations have the disciples of a crucified Saviour been esteemed as the off-scouring of the people, and the doctrine of the cross, foolishness; that by the things which are despised, and are not, might be brought to naught the things which are, "that no flesh should glory in his presence." In the exercise of a public ministry, even where there is a degree of rightness, and especially where those concerned may suppose themselves much behind hand in the work, through past unfaithfulness, there are many rocks, shoals, and quicksands, on which the rightly-laden vessel may be shipwrecked and suffer loss; and indeed so weighty is the work, and so diversified are the dangers, that there is abundant cause for all, from the least

child to the most experienced minister, to unite in a language formerly uttered, "And who is sufficient for these things?" In the afternoon meeting, neither sun, moon, nor stars were discernible; nevertheless, just before the close, a cry from the bottom of my soul seemed to ascend to an Almighty helper, who can cause light to arise in the midst of darkness, and "turn the shadow of death into the morning."

Tenth month 11th.—Some merciful preservations from evil have, this week, been measurably experienced; nevertheless, I have been deeply convinced of the enmity and malignant propensities of human nature, and of satan transformed into an angel of light, working on them, both in myself and others; whence arise "debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults;" instead of that "charity which suffereth long, and is kind;" "rejoiceth not in iniquity, but in the truth; beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

15th.—As I was going to the week-day meeting, a thought passed my mind concerning a state of trembling, which I esteemed to be only casual; but after having sat some little time in the meeting, the matter was unexpectedly renewed in my remembrance, with such strength and enlargement, that, comparatively, my "brook became a river," with a pointing to those present; but I was fearful of breaking in, hastily, upon the solemnity which seemed to attend in silence; lest, instead of increasing, I should scatter; and lest words, instead of enriching, should tend to poverty. But before the close I dropt a few sentences, with a degree of liberty and satisfaction.

16th.—The week-day meeting was solid; various openings were attendant, without the least pointing to express them; but rather thankfully to return them into the treasury, from whence I hope they proceeded. For some days past, clouds and sunshine have been alternately attendant. Internally, some short intervals of light and recollection were attendant; the attractions of the Father, in their lowest and weakest administrations, lead to "Christ in us the hope of glory."

18th.—The days of darkness will overtake such who possess their souls in peace, and see no sorrow; and, sooner or later, they will be witnesses of this unexceptionable truth, "Man is born unto trouble." When the Lord "cometh up to the people, He will invade them with his troops; the strong shall be as tow, and the maker of it as a spark." One with whom I am peculiarly connected, who has been in the possession of health and affluence, being of late attacked with a dan-

gerous disease, occasioned the preceding remarks.

20th.—The plaintive language of the prophet many times occurred, "I will bewail with the weeping of Jazer, the vine of Sibmah: I will water thee with my tears, O Heshbon and Elealeh."

21st.—Having reprov'd a beloved friend with asperity for a supposed error, I suffered compunction.

22nd.—Three short testimonies were delivered in the week-day meeting. I was oppressed under a sense of iniquity. "A wounded spirit who can bear," was the language of one formerly. I sat bitterly bewailing my manifold deviations from the path of peace. There is a woe to them by whom offences come; but when they have been administered, it is certainly a duty incumbent to acknowledge them, and to seek with solicitude for a real reconciliation with those, whom we may suppose have been offended. In this respect I have been pretty uniformly careful, and by an acknowledgment of my petulance in the conference of yesterday, to the friend concerned, I was measurably relieved. "In the world, said our blessed Lord, ye shall have trouble." The Son of Man came not to send peace on earth, but rather a sword in the hearts and houses of those who are seeking to follow him in the regeneration, and to fill up that which is behind of the sufferings of Christ. But when he breaketh the yoke of their burthen, and taketh to himself his great power and reigneth, he is experienced to be "the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace;" "whose dominion is from everlasting" to everlasting. "Even so; Come, Lord Jesus;" come quickly. Amen and Amen.

26th.—In the forenoon meeting, much matter was presented before the view of my mind, which was measurably profitable to myself, although unmeet at that season for utterance. In the afternoon, near the conclusion, a few words were expressed, concerning our incapacity to watch with Christ one hour, without supernatural assistance.

28th.—The Lord, who dwelleth on high, regardeth the prisoners on earth; "He keepeth all their bones, that not one of them is broken." As I walked in the fields, I was enabled to remember the words of his holiness; and some passages of holy Writ were brought before me with a degree of freshness.

31st.—After a painful night, internally, I was tossed with tempests; I was in a strait place, encompassed on every side; but, towards noon, some sensations were attendant of that almighty and infinite Power, whose way is in the sea, and "who maketh the

clouds his chariot:" his word is within, as "treasure hid in the sand," "and his righteousness is revealed from heaven," for the help of the poor, whose soul fainteth within him. "Although thou sayest I shall not see him," yet, O my soul, trust thou in him; for thy judgment is before him; his judgments are unsearchable as the deeps, but his mercy endureth for ever.

Eleventh month 3rd.—This day was passed more comfortably than some, though deeply impressed with a sense of my own poverty; having nothing, "neither purse nor scrip."

5th.—A day of trouble and treading down, and perplexity in the valley of vision.

6th.—In the Park evening meeting, I was early impressed with a sense of the great benefit resulting from being inwardly gathered to Shiloh, "the bright and the Morning Star;" who beareth witness of himself; "whose witness is true," and abundantly more strong than all the prophetic and miraculous attestations of his coming and glory; they, being proposed to unbelievers, are rejected by them who continue in their unbelief. But the Spirit is an undeniable, soul-satisfying and self-demonstrative evidence, that the Son of God is come, hath suffered for our sins, and is risen again for our justification. And thus, "the less is blessed of the greater," in those who receive him in his spiritual appearance, as the light of the world and life of men. These truths were opened in my mind with clearness and demonstration, without the least appearance of their being intended for others.

10th.—I attended both meetings at Horsleydown, which were wholly held in silence. An exercise in spirit, somewhat similar to the patriarch Jacob, in the night season, was experienced; but the dawning of the day seemed wholly withheld.

15th.—Early in the morning, I was impressed with terror, having dreamt of being with one who hath for some time been numbered with the dead; as also of sinking myself in miry places and deep waters; as also of being in danger from a bad foundation and a rotten superstructure; but likewise, that in the time of need, in the hour of distress, there appeared a hand, stretched out to help. May the latter part of the dream be fulfilled in spirit. The same Omnipotent arm, which sustained sinking Peter, is not diminished in power. Awake, awake! O, Arm of the Lord! "art not thou it, which cut Rahab and wounded the dragon," who made "a way through the sea, and a path through the mighty waters?"

17th.—This day I have been preserved pretty quiet and comfortable in spirit, and clear from speaking unprofitably; a great favour,

"not of works, but of grace," which teacheth to deny all ungodliness. O! may the fruits of the Spirit be daily experienced; "that instead of the thorn, may come up the fir tree, and instead of the briar, the myrtle tree;" "and that the fruits of righteousness may be sown in peace," as a testimony to that "righteousness which is of God by faith," even the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who himself was "meek and lowly in heart;" "who, when he was reviled, reviled not again." Being lame, and the weather wet, I was much within, and perused the journal of our deceased friend John Churchman, of North America. I had read it when it was first published; but on a fresh investigation of the contents, I was impressed with a savour of some inward experiences therein contained. In page 222, I find the following passage, very necessary to be noticed by all who may have any concern in a public ministry. "In attending the meetings as they came in course, I felt a gradual opening and strength to declare those things which before had been sealed up; being now made sensible, that every vision and opening, which the Lord is pleased to manifest to his servants, is not for immediate utterance. But the Lord, who gives judgment, should be carefully waited upon; who only can show, by the manifestation of his light, the time when."

18th.—Walking in the fields, my mind was measurably comfortable and luminous; the desire of my soul was to the Lord, and the remembrance of his name. Afterwards a cloud overspread my horizon; the cause not unknown.

19th.—I thought of leaving off my diary, but remembered him, "who, against hope, believed in hope." I am at times favoured with some sensations of "the comforts of love," and of "the meekness and gentleness of Christ;" but, alas, they are soon suspended. The immediate forerunner of the High Priest of our profession, "saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him." He was not only our propitiation, but example; and as he was, so ought we to be, in this present world. Nevertheless, as in our "flesh there dwelleth no good thing," I am persuaded those visitations of divine good come from above, and therefore ought not to be despised; but rather received with thanksgiving, and a desire after the increase, which is of God.

21st.—I went with my wife to visit John Allis; concerning whom, as well as myself, it may be remarked, our days are declining swiftly as a shadow; we are withering, as grass; great poverty, and distress also, attends within, but not without some lookings

towards the Source of all good. Some fresh attacks of pain likewise prevail, as mementoes to follow the Lord more fully, at the eleventh hour of the day.

23rd.—After having sat a short time in the forenoon meeting, these words were mentally formed; "May good arise for the help of the poor. I thought the waiting to have them more powerfully impressed within might be more profitable to the assembly, than the uttering them by words; but there was no increase of power. I believe deep poverty continued to be the portion of the poor."

29th.—This week I have been under strong apprehensions of death; symptoms of acute disease having been attendant. They now are measurably suspended, thanks to the Preserver of men; "unto whom belong the issues from death." May I, for the very short space, the few sands, which yet remain, no longer live unto myself; but die daily, by the power of Christ; "who both died, rose, and revived, that he might be Lord, both of the living and the dead."

Twelfth month 1st.—As I walked in the fields, the following aspirations were formed within me—May I be for ever with the Lord, and behold his glory. The day was passed peaceably, and free from condemnation.

8th.—The wounds of seventh-day were alleviated but not healed.

10th.—By reason of a letter concerning the dangerous illness of my brother John Scott, and his continued solicitude to see me, in great distress and anxiety of spirit, excited by various considerations, I went from Hartford, and the same evening I visited him at his house at Ratcliff. To my great satisfaction, I beheld in him the pride and glory of all flesh abased; and the Saviour, who was clothed in the seamless robe, "whose hands and feet were pierced," and whose head was crowned with thorns, exalted as the only rock in the valley of death. How wonderful are the works of Jehovah; "who maketh the city an heap, the defenced city a ruin," "the palace of strangers to be no city;" and who causeth "the branch of the terrible to be brought low."

11.—After a sleepless night, I was four times over London bridge, distressed in mind; but in the evening, I experienced some access in spirit to the throne of grace, through the Mediator.

16th.—In the week-day meeting, at Horsleydown, heaviness and darkness were the covering of my spirit; however, some perceptions were attendant, that the Lord seeth through the thick darkness, and that the clouds cover not from him; they were rather suspended before the meeting closed. At

night, walking over London bridge, I was comforted with some feeling-of the preciousness of Christ; both with respect to his meritorious transactions without, and the internal operations of his power, as "the hope of glory."

17th.—We visited my sister Scott, to whom I showed some memoirs respecting what passed between myself and my deceased brother, at our last interview; she allowed their authenticity. A low day, much "in the valley of the shadow of death."

18th.—I attended the funeral of my brother, at Ratcliff. When I reached my own apartments, in Tooley street, I found divers letters from my friends, which afforded some consolation to my poor, disconsolate spirit.

21st.—In the forenoon meeting, at Hartford, some solemnity attended, with desires for sparing and forbearing mercy; that I might yet praise the Lord in the land of the living, and the assemblies of the people.

23rd.—A pretty comfortable day; not without some lookings towards the land which is on the other side of Jordan.

25th.—A cold, snowy day, and tempestuous as to weather, but rather peaceable within. O! that I may yet, as in the latest period of human life, experience the cross of Christ inwardly prevailing, with a sense of his pardoning love for the manifold errors of my past life: his love, indeed, "passeth knowledge," and is unsearchable as the deep.

27th.—In the course of nature, the messenger on the pale horse must be near; perhaps, as on the very threshold of the door: may I experience death to be abolished, and life and immortality to be brought to light, through the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation.

31st.—In the week-day meeting, I was exercised in mental prayer and meditation; I hope measurably by the Spirit that quickeneth. This being the last day in the year 1783, amidst various interruptions, I have reviewed the works of Jehovah, and his wonders in the deep: towards the close, a very affecting scene was attendant in the visiting my brother John Scott, on his death-bed. "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost," was the command of our great Master; consistent with which, I esteem it my duty to preserve, and make known to some, the dying expressions of the deceased; as a testimony to the cause of Christianity, and the power of Christ; being fully persuaded that "there is no name given under heaven, or amongst men, whereby we must be saved," but the name of Jesus Christ: both as he was in the fulness of time manifested in the flesh, and as he is declared in power to be the

Son of God, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead; and Christ within, "the hope of glory," "the Lord our righteousness." In the evening, during a sitting in silence in a Friend's house, I was favoured with a sense of that mercy, which I so much need, and so little deserve.

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*Some memoirs of the last illness of JOHN
SCOTT.*

John Scott was favoured with strength of body and an active and vigorous mind: he was esteemed regular and moral in his conduct, and extensive in his knowledge, being remarkably diligent and attentive in promoting works of public utility; in assisting individuals in cases of difficulty; and in the conciliation of differences. His removal hence is generally lamented by his neighbours, both in superior and inferior stations. Notwithstanding those qualifications, there is reason to believe he frequently experienced the convictions of the Spirit of Truth for not faithfully following the Lord, and adhering to the cross of Christ; by which true believers are crucified to the world, and the world to them.

During the yearly meeting at London in the year 1783, he attended many of the meetings for worship, and appeared to be more religiously concerned than for some years preceding.

On the 1st of the twelfth month he was seized with a fever, and expecting it would prove fatal, he was greatly humbled in spirit, saying to his wife, that his father was a good man, and he believed was gone to heaven, expressing a sense of the happiness of the righteous in futurity; but being convinced of his own low and unprepared state, he said, he himself was unworthy of the lowest place in the heavenly mansions, but hoped he should not be a companion of accursed and wrathful spirits.

In the early part of his illness he discoursed with his wife concerning some outward affairs, particularly desiring that his only and beloved daughter might be brought up among Friends.

Notwithstanding the severity of the distemper, he was favoured with a clear and unimpaired understanding, and the exercise of his spirit seemed to be almost continual for peace and reconciliation with his Maker; having a hope, that if it should please the Lord to spare him, he should become a new man; but in much diffidence he expressed a fear, lest the old things should again prevail: he also said to the person who attended him, "that he had been too proud." But it is well known, that his behaviour to his inferiors was

the reverse; for to them he was remarkably easy of access.

Speaking frequently of his brother, and expressing a desire to see him, on the 9th of the twelfth month a special messenger was sent to Hartford from Ratcliff, requesting his attendance there. His brother, on being informed next morning by letter of his continued solicitude to see him, and him only, reached his house at Ratcliff about four that afternoon. Being introduced to his bed-side, on asking him how he did, he answered, "Very bad; I wanted to see thee, and if thee had come sooner, I had a great deal to say to thee, but I fear now I cannot." What afterwards passed between them was as follows: after a short space of silence, John Scott began to speak with a voice full of power, saying, "I wanted to see thee, to tell thee, that I have nothing to trust to but the blessed Jesus, and that if I die, I do not die an unbeliever. If I die, I die a believer, and have nothing to trust to but mere unmerited mercy."

Finding him brought down as from the "clefts of the rocks, and the heights of the hills, into the valley of deep humiliation," his brother rejoiced in spirit, and spake comfortably to him. Expressing the deeply humiliating views he frequently had of his own state, John Scott replied, "O! if it is so with thee, how must it be with me, who have been the chief of sinners?"

The insufficiency of self-righteousness being mentioned, "Oh!" said he, with great earnestness, "Righteousness! I have no righteousness, nor any thing to trust to, but the blessed Jesus and his merits." Pausing a while, he proceeded; "There is something within me which keeps me from despairing. I dare not despair, although I have as much reason to despair as any one; were it not for Him who showed mercy to the thief upon the cross. The thief upon the cross, and Peter who denied his Master, are much before me."

Being advised to trust in the Lord, he replied, "I have none else to trust in." "Oh!" said he, "the Saviour, he is the way, and there is no other; I now see there is no other. Oh the Saviour! I have done too much against him; and if I live, I hope I shall be able to let the world know it, and that in many respects my mind is altered. But I dare not make resolutions."

His brother mentioning former times, and the days of his youth, in which they frequently conversed about, and were both clearly convinced of, the necessity of inward and experimental piety, he answered, "I was then very deficient; but I have since been much more shaken." Visiting the sick in a formal customary manner being represented

as unprofitable, he replied, "Oh! it is not a time to be solicitous about forms! Here is a scene indeed, enough to bring down the grandeur of many, if they could see it. I buoyed myself up with the hope of many days." Recommending him to the great object Christ within, the hope of glory, to whom his mind was measurably turned, his brother seemed to withdraw; on which he clasped his hand, and took a solemn farewell.

He continued in mutability about two days longer, altogether in a calm and rational state. About twelve hours before his decease his speech much faulted; but by some broken expressions it appeared that the religious concern of his mind was continued.

On the 12th day of the twelfth month 1783, he departed this life, in remarkable quietness, without sigh or groan, and was buried in Friends' burying-ground at Ratcliff on the 18th, being nearly fifty-four years of age.

The publication of these memoirs proceeds not from partiality to our deceased friend: they are preserved as a word of reproof to the careless, and of comfort to the mourners in Zion.

May none in a day of health and prosperity reject the visitations of His divine grace and favour; who hath declared, that "His Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh." Nor, on the other hand, may the penitent and truly awakened, at any time despair of that mercy and forgiveness, which the Lord hath promised to them who sincerely repent!

First month 1st, 1784.—This day, amidst bodily pains and various interruptions, hath been passed under some sense of the Divine presence, "in the house of my pilgrimage;" may the same be increased from day to day, until "mortality is swallowed up of life." "Walk before me, and be thou perfect;" was the command of God to Abraham, who was no legalist, but saw the day of Christ, and was glad.

2nd.—A calm day within, and clear from those communications which gender to bondage. Thanks to the Preserver of men.

7th.—During most part of the week-day meeting, an exercise was continued to get near to Christ in spirit; and divers openings attended, respecting the advantage thereof; but I was fearful of imparting to others what might be only intended for myself. Afterwards in the Seal fields, some tenderness and compunction of spirit were experienced before him, who "doth great things past finding out; yea, and wonders without number."

8th.—In the evening, walking in the fields near Dunkirks, these words, although I be-

lieve not precisely contained in Scripture, were impressed on my mind, with some savour and application, viz: the Lamb shall be their leader.

9th.—The Lamb shall be their leader. May the Lamb, who hath been slain from the foundation of fallen nature in man, overcome; "angels, authorities, and powers being made subject to him."

10th.—This week, various causes of sorrow have attended; but not without a hope "in those mercies which are new every morning."

17th.—An inward exercise was supported, with some degree of strength and freshness, during the fore part of the week; since, rather a relaxation therein has prevailed.

20th.—In the week-day meeting, I sat under some sense of "that faith, which is by the operation of God."

30th.—For some time past, I have been employed in a work which has long been before me, viz: the revising, correcting, and abridging my diary, which was begun in the year 1780. Wonderful have been the Lord's dealings with me, and his mercies, which can never be recounted. May the recording of them prove a way-mark to the weary!

Second month 12th.—As I was getting into a chaise, I broke my shin;—by which means I was almost wholly confined within doors, until the 9th of the third month. At times I was thankful to "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named," that no more severe an infliction had befallen me.

Fourth month 5th.—In the monthly meeting, the iniquities of my holy things were set in order before me; particularly in concerns in the ministry and discipline. My most early appearances in the former were at a time, when pursuits of a different kind much engrossed my attention: in respect to the latter, there long existed a zeal, which was incompatible with true knowledge, and that fear of the Lord, which "is the beginning of wisdom;" instead of judgment there was frequently a cry, somewhat similar to what was formerly uttered, "Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord." I much sought after the praise and approbation of faithful men, and I had my reward. But the Lord seeth not as man seeth, and "bringeth every work into judgment, with every secret thing." "For judgment I am come into this world," said the faithful and true Witness; and the spirit reproveth "of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." May all, who are at ease in Zion, bow before him, who is "judge of quick and dead;" that in the valley of Achor may be opened a door of hope.

15th.—After a painful and troublesome night, with an old complaint, I was seized with severe spasms.

16th.—This day was passed pretty inoffensively, yet not without room for amendment; I will set a bridle before “the door of my lips:” if we were at all times careful so to do, we should often obtain strength in silence, and by our words be justified.

21st.—The week-day meeting was a large, solid sitting, in silence; the power of truth being measurably prevalent.

22nd.—This day was the election for the county of Hartford. Contested elections are very repugnant to the spirit of Christ; concerning whom it was predicted, that he should “not strive, nor cry, neither should any man hear his voice in the streets;” and whose servants were “not to strive, but be gentle.” I was rather passive and indifferent concerning the event: but, in those cases, it is almost impossible to avoid being, in some degree, interested; although the preference may seem slight, and without any culpable interference.

25th.—Walking in the evening, this petition was mentally formed: O! Lord, may I come to thee, and be thy disciple, as at the eleventh hour of the day.

Fifth month 2nd.—I attended the general meeting at Crossbrook street. Some desires attended, that the fiery roll of the Lord’s indignation might be removed, by and through Jesus Christ. These awful passages in holy Writ were also renewed in my remembrance: that the Lord “will by no means clear the guilty;” “every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.”

4th.—As I was coming out of the fields in the evening, neither forewarned nor forearmed, I was attacked with a fit of impetuosity. There was indeed some cause of displeasure; a lad, under my care, appearing guilty of prevarication—an enormous crime, which ought to be discouraged with a just severity: but alas! how far are my feet from being “shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.”

5th.—Early in the morning, my mind was impressed with convictions for the turbulence of last evening. If my lot had been cast for ever in that hour of disorder, how tremendous would have been the event. Wraths, swellings, and tumults, are certainly the fruits of the flesh; and although they may be palliated by the false reasoner, are condemned by the “faithful and true witness.” In the week-day meeting, my mind was as “the troubled sea;” but, from the centre of my soul, did there not a cry and secret sigh ascend to the Fountain of Being? as it is written, “Deep calleth unto deep;” “all thy waves and thy billows are

gone over me;” and again, “Deep calleth unto deep.”

10th.—In the evening, I visited my long acquainted friend Ann Orger, who appeared to be sensible of her approaching dissolution, and resigned to the divine will. Speaking a few dry words, concerning Christ being the resurrection and the life, without an immediate feeling of his presence, they soon became my burthen; and I came home naked and wounded.

11th.—Walking in Chelmsford, some breathings were begotten towards the Father of spirits, through the Médiator; who declared himself to be “the way, the truth, and the life;” whose “spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings, which cannot be uttered;” and who prayeth for us, and in us, when we ourselves appear to be in a prayerless state, and unable so much as to lift up our eyes towards heaven.

13th.—On Porthill, some desires were renewed after him who is invisible, and the word of his power, “the Spirit that quickeneth.”

15th.—This week, bodily and mental pain have been suspended: little advancement has been attained in grace and true godliness, or in a lively experience of that gracious promise recorded in the 14th chapter of Hosea, viz: “I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon;” nevertheless, the Christian life is a hidden life, and true believers “walk by faith, and not by sight.” May not my faith be fancy, taken from the lives of other men, or barely from the letter of the Scripture; but through “the operation of God,” without which faith is dead, even “as the body without the spirit is dead.”

16th.—In the forenoon meeting, some words were uttered concerning being “buried with Christ by baptism into death.” The matter was freshly and powerfully impressed, and uttered with a degree of clearness and satisfaction: M. P. was afterwards acceptably led forth in supplication. Upon the whole, I hope it was a favoured and solemn season.

19th.—In the week-day meeting, after sitting in bodily and mental pain, I remembered, with a degree of freshness, our Saviour’s turning the water into wine. O! may he, by the rod of his everlasting strength, heal the waters of my affliction; that the poor may have hope, and Jordan be driven back. Amen! Amen!

21st.—This evening, departed this life, Ann Orger; with whom I had been intimately acquainted forty-four years. Many of my friends are already numbered with the dead; and the angel of death seems to be hovering over the

habitations of those who are yet living. "It is appointed unto men once to die;" and O! the tremendous important consequence; "but after this, the judgment;" from which neither men nor angels can deliver, but only the Prince of Life: with whom is the water and the blood, the light and the atonement.

22nd.—By continued indisposition, I am this day prevented from going to Hitchin, in order to attend the funeral of our worthy friend, Isaac Sharpless, on the morrow.

23rd.—Although pained in body and low in mind, I found an inclination to sit with my friends in the forenoon meeting at Hartford; the gracious declaration of the Lord Jesus being renewed in my remembrance, with a degree of light and power; viz: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;" some words were uttered, relative to his Almighty power, omnipresence, and priesthood. The meeting was smaller than usual; many Friends being gone from home to attend the funeral of our worthy friend, and minister of Christ, Isaac Sharpless; who was a prince in Israel, not seeking to lord it over God's heritage; but an ensample to the flock. Let the young and inexperienced, amongst us, beware of that unrighteous leaven; nor therein follow the footsteps even of those who are, in many respects, "worthy of double honour;" and whom they may esteem better than themselves. Jesus Christ only is the perfect, unvarying example, and high priest of his people; who himself was "meek and lowly in heart;" and sought not his own honour, but the honour of Him who sent him; and of whom our friend was a faithful follower, according to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

26th.—Some injudicious interferences and confabulations of the members of our Society, both formerly and of late, occurring to my remembrance, my mind became defiled; under the weight of which I sat down in the week-day meeting; but after some time of silent waiting, I was favoured clearly to perceive, that this must be purged by the baptism of him, "whose fan is in his hand;" and scattered as "the chaff of the summer threshing floor;" that we may be blind as the Lord's servant, and deaf as his messenger; "seeing many things but observing them not." My mind became sensibly calmed, under a sense of his adorable mercies, and the gracious operations of Him, "who giveth songs in the night;" who imparteth light in darkness, and counsel in confusion; "who maketh the clouds his chariot, who walketh upon the wings of the wind." Some, on whom the light hath measurably risen, have seen things

wrong; and not waiting in self-nothingness, to see more light, a root of bitterness hath sprung up.

27th.—At the funeral of Ann Orger, our friend Ralph Baimbridge was largely led forth, to demonstrate the necessity of the obedience of faith in the divine principle; the grace which brings salvation. I am clearly convinced that, although salvation is only attainable through Christ the propitiation, yet we are ever under condemnation, whilst we are in a state of disobedience; and are only justified in obedience to him, by whom we are sanctified. An evening of distress and perturbation, on account of myself and others.

Sixth month 1st.—This day four years, I began the recording of experiences; few and evil have been the days which have since elapsed. Inwardly and outwardly I have been cast down and lifted up; and I now stand as it were on the brink of the grave, and the verge of an awful eternity. Measurably, morning by morning, "he awakeneth mine ear to hear, as the learned;" "neither turned I away back." His salvation hath been my desire, and a part in his covenant. In unsearchable wisdom all his works are wrought. If the sons of Belial had been thrust away, peradventure I might have increased; but not in the increase of God. He is justified in all his ways; great and marvellous are all his works; righteousness belongs to him; but to me, shame and confusion of face. May his goodness be more gloriously manifested before I die, and his name internally proclaimed; "the Lord God, gracious and merciful," "forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin."

16th.—This evening our friend Rebecca Wright, of North America, with her companion, M. R., came to our house. Myself and wife were with them at Hartford, Ware, and Hitchin; in which meetings, their ministrations were well accepted.

19th.—Walking this evening in the meadows near Hitchin town, in great lowness of body and mind, these words were immediately suggested, viz: Jesus, the fairest of ten thousand. A bare and lifeless remembrance of them, now only remains; but, at the time, the impression of them was so powerful, as to produce tears of contrition: a favour I had not experienced in my rural retirements for many days. The rich and the full loathe even the honeycomb; but to the poor and contrite ones, the smallest crumbs which fall from the Master's table are precious; inestimably so.

23rd.—In the week-day meeting, I was favoured with some sensations of Christ Jesus; "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever;" and his gracious operations in the flesh, and

in the spirit, as one Lord Jesus; God blessed for ever.

28th.—Walking in the fields, some sensations were livingly impressed concerning the efficacy of the blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed without the gates of Jerusalem; and as manifested within, “sprinkleth from an evil conscience,” and purgeth from all sin.

Seventh month 4th.—In the forenoon meeting, some unexpected glimpses of light and divine intelligence being imparted, with a pointing to those present, a short testimony was delivered, concerning the blindness of man; and to the Lord Jesus Christ, as a glorious light, who leadeth the blind by a way that they know not, and in paths which they have not known; who maketh darkness light, “and crooked things straight.”

7th.—J. K. having delivered a short testimony, a few words were added, recommending poverty of spirit; according to that which is written; “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”

18th.—I went to the forenoon meeting much indisposed, both in body and mind: for a season, death was in dominion; but before the close, a degree of recollection was witnessed in solemn silence: a renewed testimony was also internally impressed, to the weakness of man; and to His strength, who, only, “girdeth with power;” “the confidence of all the ends of the earth, and of them who are afar off upon the sea:” but nothing was verbally expressed.

20th.—As I was going up to London in a chaise, the following sentiment was immediately suggested, nothing previously leading thereto; viz: the error of the Predestinarians and Necessitarians, and of those called Pelagians and Free-willers, arises from endeavouring to comprehend Him who is incomprehensible, whose understanding is unsearchable; and to measure his declarations and testimonies, which only make “wise the simple,” with the declarations and proceedings of fallible and finite beings; to measure his ways, who “giveth not account of any of his matters,” to the wise and prudent, but only to babes: according as it is written, “thou thoughtest I was altogether such an one as thyself; but I will reprove thee,” and set thine errors in order before thine eyes.

21st.—A mistaken zeal and supposed moderation, falsely called charity, although opposite in their appearances, frequently proceed from the same cause; even in vessels measurably sanctified, viz: the want of “being buried with Christ by baptism into death:” that not only the earth in them might be shaken, but the heavens also: instead of which there hath been, frequently, fruitless and unsanctified

efforts to engraft the remains of the first Adam into the plant which is of an immortal nature: “this-divides in Jacob, and scatters in Israel.”

23rd.—In the course of the present week, I received a recent proof of a few words being sufficient for the ministry, and as apples of gold set in pictures of silver: for at a sitting at T. B’s, our beloved friend George Dillwyn expressing only the following sentence, viz: “in my Father’s house are many mansions;” “I go to prepare a place for you;” there appeared more of a ministry in them, to myself at least, than sometimes in a multitude of words.

Eighth month 1st, first-day.—Samuel Nottingham having had lively and acceptable service in the forenoon meeting at Horsleydown, I was enabled, in a subsequent space of solemn silence, internally to plead for mercy, with the Fountain of mercy; to whom mercy, unlimited mercy, sovereign mercy, belongs. Some men are of a merciful forgiving disposition, and blessed are they: but as a mole-hill to a mountain, as a drop to the ocean; so are the mercies of men, in comparison of his, “who dwelt in the bush, when the bush burned, and was not consumed.”

7th.—As I was walking over London bridge, my mind was powerfully impressed with a consideration, that the time of my natural life being so far spent, every day, every hour, every moment, is a mercy; that, if possible, I might redeem the time; because the days are few and evil.

11th.—This week has, for the most part, been passed pretty comfortably; the fruits of that righteousness, “which is sown in peace,” having, for the most part, been prevalent until this morning; when petulance sorrowfully prevailed. The usual plea for petulance is provocation; but what provocation can be pleaded, as a sufficient cause for transgressing the royal law of love? Where are the fruits of that “charity which suffereth long;” which, instead of being easily provoked, “beareth all things.” Where is “the gentleness and meekness of Christ Jesus;” “who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously?” Consequently, I went to the week-day meeting under condemnation; which was measurably alleviated under the ministry of our worthy friend, Samuel Nottingham; whom, after dinner, I accompanied to Dunkirk’s farm; where, in the days of our youth, we were both frequently at the house of our deceased friend, Thomas Grubb; who was a tender nursing father to those who loved the truth, but hath long since been removed from works to rewards; having, in the meridian of human life, “fallen asleep in Christ.”

12th.—In the forenoon, myself and wife went with our beloved friend, Samuel Nottingham, in a chaise, to Ware; a meeting there being appointed at Samuel's request, in which he was particularly enlarged, in an evangelical ministry; and after his having been exercised in supplication, a solemnity in silence covered the assembly, uncommon in these low and degenerate days. An eminent dissenting minister who was present, on his going out, addressed Samuel in a very affectionate manner; and others, not of our Society, expressed their satisfaction.

13th.—This forenoon, myself and wife accompanied our friend Samuel Nottingham, in a chaise to Hitchin; he had lodged at our house four nights, and been chiefly with us in the day time, much to our satisfaction; his ministerial exercises having not only been lively and evangelical, but his conduct and conversation comfortable and edifying.

15th, first-day.—Myself and wife set out about seven in a chaise; and baiting at Hitchin, proceeded to the general meeting at Clifton; and reached Hartford about nine in the evening. Notwithstanding the length of the journey, and excessive heat of the weather, I came home without languor or weariness; an admirable and adorable mercy. The meeting was large, many of other professions being present; some of whom appeared sober and serious, but others restless enough: S. Crawley, H. Kite, and Samuel Nottingham, respectively, appeared in testimony. The members of our Society are too generally "uncircumcised in heart and ear;" yet to the posterity of a people once highly favoured, "is the dew of heaven" frequently diffused, both in a ministerial and immediate manner, in their assemblies: from whence I am persuaded, did not their goodness pass away, "as a morning cloud, and as the early dew," the Lord of infinite mercy would make many of them as polished shafts in his quiver; and in his quiver would he hide them. For many weeks past, both in a spiritual and corporeal sense, my days have been passed in weakness, and wearisome nights have been my allotment; but for a short time immediately preceding, my sorrows have been rather alleviated. Although great has been my spiritual poverty, and manifold my defects; yet in some good degree I have been enabled to seek the Lord, and the word of his holiness: "I have sought him, but I have found him not." Nevertheless, if "he standeth behind the wall, if he looketh forth at the windows, showing himself through the lattice," adoration and thanks are due to him for ever.

18th.—In the week-day meeting, those pre-

sents were persuaded to an introversion of spirit; that being turned from a state of natural darkness, to the inshining of divine light, they might not only receive remission of sins, but "have this treasure, in earthen vessels." During most of the sitting, a degree of exercise, which had been recommended to others, was experienced in my own particular.

22nd.—The forenoon meeting was large, but wholly silent; some inward exercises and openings were attendant: in the afternoon I was strongly assailed with a spirit of heaviness; but, ere I was aware, a desire was raised, that we might be "quickened together with Christ;" and a short testimony borne to that power, which is able to quicken the dead.

28th.—My bodily health and strength have, for some weeks, been rather increasing; but a fresh attack of a local complaint has been this week renewed; so as to threaten a danger of dissolution. But what shall I say? I said in my youth, My days are as an hand's breadth; but, behold the Lord hath made them a span long; my times are still in his hand, who can scatter every cloud, and make mercy to rejoice against judgment; and his own works to praise him. Recollection, and spiritual reading, have, this week, been not wholly omitted.

29th.—Both meetings were held in silence: in the forenoon some solemnity attended; and various allusions to passages in the Old Testament were immediately suggested, respecting the necessity of our ascent in spirit, from that which is visible to that which is invisible; from earth to heaven, in and by Christ, the heavenly Elijah, the prophet and high-priest; who hath consecrated for us a new and living way through the veil, that is to say, his flesh.

31st.—In the evening, as I walked in the fields, I remembered the Lord, and his loving kindnesses, which have been of old, and his compassions, which have been renewed every morning: that balm of Gilead, and never-failing medicine for the diseased in body or spirit, only administered by the Mediator, who, himself, in the days of his flesh, took our infirmities, and bore our sicknesses; and remains unchangeably the physician, and high priest of his people; "Christ Jesus, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever;" "God over all, blessed for ever, amen."

Ninth month 1st.—This day commenced the ninth month in the year 1784. Thanks are due for the preservations and upliftings of the last; if life, and a degree of health, are vouchsafed to the conclusion of the present,

may an offering be prepared to him, who delivers from evil; and a tribute of thanks to the "Preserver of men."

4th.—The most part of this week, bodily pains have been relaxed; and desires after "the increase, which is of God," have been freshly renewed: this day, I spoke unadvisedly, and closed the week under condemnation.

5th.—Notwithstanding, in the night and morning, I suffered compunction, for the errors of the preceding day, before I went to meeting, a religious calm covered my spirit; which was measurably maintained during the course of three succeeding meetings, under a sense of immense and unmerited obligations to divine grace and providence. More often than the morning, I desire an advancement in the paths of peace and piety; but iniquities prevail against me, and because of them, I am wounded as with the wound of an enemy; with the chastisements of a cruel one. My wounds are grievous, but are they incurable; is there not yet balm in Gilead? is not the God of peace able to bruise satan under my feet? that, before I die, "mercy and truth may meet, and righteousness and peace kiss each other," to the glory of him, who is God over all, blessed for ever.

6th.—In going to the monthly meeting at Buntingford, some exercise attended for reconciliation and forgiveness, because of sin; which was continued, with enlargement, during a considerable space of time spent in solemn silence. The business of the meeting was afterwards transacted in peace and love; and, I hope, measurably in the wisdom of truth. Why am I thus? Jacob and Esau are yet within. May the elder serve the younger! may "Jacob become a flame, and the house of Esau as stubble!"

19th.—In the forenoon meeting, I was led to contemplate on the super-excellence of the teachings of Christ, "the minister of the sanctuary;" who, by the self same spirit, divideth himself, severally, to every man as he will.

23rd.—Having sent for some small tracts, on religious subjects, particularized in Lackington's catalogue, I was rather impatient for their delivery, as hoping to derive some spiritual comfort and edification in the perusal of them. I "looked for much, but lo! it came to little:" so vain and precarious are all expectations and dependencies, that are not upon the all-plenary source of instruction and help, the Fountain which never faileth; from whence every good and perfect gift proceeds.

25th.—This week I perused the sixth and seventh numbers of the Theological Miscellany. I found in some of the more early

numbers some instructive essays, comporting with that doctrine, which is according to godliness; but there appearing in the sixth number an essay, tending to deprive believers of an inestimable privilege, purchased by the Redeemer's blood, I esteem it my duty "to contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints." The purport of the essay is, to represent the Spirit, which giveth life, inseparable from the letter, which kills; to render the means equal with the cause; to depreciate the heavenly oracle, which is within; and to limit Him, whose understanding is unsearchable, and who "giveth not account of any of his matters." Whence learned this author, save from popish school-men, that the canon of Scripture is closed; and that no revelations are now necessary to render the things, which are already revealed, effectual to the conversion of sinners, the consolation of saints, and the salvation of souls? By the doctrine which is according to godliness, the Scriptures appear to be a declaration of the things which were, and are, "most surely believed; profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness:" that the man of God may be perfected through that faith which is in Christ Jesus; which faith "is the gift of God;" who hath shined in the hearts of believers, "to give them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus." Which divine light and knowledge, and not the bare letter, as an outward testimony of the truth, is the treasure which believers have in their "earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God," and not of any means in itself, however glorious. Again, says the author, "common sense, a Bible, and a right spirit, will always inform a Christian what is his present duty." The spirit of Christ only is a right spirit, to whom righteousness alone belongs; which, he promised his immediate followers, should guide them into all truth, and show them things to come; which promise of the Holy Ghost, his office, and constant abiding with the saints, was not to them only; but, according to the express testimony of an apostle, "to their children, and to all them that were afar off; even as many as the Lord our God shall call." Notwithstanding the errors of the author, in confining the Spirit to the letter; and the Word, which "was in the beginning with God," to the words which he hath spoken; pertinent are the cautions contained in the essay, against an anxious solicitude in the saints respecting future events; or too hasty and positive determinations on inward feelings and impulses, either respecting themselves or others. It is "the Spirit which beareth witness," and its

witness is invariably true: but many have been the mistakes of believers, respecting what have been the testimonies and impulses of the Spirit, and those of their own inflated imaginations: the Spirit is infallible, but man is fallible. The Lord can speak internally, with a voice full of power; but, if he speaketh otherwise, "who shall say unto him, what doest thou?" In wisdom all his words are spoken; that the faith and patience of the saints may be approved, and that in the silence of all flesh, the trumpet may give a certain sound. The misapprehensions of men, respecting the Spirit's teaching, operate no more against its validity and sufficiency, than their manifold errors in respect to the doctrines contained in Scripture, against the divinity and authenticity of those sacred truths. The Holy Scriptures, and the testimonies contained in them, as opened by the Lord, the Spirit, are inestimably precious; and, according to the eternal counsel of God, necessary for the building up of the saints, in the most holy faith: but let us not equalize the means with the cause, nor derogate from the power and glory of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; one God blessed for ever.

26th.—Early in the forenoon meeting, without any apparent cause, darkness came over me; but the sitting soon became more luminous and comfortable; M. P. ministering with much acceptance.

28th.—Walking to Queen's Bench, these words were impressed with power,—although I am nothing, "Christ is all:" I was measurably relieved and tendered in spirit.

30th.—Being under some religious exercise, on opening the Bible, the words of the Psalmist were immediately presented to my view; "remember not the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions: according to thy mercy, remember thou me, for thy goodness sake, O Lord!" they were particularly suitable to my state; for manifold were the errors, even of my religious youth, seeking the praise of some good men, but despising others, and smiting them with the tongue. May I obtain mercy and forgiveness! for I did it ignorantly, in a zeal for God, but not according to true knowledge. But let all the young and tender ones, the called and visited of God, beware of the mystery of iniquity.

Tenth month 4th.—At the monthly meeting, altogether unexpectedly, came in our worthy friend George Dillwyn, late of Burlington, in North America: in the evening, I and my wife accompanied him, with many other Friends, to a meeting appointed at Ware; in which he ministered with much acceptance.

5th.—The aforesaid Friend attended a

meeting appointed at Hartford, and, in the evening, another at Hoddesdon; in both of which he was much favoured in his ministerial labours. This day, after dinner, I was seized with a violent spasm, which was renewed with such violence in going to Hoddesdon, as seemed to indicate the feelings of approaching death. I was almost miraculously favoured to sit the meeting easily; but afterwards my pains returned.

6th.—After attending our week-day meeting, dear George Dillwyn left Hartford. By his late extensive labours amongst us, he has shown the proofs of an evangelical ministry; as a skilful workman, rightly dividing the word of truth, not seeking to gather the people to any thing of man, but to an experimental knowledge of the gift of God; "the mystery hid from ages and generations;" "Christ in them the hope of glory."

11th.—At the quarterly meeting at London, I sat down in lowness of flesh and spirit; but after some time, I was enabled to remember him, who giveth "songs in the night," and who can irradiate the dark valley of the shadow of death.

13th.—Walking in the Grange, I remembered the days of my childhood and youth; since which "my sorrows have been turned upon me:" but "Jesus, the first and the last, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, died for us;" "that whether we wake or sleep, we might live together with him."

18th.—A pretty easy, but low day: little being felt of those everlasting healings, which are under the wing of Emmanuel.

19th.—I sat down in the week-day meeting at Horsleydown, in great weakness and poverty of spirit; but, pretty soon, the forgiveness proposed by our blessed Lord, when he said, "If you forgive men their trespasses, then will your heavenly Father also forgive you," was suddenly impressed, and much illustrated in my mind, but not expressed. I would not willingly "conceal the words of the holy One," but am discouraged from speaking in the assemblies of the people, not so much because of them, but, rather, because I have not hitherto completely obtained victory over the enemies of my own house. May I, in my declining years, and in great debility of flesh and spirit, still be enabled to "press after the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

26th.—Unprofitable confabulations having prevailed in the morning, I went to the week-day meeting at Horsleydown in terror; where it being suddenly suggested, without much expectation or illustration, that Christ is the Mediator of the covenant of grace, my mind became measurably calmed. When every

refuge fails, the Lord is able to relieve the disconsolate soul, that is tossed with tempests, and driven to the ends of the earth. The meeting was wholly silent.

30th.—This month, bodily pains and severe spasms have been often attendant; "the earthly house of this tabernacle" has been shaken; no growth in grace and goodness has been perceptibly experienced; satan having been at my right hand to resist me.

31st.—In the afternoon meeting at Hartford, former openings, which had been presented with freshness, were remembered; but they were as the manna of yesterday.

Eleventh month 6th.—My bodily health seems measurably recovered, indispositions having been wonderfully suspended; but I have been greatly deficient in a tribute of praise to the Preserver of men; according to the import of that which is written, "he that offereth praise, glorifieth me; and to him, who ordereth his conversation aright, will I show of my salvation."

13th.—This week, "the fruits of righteousness have been measurably sown in peace."

14th.—Although attended with various discouragements, I found an inclination to attend the forenoon meeting at Gracechurch street; and soon after sitting down, my mind was freed from dismay, and dipped into a fresh sense of that introversion of mind and spiritual worship in self-nothingness and prostration, which we, as a people, peculiarly profess: sundry passages in holy Writ, relative thereto, were livingly opened; and the exercise was continued through the course of the meeting, under divers testimonies which were delivered. A sabbath day! a memorable day! some sense of divine favour presiding through the whole.

16th.—At Horsleydown week-day meeting, I was measurably relieved, by a word internally imparted, and under the ministry of George Dillwyn.

28th.—A day of distress in the valley of vision, from my own unfitness to be unclothed of mortality. I was under great condemnation, because of "deeds done in the body," particularly for the errors of advanced years; the too frequent prevalence of petulance, and the too great indulgence of my appetite in eating and drinking: errors overlooked and palliated by men, but marked by Him, "whose eyes are as a flame of fire;" who "searcheth the heart, and trieth the reins," and hath declared, "If any man will be my disciple, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me:" which following of the Son of Man in the regeneration consists not only in suffering for his sake, the reproach of men; but also in the mortification of our propensities, in the things which may be

esteemed lawful by men, but are condemned by Him, who seeth not as man seeth. When I review my want of a due allegiance to the Saviour of men herein, my heart meditates terror, and my iniquities are a heavy burthen before him, who is a "just God and a Saviour;" who will not acquit the guilty, nor suffer sin to go unpunished.

Twelfth month 4th.—This week, having been pretty much confined, by reason of a humour in my leg, I hope that, through the aboundings of divine grace, I have been measurably enabled to seek for that which I was concerned to recommend to others the last time I appeared in public, viz: the seeking for heavenly "treasure in our earthen vessels." I have also had an opportunity of being much exercised in reading the Holy Scriptures, and other pious and experimental treatises. My present confinement is indeed a chastening not joyous, but yet to be received with thanksgiving, if in any degree it may be productive of the "peaceable fruits of righteousness." O! may I, as at the eleventh hour of the day, and during the present dispensation, be enabled more faithfully and fervently to feel after that salvation, which is only through Jesus Christ, the fountain set open for remission and sanctification, whose blood "cleanseth from all sin."

The great concern was measurably kept in sight, with some liftings up of head towards the light of Israel, who can yet open a door of hope in the valley of the shadow of death.

13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th.—Were spent in pain and lowness; but not without some lookings to the great Physician of soul and body, "who, himself, took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses." The nights have been so exceedingly distressing, through acute pains of the rheumatism, that a religious exercise upon my bed has been impeded by them; but, however, "to will has been present with me;" and the Lord is gracious to accept according to that which a man hath, even according to the ability which He affordeth, from whom every good gift cometh.

19th.—First-day. Our well-beloved friends, Samuel Emlen and George Dillwyn, having an evening meeting at Horsleydown, although absent in body through indisposition, I was desirous of being present in spirit, in the invisible fellowship, by which the children of God, however scattered abroad, are gathered together in one. The following portions of Scripture were immediately opened, and impressed upon my mind, with a degree of strength and clearness, viz: "I will bring the blind by a way that they know not, and in paths which they have not known: I will make darkness light before them, and crooked

things straight. These things will I do unto them, and not forsake them." "I will go before thee, and break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron; and I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and the hidden riches of secret places." When barely read or repeated, how ineffectual are even the words contained in the Bible; but when they are opened by their divine Original, they are as honey from the rock; yea, sweeter than the honey-comb.

20th.—This day I was informed of the decease of my dear and worthy friend Thomas Hartley, who departed this life the 10th instant. I had been personally acquainted with him for more than nine years: we were very dissimilar in our natural dispositions, and in our sentiments respecting various points; in others, we were firmly united; our union being more in the spirit, than the letter; the inward, than the outward. He was a man of unaffected piety, great sincerity, and exquisite sensibility; deeply suffering under a sense of his own defects in particular, and of the depravity of fallen nature in the general; following a crucified Saviour in the regeneration, according to his measure, there is abundant cause for a comfortable hope, that he now rests from his labours, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

23rd.—The awful declaration which was formerly pronounced, "I tell you, I know you not, whence ye are; depart from me all ye workers of iniquity," being impressed on my mind, caused trembling of spirit.

25th.—The great mystery of godliness ought to be ever before us. This day being set apart for the commemoration of the birth of Christ, "when the Word was made flesh," when he took upon him not the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham; it may recall our attention to that stupendous transaction of divine love. Nevertheless, the superstitious observation of days and times being introduced in the apostasy, it is our duty to maintain a testimony against it, in the "meekness of wisdom:" an inward exercise was supported in weakness.

31st.—I received a lively and sensible letter from M. P.; it afforded some consolation to my disconsolate mind, that some remain, who are travelling together with me, under a sense of their imperfections, and shortness of having attained to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

First month 1st, 1785.—"Great is the mystery of godliness;" the riches of the glory of this mystery is, "Christ in you, the hope of glory." The books of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, with the apostolic

epistles, are a faithful declaration of the gospel; which is the power of God unto salvation," of poor, naked, starving, undone sinners in themselves; who, as our ancient friend John Crook justly observes, "seeing their own righteousness to be a filthy thing, are the proper subjects of Christ's righteousness, which is not attainable by any creaturely skill or self-imputation; but only by the applicatory gift of divine grace, and through that living faith, which works by love to the purifying of the heart." Upon this holy thing ought we to be attending continually, in our meetings and out of them, at all times and in all places; that the pearl of everlasting price may be found within, as "treasure in our earthen vessels;" that Christ "may be formed in us, and we completed in him, who is the head of all principality and power:" the purport of the above being opened upon my bed, and fastened as a nail in a sure place, the same is recorded. Towards evening my brook became dry, and the savour of the above opening was removed.

6th.—This day was passed pretty comfortably, under some distant perceptions of the divine presence, in which only is life and comfort.

9th.—First-day. How dreadful is a prayerless state! when the poor soul is left naked and wounded, a prey to the indignant propensities of fallen nature, and separate from the salutary rays of a Mediator. To some, by these memoirs, though true, I may be judged a deceiver; others may judge me to be a weak and unsteady man; very unfit to teach others. "He that is ready to slip with his feet is as a lamp despised in the thought of him who is at ease:" but let such who possess fortitude and resignation, consider those who are swallowed up of overmuch sorrow, and learn what that meaneth, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice;" "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." And O! may the reality of righteousness and peace, and not a bare semblance of them, be multiplied and abound among us, that the Lord of Hosts may become a spirit of "strength to them that turn the battle to the gate."

13th.—In the morning, on my bed, the desire of my soul was towards the "Messenger of the covenant," and that He might suddenly come to his temple, "who is as a purifier of silver, and as the fuller's soap."

15th.—We were visited by our dear and worthy friends, Samuel Emlen and George Dillwyn, who, in their religious exercises, were enabled to reach to the oppressed seed, which "is pressed down as a cart with sheaves."

18th.—After having been, for many weeks, confined by the rheumatism, I was enabled to attend the week-day meeting at Horsley-down; but when there, instead of the tribute of praise for the manifold preservations which had been vouchsafed, heaviness was the clothing of my spirit; and the awful inquiry was suggested, “despisest thou the riches of that goodness, forbearance, and long-suffering,” which should lead thee to repentance? Nevertheless, there was something of a waiting on the Lord in the way of his judgments, and of a solemnity which was as a song in the night.

23rd.—First-day. Reading some memoirs of the cruel sufferings inflicted by the magistrates and ministers of Boston upon the early baptists in that country, this remark was attendant; how dreadful have been the devastations and scandals occasioned by a false and furious zeal, even by those, who, in many respects have been reputed pious, when they departed from that charity by which all the members of the body, however diversified, are edified together, “and grow up in all things, into him who is the head, even Christ!”

29th.—A pretty comfortable day, passed under some internal sense of the divine presence, and a conviction that the Lord is a God near at hand, who hears the prayers of the poor. At the Park evening meeting, there was a giant in the way; but a degree of victory was experienced in an inward exercise.

30th.—The forenoon meeting was small, and wholly silent; from the early part to the close, my mind was exercised respecting the necessity and nature of inward silent prayer, and with various openings relative thereto: but I esteemed it much more preferable to experience something of it in my own particular, than to speak of it to others.

Second month 4th.—This week I have been low, as to the divine life; nevertheless, some inward exercise and reformation from unnecessary speaking have been experienced; every deliverance from evil, even in what may be esteemed minute and inconsiderable instances, is a mercy not of works, but of grace; which teacheth to deny ungodliness.

11th.—I came to Hartford, after having been absent therefrom more than two months. Before I arose, I had some sensations of a living faith in Christ, as he was the one offering, which hath for ever perfected them who are sanctified; and as he is revealed within, the sanctifier of his people, “and their hope of glory.”

12th.—This week I have remembered the Lord upon my bed, and measurably meditated on him in the morning watches.

17th.—Walking towards Dunkirks in the

snow, I was favoured with some sense of God that made me, and desires after more communion with him, through the Mediator, who “is the way, the truth, and the life.” My spirit was measurably tendered and humbled in the presence of Him, “who dwelt in the bush;” it is certainly our incumbent duty to be diligent in the attendance of meetings, and not through lukewarmness and indifference to neglect the assembling of ourselves together, for the purpose of divine worship in a collective capacity: yet herein is a danger of a zeal which is not according to true knowledge, and of laying too great a stress upon the attendance, and feeding, as it were, upon the bare outward act. Particularly erroneous and blamable are those of the Romish and Episcopal communities, in calling their places for worship, “the houses of God;” and endeavouring to inculcate a veneration for those edifices. Wherever the divine presence is manifested, whether it is in the open fields, the secret chamber, or elsewhere, the language of the patriarch Jacob may with propriety be adopted; “this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.” “What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?”

19th.—“What owest thou to thy Lord?” was a query formerly proposed. We are all as bankrupts: we owe much, and have nothing to pay with; and are destined to everlasting perdition for our debts, unless with the man who owed the ten thousand talents, we are not only forgiven, but graciously supplied by Him, in whose hand is the wine and the oil, the light and the atonement, and the unsearchable riches of an everlasting inheritance. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, I have hitherto been, since my late confinement, free from rheumatic returns, and some customary complaints; I have likewise been at times favoured with some sensations of the divine preservations from evil.

20th.—In the forenoon meeting, some words were spoken respecting that state of nothingness and dependence, in which we ought to attend our religious meetings; in order to wait for “the promise of the Holy Ghost,” and the pouring forth of the Spirit from on high.

21st.—A pretty comfortable day; some ascent in spirit being experienced towards the mountain of the Lord’s holiness. Without a vital, internal holiness, no man shall see the Lord.

27th.—I sat down in the forenoon meeting in a state of utter insensibility respecting spiritual things; but pretty soon some sense of that effectual prayer, which availeth much, covered my mind; which, with some matter

relative to the exercise thereof, seemed almost ripe for utterance; but the weight of the pointing to speak seeming rather to abate, I remained in silence; but I hope the opening was, in some degree, profitable to myself, and also to others.

Third month 1st,—As to the outward, was passed pretty fairly: we had what I have sometimes called the “gospel feast;” and some of the poor were partakers of the benefit. Before dinner, I set out for a walk with my wife and S. R. but was soon disposed to leave them for the sake of retirement; sitting under a tree, the gracious promise recorded in the 40th chapter of Isaiah was freshly brought to my remembrance; videlicet, “they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength.” I greatly marvel that any who have experienced the benefit, the unspeakable benefit resulting from retirement, should be so fond of company: the true friend is in the heart, the spouse who is always jealous: the strength of Israel “is not a man that he should lie, nor the son of man that he should repent;” “He is the everlasting strength of the poor, and refuge for the needy in his distress.”

2nd.—In the week-day meeting a short testimony was borne to Him, who is the “Tower of the flock, and the strong hold of the daughter of Zion.”

5th.—The assizes for the county were held this week, and seven of my fellow men were destined to death, by the decision of an earthly tribunal; erroneous and mistaken the Calvinists appear, in supposing all Adam’s posterity are subjected to the penalty of death, spiritual, temporal and eternal, through the default of their original progenitor; from him, indeed, they derive a fallen nature, “prone to evil as the sparks fly upward;” “as by one man sin entered, and death by sin; and so death passed on all men, for that all have sinned;” not in Adam as their head and representative, but in their own persons.

9th.—I was deeply depressed under a consideration of man as mortal, and my own distance and dissimilitude from Him, “who dwelleth in the light,” and who only hath immortality.

16th.—I went to the week-day meeting in distress; but the wonderful transition of the beggar Lazarus, from the gate of Dives, to Abraham’s bosom, being powerfully impressed, I was for a season measurably consoled; but nothing was verbally expressed by me.

20th.—The meetings this day were large, that in the afternoon particularly so, on account of the burial of S. B.; in both of them, my mind was awfully impressed with the dreadful sentence which was pronounced con-

cerning the unprofitable servant, and that of the fig tree on which no fruit was found. In the meeting of ministers and elders, there seemed something similar to a solemnity in the night season.

21st.—This day I entered into the sixty-seventh year of my age; “my days pass more swiftly than a weaver’s shuttle;” “with the Lord one day is as a thousand years:” “he can save by many or by few.” In the monthly meeting, before the women Friends withdrew, our beloved friends, William Matthews and George Dillwyn were graciously anointed to preach the gospel to the poor; the sound seemed in some degree to extend to me, in the land of my captivity.

22nd.—This day sorrow seemed for a season to be rather suspended; may I, through great grace, be enabled, at the eleventh hour of the day, to exchange the burthens, which have been so heavy upon me, for the yoke which is easy, and the burthen which is light. My intellectual eye seemed to glance towards that woman, who, having “had much forgiven, loved much.” O! may I, for the few days or hours remaining, demonstrate my love to Christ, “by keeping his commandments.” At an appointed meeting held at Ware this evening, after our friend, W. Matthews, had closed his testimony, so awful a solemnity covered a numerous and mixed assembly in silence, that the language of some formerly might, with much propriety, have been adopted, viz: “it is good for us to be here.”

23rd.—The week-day meeting at Hartford was a large and favoured season, W. Matthews being led to open the spiritual import of Christ’s washing his disciples’ feet; and to recall the attention of the backsliders to “the fountain which is opened for sin and uncleanness.”

24th.—This morning our friend W. Matthews, set forward on a visit to the western part of this county, and some of the counties adjacent: he had lodged with us five nights, and been mostly at our house in the day time; many Friends had been with him: his conversation was such as becomes the gospel. On the first-day he was much shut up, as to his public ministry; but in the subsequent meetings, opened and enlarged, to the reaching of many.

25th.—Walking in the Borough, my spirit was measurably contrited, in a remembrance of former days, and the Lord’s mercies, which have been “as the former and the latter rain.”

26th.—During my confinement in the winter, and for some time after I was liberated therefrom, a fresh visitation seemed to be

extended for my help, and the "strengthening the things which were ready to die;" but not rendering to the Lord according to the benefits which he had bestowed upon me, and obedience not keeping pace with knowledge, for some time past horror and deep distress have been usually the companions of my spirit. During the present week, the mercies of heaven have been renewed more often than the morning, and some sense of the divine presence has attended. This day, "the shooting up of the latter growth" hath been consumed, as by an east wind from the wilderness. "Forgive, O Lord, I beseech thee;" "By whom shall Jacob arise, for he is small?"

Fourth month 1st.—The former part of the last month, sack-cloth was my covering; afterwards a glimpse of hope attended, in seeking after that obedience which is by faith. We are not to place our confidence in any thing short of the great Author of every good work; but every degree of reformation from evil, and increase in the labour of love, is acceptable in His sight, who has promised to reward those who give a cup of cold water in the name and spirit of true discipleship: for a mite cast into the treasury shall be approved, when the pompous offerings of the proud shall perish.

4th.—In the monthly meeting, a short testimony was delivered concerning the gospel mantle; the subsequent business was transacted in peace.

18th.—Near the close of the forenoon meeting, some sentences were uttered concerning the sufferings of Christ, and of our suffering together with him.

23rd.—The former part of this week, insensibility respecting spiritual things was sorrowfully prevalent. I have been incapable of being exercised in the volume of the book, either within or without, the vision of the whole having been so sealed, as with seven seals, that no man in heaven, or in earth, neither under the earth, could open it, but "the Lion of the tribe of Juda," who can quicken the dead, and call those things which are not, as though they were. O! that I might come into his presence and plead with him, as a man pleadeth with his friend; for although I see him not, yet judgment is with him; therefore, O my soul! trust thou in him.

25th.—I was visited by John Hoole, the celebrated translator of Tasso; who read to me some memoirs, which are intended to be prefixed to a posthumous work of my deceased brother, John Scott, who in his life time had the praise of men; but in his latter end, I humbly hope, his "praise was of God."

30th.—The failure of the pillars of the

house presage its dissolution; the sins of my youth, even of my religious youth, as well as the iniquities of more advanced years, have been recalled to my remembrance; and passed before me as a roll, marked with "mourning, lamentation and woe." I am confident, whatever my friends may suppose to the contrary, that for some years past I have too freely indulged my palate, both in the eating of meat, and the drinking of wine; and though I have strictly adhered in both respects to what is esteemed moderation by men, yet I have not sufficiently bridled the body, nor adhered to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; "which is the power of God," "and crucifies the flesh, with the affections and lusts."

Fifth month 13th.—Divers acceptable testimonies were delivered at Gracechurch street. My mind was measurably turned to Him, "who hath the tongue of the learned, and can speak a word in season to him that is weary," for with him only "are the words of eternal life." I was glad of the crumbs which fell from the Master's table.

14th.—This week has been spent pretty satisfactorily, but not without some exceptions; desires having at intervals attended for the removal of hardness of heart, that a heart of flesh might be graciously imparted, meliorated and contrited, under a sense of the Lord's manifold mercies, which are new every morning: of them mankind are too unmindful, of them, I myself have been too unmindful.

"..... Man, infatuate man,
Lays for himself on earth his little plan,
Dreads not, or, distant views, mortality."

My plan, my pleasurable expectations, have indeed been little and singularly circumscribed: neither riches nor honours have been my aim, nor the hope of their attainment my consolation. From the fragrance of my garden, the attendance and fidelity of my spaniel, my rural, retired and evening excursions, and the gratification of my palate, although, speaking after the manner of men, in strict moderation, some expectations of satisfaction have been frequently derived; yet from heartfelt experience, frequently renewed, I have found that on every object under heaven this inscription is affixed, "vanity of vanities."

15th.—The meetings at Park and Horsleydown were favoured with a divine solemnity, and an acceptable ministry.

21st.—This week, meetings have been duly attended; as to the interior, I have been, for the most part, stationed in low places.

25th.—The meetings this week at Hartford were, I hope, profitable to many; my mind was measurably affected under a remembrance of the Lord's loving kindness, and his multiplied mercies to the present hour.

Many testimonies may be delivered by the Lord's servants, measurably in the wisdom of truth; they may "know in part, and prophecy in part;" their preaching, to some, may be "as a nail fastened in a sure place," but to others, as parables: "but it is the Spirit, which quickeneth," ever speaketh plainly and with divine precision.

28th.—This day, some glances of divine goodness seemed to pass before me, and the name of the Lord to be internally proclaimed; the Lord, the Lord God, gracious and merciful, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin.

29th.—I went to meeting in great lowness and poverty of spirit; various openings were attendant, with a pointing to the people, but I was fearful of speaking, being conscious of a defect in that purity, which ought to be the constant clothing of those who minister in holy things. Before the close, the last yearly meeting's epistle was read, and a short testimony borne to the divinity of the light. In the evening, I read some portions of a treatise, entitled, *The Necessity, Excellence and Beauty of Holiness*, by Thomas Brooks; a worthy and entertaining performance.

Sixth month 4th.—Five years have elapsed since the commencement of my diary. I have seen the "wonders of the Lord in the deeps," "the waters have roared and been troubled," and I have been shaken at the "swelling of them." I am now five years nearer the close of the days of my pilgrimage; am I in the least nearer a city that has everlasting foundations, "whose inhabitants shall not say I am sick, whose iniquities are forgiven?" On the inquiry, my heart meditates terror, thick darkness is before me; but the God of Jacob, the Friend and Father of the wrestling seed, is able to turn the shadow of death into the morning, and to cause light to shine out of obscurity.

10th.—From my youth upwards, I have been favoured with the strivings of the Spirit in order for the subjugation of evil, and particularly of late for the correcting of my temper; but too frequently have I sinned with my lips. But are not the Lord's mercies innumerable, and doth not forgiveness belong to him, for those who have rebelled against him? May the great Repairer of breaches rebuild the desolations of Zion, rebuild the desolations of former generations and the waste places of Zion; that when all vicissitudes shall terminate, and time shall be no longer, I may inherit a mansion in the heavenly Jerusalem, whose "walls are salvation, and her gates praise."

14th.—Walking in the meadows near Hitchin, I read part of Solomon's song: the purport

of this petition was mentally formed, "put in thy hand by the hole of the door, thou beloved of souls," thou friend of sinners, "thou chiefest of ten thousand," who came to seek and to save the chief of sinners, and bring back again that which was lost.

15th.—A short testimony, in the week-day meeting, arose in my heart to the judgments and mercies of Jehovah, but nothing was expressed; being fearful of imparting to others what might be intended for my own support in the hour of my distress.

18th.—Disquietude prevailed; I was deficient in due resignation to the divine will; "the heavens have been as brass, and the earth as iron;" "I was tossed with tempests, and not comforted."

19th.—In the forenoon meeting, my mind was both measurably exercised and doctrinally enlarged; but I remained in silence.

27th.—I went to the forenoon meeting seemingly destitute of all spiritual sensations; but a short testimony was unexpectedly produced, concerning the Lord's goodness to the poor; and M. P. had afterwards an acceptable time in supplication.

Seventh month 6th.—In the week-day meeting, the dryness, emptiness and distress of human nature, when separated from the soul-enlivening influence of the Son of God, was the meditation of my spirit.

10th.—Our worthy friends J. Townsend and Nicholas Waln, were at the general meeting at Hunsdon, which was large and satisfactory. In the evening, the latter had a large time in testimony, amidst a mixed and numerous auditory at Hartford, I believe to their general satisfaction; many in warm terms expressing their approbation of his ministerial labours. I was "as a dry tree;" only the Lion of the tribe of Juda can open the book of life; "and when he shutteth, none can open."

13th.—Just before the close of the week-day meeting, a small ray of light seemed to penetrate the thick darkness and solitary chambers of death.

28th.—Near the close of the Park evening meeting, sundry testimonies were delivered, and a degree of divine light and life seemed to arise; my spirit was, for the present, more lightened and relieved than for many days preceding.

31st.—Our friend R. W., was at Gracechurch street in the forenoon; a large and solid meeting. At Horsleydown, in the afternoon, there was not "a shred left to take fire from the hearth, nor water withal from out of the pit." I fought against sleep, but was nearly overcome therewith.

Eighth month 1st.—Our friend R. W.,

having in testimony yesterday called the attention of those present to the evidence within, in reading the Mosaic history of the creation, I had some feelings after an inward evidence of the reality of the things which are written. The Scriptures of truth and all other external means, however faithful and well-authenticated, being of themselves unable to satisfy the truly seeking soul, or to perfect the things appertaining to the conscience, without the faithful and true Witness, the first-begotten of the dead; who loveth his people, and washeth them from their sins in his own blood, and maketh them kings and priests unto God and his Father, to whom be glory and dominion for ever. Amen.

7th.—S. Crawley, and A. Jessop, the latter from North Carolina, were at Gracechurch street in the forenoon, and R. W. at Horsleydown in the afternoon, who came home with us; the meetings were, I hope, both of them measurably favoured; but deep poverty was the portion of my spirit, being almost wholly divested of all spiritual sentiments or sensations, as hath been much the case of late, both in meetings and out of them.

11th.—At the Park meeting, some deep exercise attended, in the midst of distress and anxiety. When the earth was void and without form, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, the Spirit of the Lord moved upon the dark waters, and there was light and order: the same Spirit moved Samson in the camp of Dan: thereby was I influenced in the days of my minority to seek the Lord in the assemblies of the people, and particularly so at the evening meeting held near this place.

19th and 20th,—Chiefly at home; not without some internal exercise towards the Lord and giver of life, who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which are not, as though they were.

26th.—In the afternoon I went in a coach with my wife to Cheapside; on our return I partly discharged a debt which had long lain heavy upon me, by giving J. P. an order to print one thousand copies of some memoirs concerning my deceased brother John Scott, in his last illness. I was very unexpectedly favoured to be an ear-witness of the living testimony which he delivered, respecting that salvation which is by grace, at a juncture when the long felt dictates of a heart enlightened by divine truth can sometimes no longer be concealed, notwithstanding the efforts of human pride. Ever since his decease my mind has been impressed with a fear, lest, through my timidity and irresolution, so significant and remarkable an attestation to the

doctrine of a Mediator should be suppressed; a doctrine which, although set at naught by many of the wise and prudent of this world, is full of consolation, when livingly and feelingly impressed upon the distressed, desponding mind by the Comforter; the Spirit which "maketh intercession with groanings which cannot be uttered," by the medium of vocal language: a doctrine which is also altogether compatible with godliness and good works, the Mediator having himself declared, "that every branch which abideth in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit." In respect to suppressing these important and interesting memoirs, these testimonies have been much before me, "Is a candle brought to be put under a bushel or under a bed," "and not to be set on a candlestick?" "Of him who is ashamed of me, of him also will I be ashamed." I also purchased a copy of the prayers and meditations of that renowned man in the republic of human literature, the late Dr. Samuel Johnson; who, notwithstanding his being generally esteemed for the strength of his genius, and the indefatigability of his researches, but likewise for the rectitude of his heart, and the propriety of his conduct; who, notwithstanding his strong attachment to an exterior establishment, and an hireling and sin-soothing ministry, and, as there is reason to believe, his being unconversant in works of an inward, spiritual, and soul-awakening tendency; was, by the internal emanations of divine light, favoured to see, and bitterly bewail, his own defects and shortness in that purity, which is required by the gospel of Christ. May none, who enjoy superior privileges and more advantage of spiritual improvement, "quench the Spirit," and stifle the inward convictions of that divine light, which can only show them the sinfulness of sin, and the wickedness and deceit of their own hearts.

27th.—This week there hath been also some increase in a religious exercise. May I, for the small remnant of time which remains, "so number my days, as that I may apply my heart" to that wisdom, which is "peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy;" that the fruits of righteousness may be sown in peace.

28th.—I found some internal draft to attend the forenoon meeting at Gracechurch street, and was favoured with some travail of spirit for the arising of divine life in that large assembly, and the circulation thereof from vessel to vessel; even the life of the Son of God, who came "that we might have life, and that we might have it more abund-

antly:" a great part of the time was passed in silence: I think some solemnity was attendant.

30th.—The week-day meeting at Horsleydown was small and silent: my animal spirits were oppressed with heaviness, but there was a degree of light and intelligence "within the veil."

Ninth month 1st.—A pretty quiet day, but spent very negligently in respect to reading in the Scriptures, or other books, for edification and instruction in righteousness; although I found leisure time to re-peruse the trials of the rioters in Southwark, for amusement.

3rd.—The desires which closed the last week, through mercy, have been measurably answered; but too great a remissness in religious reading and retirement has been sorrowfully prevalent; nevertheless, I have at times remembered the Lord upon my bed, and meditated on his name in the watches of the night.

4th.—I intended this day to have been at Hartford, in order to have attended the monthly meeting at Buntingford; but deliberating upon the draft that attended, and endeavouring to form a balance on both sides, I found my mind most calm and easy in staying some time longer in Tooley street. The forenoon meeting at Gracechurch street was large; Edmund Gurney was present, and appeared in testimony.

5th.—At the meeting of ministers and elders in Gracechurch street, our friend Edmund Gurney delivered some necessary cautions to those concerned in the ministry; particularly in respect to a too ready and frequent attendance of meetings on account of marriages and burials, and the exercise of their ministry in them. The said friend dined with us at Tooley street.

6th.—The week-day meeting was small, low, and silent; I received a watch-word respecting my own particular, of which I grievously lost sight in the subsequent part of the day: I laid down in sorrow, being self-condemned.

7th.—This day I came from Tooley street to Hartford, where so considerable a part of my painful pilgrimage on earth has been passed.

10th.—This week I have greatly fallen short of a due application of heart to the meekness of wisdom, also in respect to religious reading and retirement: from a secret impulse, I perused some of the works of Elizabeth Row, in which I was conversant in former days: some part of the exercises of the heart was, I hope, measurably profitable: I also had the opportunity of perusing a work of a different tendency, entitled "The Way

to Happiness," but without a reference to the source of happiness, "The way, the truth, and the life;" who declared to his immediate followers, "without me ye can do nothing." The author supposes Nature to be on the side of goodness, because some children have been known to have viewed with complaisance the representations of goodness, and to have rejected with abhorrence those of evil; but this argument in favour of natural rectitude, is certainly futile and inconclusive: in such cases may it not rather be supposed, that the blessed Jesus, who suffered little children to be brought unto him, is pleased in their infantile periods of life to draw nigh unto them; and by the secret and supernatural agency of divine grace, to change the corrupt bias of human nature. With readiness it is indeed allowed, that the natural propensities of both infants and adults are abundantly diversified; some, through the various stages of life, continuing to abhor the more flagrant and atrocious breaches of virtue and morality, who are themselves strangers to that goodness which is of God only; and to the operations of that grace which brings salvation. But man by nature, notwithstanding all his accomplishments and refinements, is prone to evil, even "as the sparks fly upward;" which propensity nothing is able to subdue, but the omnipotent power of Him, who made man upright, and is able, in his present fallen and lapsed state, to restore him into the heavenly image, by and through the grace of a Redeemer, who came "to seek and to save that which was lost," and "not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance." In the forenoon some religious exercise was experienced: I read with satisfaction some part of Augustin's Meditations.

11th, 12th, and 13th,—I was chiefly confined to my bed. I hope in some degree I was profitably exercised in reading divers deep and dying experiences of others; some tenderness of spirit and inward exercise was at most times attendant. I have often wondered to see those who have been lovers of the world, and the things of the world, consoling themselves with the supposed consciousness of a well spent life, because of their discharge of some moral and relative duties. "The grace and truth which comes by Jesus Christ," can only cause a sick bed to become a bed of comfort; this, and this only, can make the "wilderness like Eden, the desert like the garden of the Lord," and "the valley of Achor a door of hope:" this is health in sickness, joy in sadness, and riches in poverty: may it increase and be multiplied among the poor in spirit, is my desire. Amen.

14th.—My wife being to go to Amwell in

the afternoon, I wrote a few lines on my bed to my sister Scott, partly consonant with the import of the memoirs on the other side. When I either speak or write on religious subjects, I love to have my own spirit dipped into some feeling sense of the things which are spoken or written.

15th.—This morning I found my mind strangely altered from what it had been for some days past; no capacity for reading or retirement. "I have put off my clothing, how shall I put it on?"

17th.—The forenoon was rather comfortable and luminous; I read part of the Journal of John Nelson, a Wesleyan Methodist; his occupation was that of a journeyman mason, he laboured much in the work of the ministry, and underwent great persecution. The knowledge of being justified, freed from all sin, and perfected in love, are very desirable experiences: and I verily believe, through grace, attainable even on this side Jordan; yet their being so much insisted on by John Wesley, and the ministers in connexion with him, it is to be feared has produced many counterfeits; and occasioned divers to be confident of their having already attained, instead of following on in a child-like simplicity, "to know the Lord, and his goings forth, to be prepared as the morning."

18th.—My wife and E. M. were at the quarterly meeting of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, held this day for the first time at Hitchin.

24th.—This week I have been almost wholly confined to my bed. Some application and access in inward travail of spirit, towards the Fountain of holy heavenly help, has been experienced, especially in the night season; an adorable mercy: by unnecessary and unprofitable words being spoken in the day-time, condemnation and sorrow have been frequently attendant; and the fruit of that righteousness which is sown in peace, has been too much obstructed. May this bed of confinement yet more fully become a bed of refinement!

25th to 29th.—Pretty comfortable days. I met with some lively truths in Archbishop Leighton's select works. We were visited by divers Friends.

Tenth month 1st.—Little increase has been this week experienced in the divine life; too much insensibility and hardness of heart has been attendant.

12th.—How marvellous are the works of Jehovah! How wonderful are his dealings with the sons of men! his "judgments are a great deep," and "righteous altogether;" on every inferior excellence has he unalterably affixed this inscription, "Vanity of vanities,

and vexation of spirit." From the days of my minority, have I held the Fountain of living waters in the highest estimation; and with a considerable degree of assiduity, have I sought after its sacred streams; the bread which perishes not; the waters which never fail: yet, wo is me! too much have I leaned to the broken cisterns of creaturely consolations, which have ever proved as bruised reeds, as piercing spears, miserable comforters, and the chastisements of a cruel one. Sincerely, inviolably, have I been attached to my inseparable companion in health and sickness; who, for more than thirty years, has, with the greatest fidelity and perseverance, relieved my wants and ministered to my necessities; yet, with the most pure and choice blessings, satan, the author of strife, the enemy of peace and righteousness, commixes his evil seed; which "brings forth fruit unto death." Having, from early youth, enjoyed almost invariably a good appetite, the meat in the dish, and the wine in the glass, have had for me fascinating charms; and though always esteemed by my fellow men, in every respect, temperate, and even by some, rather abstemious; and although in my latter years I have been peculiarly scrupulous and cautious in respect to the quantity of meat and wine; yet, by a too pleasurable indulgence of my palate, my own heart condemns me: God is greater, and who then among my fellow mortals shall justify me? The voice of the internal monitor is greater than the witness of men. "Let God therefore be true, and every man a liar." This also has been a "vanity and vexation of spirit." For many years I enjoyed so much pleasure by riding on horseback, that I was almost ready to say with the pariah's wife on another occasion, what good would my life do me, if by any means I should be deprived of so pleasing and salutary an exercise? This also for nearly ten years has failed; and I have had only the inferior pleasure of walking on foot in the neighbouring fields, and in the streets of the metropolis. Now, by the prevalence of disease, the few hours which remain are likely to be passed either in my bed or solitary chamber: the enjoyments heretofore possessed also increase my vexation. From my youth upwards, have I been singularly attached, but I hope not irregularly so, to a docile and domesticated spaniel; four of them have miscarried, not having attained the common age of those animals; the fifth is now destined to death by reason of disease, and a danger of the canine madness. I am also deprived of the pleasure of my poultry court, and the fragrance of my garden: a separation from those simple scenes of delight, less

reprovable than the allurements of avarice, or the insolence of pride, are also "vexation of spirit." Thus bereft of every broken cistern, is there yet remaining for me any access to "the Fountain of living waters?" Unsupplied with the husks which the swine eat, is there any possibility of a return to the Father's house, where there is bread enough and to spare? My paths are obstructed as with walls of brass, and my ways circumscribed with an enclosure of thorn; is there yet in "the valley of Achor a door of hope?" Will the dread of nations, the glory of men and angels, be pleased with the lame, the halt, and the maimed, for a sacrifice; or accept the few remaining hours of a life, too much of which has been passed in a servitude to the law in the members? Indeed, upon my bed and in the watches of the night, some glimpses of the divine glory, and of that mercy and forgiveness which are in Christ Jesus, have seemed at times transiently to pass before me; and the name of the Lord to be proclaimed, "the Lord God, gracious and merciful; forgiving transgression and sin," and "passing by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage." Yet, wo is me, "in my flesh there dwelleth no good thing;" but too much of that nature, which "is of the earth, earthy," and fallen "short of the glory of God." In this hour of distress and deep deprivation, what language shall I adopt? what accents shall I utter? surely not those of absolute despondency, lest I should "add drunkenness to thirst;" but rather may I unite in the plaintive determination of the prophet formerly, viz: "I will bewail, with the weeping of Jazer, the vine of Sibmah: I will water thee with my tears, O Heshbon and Elealeh!" because the summer fruits and the harvest are fallen. May Israel still be holiness to the Lord, and in his latter end may there be an increase! Amen and amen, through Christ Jesus our Lord; the King of saints in Zion.

16th.—Went in a chaise to the forenoon meeting. The superior glory and excellence of the gospel dispensation, and of the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, to that of the ministration of death written and engraven in stones, being in my silent waiting much illustrated in the view of my mind, a few sentences were spoken relative thereto: those present were also reminded of the Spirit of truth, which not only reproves for sin, but also for righteousness and judgment. I know not whether they either understood or felt much of the things which were spoken; but for the present a degree of solemnity seemed to attend.

27th.—Opening the Bible at the 4th chapter of 2nd Kings, where the miraculous mul-

tiplication of the widow's oil is recorded, and the prophetic direction thereupon, viz: "Go, sell the oil, pay thy debt, and live thou and thy children of the rest:" that passage appeared emblematical of the oil of gladness, wherewith Jesus, our High Priest, "was anointed above his brethren," who has made a complete reconciliation for their sins, and removes the yoke of their transgressions, because of "the anointing which abideth in them," "and is truth and no lie."

30th.—It has often been immediately suggested, that every moment of time here is a mercy, in case it is employed in the all-important purpose of "working out our own salvation with fear and trembling," through the power and prevalence of Him, "who worketh in us both to will and to do, of his good pleasure: but the possibility of neglecting and resisting, on our part, the supernatural operations of divine grace, seems to be implied in the apostolic injunction, Rom. vi. 13; But yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, &c.; and the following meditation thereupon by an ancient author, viz: "If God has my members as weapons and instruments in his hand, I shall certainly be able not only to work, but to conquer; since he understands full well how to manage them. May the Lord only give me grace not to wind myself out of his hands, else I must needs be a dead, useless carcase, for how can a pen write alone, without being in the hand of a writer? It is true indeed that it is very hard, nay, impossible, to be really good, and do all that is good, if we undertake it alone; but God himself living and working in us, and we truly delighting in him, it is very easy and pleasant; therefore care is only to be taken that our heart may always be the working place, and our members the instruments of God; in which, and through which, he can perform every thing himself." In the afternoon, my wife being gone to meeting, I read and explained some portions of holy Writ to W. P. D. and W. C., to which they attended in a becoming manner. They also read.

Eleventh month 2nd.—Being very suddenly and unexpectedly seized with so violent a spasm, that there was rather a prospect of a sudden change, I was greatly alarmed, but mercifully favoured in some degree to look to him, from whom help cometh; who is able to save, and mighty to deliver, in whose hand are the issues from death. The attack seemed to go off almost as suddenly as it came on; being relieved before noon: nevertheless, in the subsequent part of the day, I was almost ready to repine at the prospect of increasing indisposition and continued confine-

ment; and was very deficient in a due thankfulness and submission of spirit to the Sovereign of the universe. My bodily sufferings are many, but they might have been much more abundant. In the evening, literally, I entered into my closet and shut to the door; some recollection was experienced; afterwards, I read some part of the prophecy of Amos the prophet.

6th.—I went to the forenoon meeting in a chaise. Glorious things are spoken of Zion, the city of God; some glories peculiar to the gospel of Christ were illustrated in the view of my mind with a degree of power and perspicuity: the meeting was large, but wholly silent; a degree of solemnity was, I hope, attendant; but towards the close, some appeared too desirous of breaking it up.

9th.—In the week-day meeting, the disconsolate state was much before me, and the exceeding great and precious promises appertaining thereto were renewed in my remembrance; but I was afraid to speak, well knowing there is a ministry of the Word in silence; "the self-same spirit, dividing to every man, severally, as he will."

12th.—My mind has been pretty calm this day, and not unattended with some good desires. May the Lord, the Spirit who worketh in us to will, perfect in us the deed according to the good pleasure of his goodness. O Lord, forgive the errors of the preceding week! In the evening I spent some time in retirement, and reading the Holy Scriptures.

14th.—I once more walked to the forenoon meeting; some words were spoken concerning that worship which is in the spirit, not in the letter; not barely in the form, but in the substance; in which there is prevalence, dominion, and dignity. In the evening read in the family one of Archbishop Leighton's excellent discourses.

16th.—As I walked to Queen's Bench a tender tear was dropped in remembrance of those mercies which have not failed. I finished letters began the preceding day to Thomas Corbyn, J. Row, and J. Kaye. At the week-day meeting, soon after sitting down, a watch-word was internally imparted, suited to my own state. The meeting was wholly silent.

19th.—"What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?" Some sense of a life which is incapable of termination, even the life of the Son of God, who "abideth a priest continually," "after the order of Melchisedec," "having neither beginning of days, nor end of life," has attended: "the fruits of righteousness (were also measurably) sown in peace." I have also had an opportunity

of reading Sacred Biography, by Dr. Hunter; a work which may be deservedly ranked with the first productions of the present age, in respect to the excellence of the composition. In it, the lives and characters of the patriarchs are delineated with accuracy, and their respective allusions to the coming of the holy and just One, his humiliation and glory, illustrated. These lectures, although not exhibiting an uncommon depth of spiritual knowledge and experience, may nevertheless, be perused even by the spiritually minded, not only with pleasure but profit; both with respect to the world which now is, and that which is to come.

20th.—In the forenoon meeting, a fresh sense of the necessity of divine light and life being imparted from on high, was the companion of my spirit: the meeting was silent, but I hope profitable to some.

23rd.—At the week-day meeting, some words were spoken concerning prophesying, spiritual gifts, and the necessity of having the Spirit.

26th.—O that I might keep my tongue as with a bridle, and set a watch always before the door of my lips!

29th.—Although so lately I was desirous of setting a watch before the door of my lips always, yet this day I have spoken unadvisedly with my tongue, because of afflictions which have not arisen out of the dust.

Twelfth month 3rd.—In the evening I entered into my closet, and although I seemed incapable of prayer, I was so tendered before Him, who dwelt in the bush, that I could in measure adopt a language formerly uttered, "It is good for me to be here."

8th.—Pained in body, and distressed in soul, fearing lest, after having "preached to others, I myself should become a cast-away;" not keeping my body in subjection.

13th.—Dined with my wife at Amwell. Walking in the evening in the shrubberies, I suddenly was impressed with a secret sense, that James Harvey, Thomas Hartley, and John Fletcher, although greatly diversified in their religious sentiments whilst they were members of the militant church, are now united in that which is triumphant; singing praises to the Lord God and the Lamb, who is worthy for ever: the glimpse of light soon disappeared, and I sat in the solitary chamber of my afflicted sister, under distress and poverty of spirit.

14th.—In the week-day meeting, some introversion of spirit was attendant, with the language of "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief." A pretty easy day, both with respect to body and mind.

17th.—Went with my wife and M. P. to

Hitchin; and spent part of the evening with our worthy friend William Mathews, at Mary Sharpless'.

18th.—Attended the fore and afternoon meetings at Hitchin; our friends William Mathews and Ann Jessop, from North America were there, as also at the meeting of ministers and elders in the evening: the said meetings were I hope respectively attended with a degree of divine favour.

31st.—This last day in the year 1785, was a day of trouble and distress; towards evening I was under much bowedness of spirit, by reason of a sense of my dissolution, and unfitness to meet Him, who is the judge both of the quick and of the dead; and who hath said, "Behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be."

First month 1st, 1786.—In the forenoon meeting at Gracechurch street, humiliation and self abasement were experienced; and an awful sense of the Almighty Jehovah, who "made the heaven and the earth," the seas and the fountains of water, continued most part of the day to be the covering of my spirit.

2nd.—Some low and laborious exercise of spirit was experienced at the meeting of ministers and elders; the whole was a quiet day, and closed pretty comfortably.

3rd.—The week-day meeting was well attended at Horsleydown, and to me it was measurably a favoured season; some openings, relative to the benefit of that faith which is by the operation of God, were attendant, but not expressed.

4th.—Very unexpectedly, some internal perceptions of the divine presence and power were attendant, and as I walked by the Rotherhithe road and Shad Thames, this was the language of my spirit, Great grace, Great mercy. "What shall I render to the Lord" for his unspeakable gifts, his unnumbered benefits! May his long suffering produce in me that repentance, which is never to be repented of! Rather a solid and profitable sitting was experienced at the monthly meeting of Horsleydown, before the women friends withdrew.

8th.—In the forenoon meeting at Horsleydown, two short testimonies were delivered, concerning the Rock of ages, as it is written, "upon this Rock, will I build my church, &c." In the afternoon, was engaged in combating heaviness; but towards the close was relieved therefrom, under the ministry of H. Gilbert.

9th.—The quarterly meeting at Devonshire-house was large, and attended with a divine solemnity in silence; towards the close, William Matthews was engaged in a living min-

istry; neither much intelligence nor instruction attended myself as a particular, but a testimony respecting myself and others present, "It is good for us to be here."

10th.—At the week-day meeting at Horsleydown, some interior exercise was experienced, and solemnity in silence; poverty was my portion, but these expressions being inwardly suggested, they seemed to afford a secret supply; there is a "hope which entereth into that within the veil;" for man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word which the Lord doth speak.

11th.—In the evening I had some perceptions of that in-speaking voice, which saith, "This is the way, walk ye in it." May I henceforth be enabled to walk in that way "in which the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err."

13th.—In the evening I was favoured with a distant view of Him, who saw Nathaniel under the fig-tree.

14th.—Some part of this week has been passed pretty peaceably, but not free from blame; unnecessary speaking, as I think, having at times too much prevailed. Retiring in the evening, an inquiry was suggested, how has the cross of Christ been complied with in this respect? a constant abiding under the same, being requisite to a state of true discipleship, and consonant both with the tenor of the New Testament, and the language of the light within.

17th.—At the week-day meeting at Horsleydown, those present were recommended, by a short testimony, to the great Prophet; the antitype and substance of all the former prophets, and their prophecies.

22nd.—In the forenoon meeting at Hartford, my mind was touched with a sense of the love of Christ; and a short testimony was delivered concerning the extension of it to those who were afar off, "The outcasts of Israel," and "the dispersed of Judah."

24th.—After a day of distress, retiring in my chamber, I was favoured with some internal breathings after Him, who is "the resurrection from the dead," the life everlasting, the Amen, who hath "the keys of hell and of death."

25th.—At meeting, distress and heaviness attended, but a ray of light and life seemed to pervade the region and shadow of death; counsel was plentifully imparted, but nothing was expressed, save an invitation of the heavenly bridegroom—Canticles—it seemed in some degree a solid and favoured sitting; at least I was lightened in my own particular.

28th.—The former part of this week was passed under some sense of divine light and love. Whoever calls upon the name of the

Lord Jesus with soul-saving efficacious prevalence, must depart from iniquity; for unless holiness to the Lord is inscribed on all the vessels in his house, a profession of him will not avail in the day in which the Lord shall make inquisition for blood, and search Jerusalem with lighted candles. In the evening I remembered Zion, and was rather relieved.

29th.—In the forenoon meeting, doctrine was plentifully imparted; and those present were exhorted to seek the Lord. Notwithstanding the appearance of some favour being renewed in the preceding meeting, in the afternoon there seemed scarcely a "shred left to take fire from the hearth, or water withal from out of the pit;" heaviness assailed, but was resisted. I walked, both morning and evening, in the adjacent fields, and heard the sound of the blackbird: mystically and spiritually, may "the singing of birds salute the recesses of the solitary."

30th.—Walking before dinner through Post Wood, in some degree, I endeavoured to combat the interruptions of recollection. In the afternoon, great poverty and distress were the companions of my spirit; I saw myself as nothing, yea, less than nothing, before the Dread of nations.

Second month 1st.—In the week-day meeting, some meditations concerning the loving of God accompanied my spirit; and some part of them were expressed to others.

3rd.—This day, many were partakers of the benefit resulting from a dinner, somewhat similar to the gospel feast recommended by our Lord; Luke xiv. 13, but the master of it was too destitute of a gospel spirit.

4th.—The former part of this week was passed pretty comfortably; but since, I have fallen short of the fruit of that "righteousness which is sown in peace."

15th.—On the 7th inst. my esteemed friend and relative, Sarah Carpenter, came to our house, and left us on the 11th. We entered on this stage of trouble within twenty-four hours of each other, and by reason of age and manifold infirmities, are not likely to continue thereupon much longer. From disorder I was precluded from some pleasing prospects, which otherwise might have attended the approach of spring—the melody of birds, and the fragrance of flowers. Separated from a sense of the divine life, "the charity which never faileth," and the hope which enters within the veil, and left to the prevalence of the turbulent and indignant propensities of fallen nature, the soul is as "the troubled sea," which "casts up mire and dirt." The first-day of the present week was a day of clouds and thick darkness; "I went down to the bottom of the mountains;"

"the depths enclosed me," and "the earth with her bars were (seemingly) about me for ever." I had for more than a week past been unable to read in the Bible, or any other book, for edification and comfort; neither scarcely had a single text of Scripture occurred to my remembrance: but yesterday evening, after having submitted to a confinement in my chamber, and opening my Bible, and meeting with the history of the prophet, who suffered so severely because of disobedience, I was favoured "to look once again towards the Lord's holy temple," and the power of divine Omnipotence; which is yet able to redeem "my life from corruption."

16th.—I was confined to my chamber, and read again the book of the prophet Jonah, and divers other passages in the prophetic writings. How wonderful is the analogy of faith, and what a variety of passages are there in the sacred records, of which, under the influence of the interpreter, one of a thousand, may dart a ray of light and hope upon the habitation of the desolate. I also read Dr. Everard's discourse, entitled Divine Exorcism, and John Payne on Weakness of Faith. Blessed be the Father of lights, the author and giver of every good gift, for the cloud of faithful witnesses.

28th.—Those irradiations of divine light and grace, with which I have of late been favoured, have been exceedingly transient, and passed over as the hasty visits of a sojourner. Some memoirs, lately preceding, express a sense of the Lord's former loving kindnesses; and the distillations of the dew of Hermon have been measurably renewed upon my disconsolate spirit; but since, manifold and diversified have been my afflictions. During many disturbed and sleepless nights, I have at times been enabled to pray internally to Him, who "can fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power," either in many or a few days; with whom "one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." On the 21st and 25th instant, I visited my sister Scott, at Amwell, whose bodily dissolution seems now to be hastily approaching. May the Lord have mercy on her spirit. Amen.

Third month 8th.—For this week past I have been in a state of great disconsolation, "tossed with tempests," and without comfort: I have been almost wholly shut out of the holy Scriptures; and the law of the Spirit of life has been like a book sealed with seven seals, which no man, neither in heaven nor earth, could open; but "the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David," is able to open the book, and unloose the seals. May he

prevail in the greatness of his power, and may all the disconsolate and bewildered pilgrims in this dreary vale be, with my soul, enabled to look with an eye of faith to Him, who "was dead, but is alive," and liveth for evermore; whose wonders are seen in the deeps. Amen.

24th.—Came with William Matthews from Hartford to London.

29th.—A degree of recollection was unexpectedly experienced, and some sensations were attendant of that ancient loving kindness which is better than life. At the young folks' meeting at Devonshire house, a degree of recollection was renewed, and the testimony of the royal Psalmist: "When thou saidst, seek ye my face; my heart said unto thee, thy face, Lord, will I seek." May I still be enabled to "seek the Lord, in the beauty of holiness;" "in newness of life."

Fourth month 1st.—This week, especially towards the latter end of it, after a long season of the deepest desertion, some tender tears have flowed, and some recollection has been experienced, in remembrance of that most merciful God and Saviour, who in the midst of judgment remembers mercy; and hath declared that he will not contend for ever, neither be always wroth; for the spirit should fail before him, and the souls which he has made: but that when the wicked turneth from his wickedness, he shall not surely die; but that he shall live in that righteousness which is by faith. As I walked this evening in the Grange road, &c., the elementary air, although a cloudy evening, seemed reviving to human nature, and somewhat emblematical of the breath of life which was breathed into man, at his first formation; and without a renewal of which by Him, who "raiseth the dead, and quickeneth whom and when he will," the soul that sinneth shall surely die.

9th.—The general meeting at Hunsdon was small and low; some degree of prayer and recollection was experienced in my own particular, more than I expected. In the evening, very unexpectedly and unsought for, some mystical passages in the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, were suggested and powerfully impressed: "Great is the mystery of godliness;" the smallest and most obscure sensations thereof are attended with an excellent glory. "Hosanna to the Son of David."

12th.—The week-day meeting was well attended in respect to numbers; those present were recommended to believe on him whom God hath sent; according to that which is written: "This is the work of God, that ye believe in him, whom God hath sent."

15th.—If I remember aright, a spiritual author observes, that a sense of the want of recollection, and a desire after it, is a degree thereof. "To will hath been present with me;" but the exercise has been sown in weakness: my soul has been as the dry ground.

22nd.—The Scriptures and other pious books, in the general, have been sealed; but I have received some satisfaction and internal refreshment in the perusal of a volume of poems by William Cowper. Although I have little judgment in poetry, or propensity to peruse it, the versification of the above appears to me to be in some places elevated and striking; in others, mean and inharmonious; and some of the sentiments sublimely just and evangelical. The full stomach loathes the honey-comb; but to the hungry soul, every morsel which feelingly expresses the bitterness of self and sin is sweet. "Is not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?"

23rd.—Some recollection was witnessed at the close of the afternoon meeting at the Park, and likewise at a sitting in the evening at cousin Kaye's; our friend Rebecca Wright, of North America, being present with us: nevertheless, in other parts of the day, upon slight provocation, too much impetuosity of temper was sorrowfully prevalent. Alas! where is the meekness and gentleness of Christ Jesus! "who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; and when he suffered, he threatened not." Where are the fruits of that heaven-born charity, which "suffereth long, and is kind;" "is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil;" "beareth all things, hopeth all things, and endureth all things?"

29th.—My natural temper, although not wholly suppressed, has been measurably opposed; the least alleviation of, or deliverance from evil, is a fresh cause of joy to those, who are sighing under a heartfelt sense of the sins which so easily beset them. Lord, "lead us not into temptation," but, in thy own time, deliver us from all evil; for thine only is the power, and to thee only the glory is due for ever.

30th.—At the Park meeting, in the forenoon, heaviness was for a time attendant; but afterwards I was favoured with some sense of that hope which enters within the veil; even Christ within, the hope of glory; in whom is the adoption and fulfilling of the promises. The latter part of the meeting was, I hope, on the whole, solemn and profitable. The afternoon meeting was throughout heavy, though in my own particular, not without some desires after divine good.

Fifth month 3rd.—In the evening I was

favoured, while walking, with some sensation of "the gift of God, which is eternal life."

4th.—At the Park evening meeting, in the early part, during the silence, and under the lively ministry of W. S., I was favoured with a renewed sensation of the gift of God; the after-part of the meeting was low, although many words were spoken.

7th.—In the forenoon meeting, at Hartford, the necessity of a deep, heartfelt repentance, and of that salvation which is only by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, was expressed in a short testimony.

21st.—The forenoon meeting was large; a short testimony was delivered concerning the Minister of the sanctuary which God has pitched, who is "an High Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec;" and the sufficiency of his teachings. The afternoon meeting was low. At the interment of the wife of J. F., who was not a member of our Society, there seemed to be a revival of divine favour in silence, and during the testimony of M. P. I afterwards walked by the Seal Wood, attended with a degree of recollection: outwardly, the singing of the birds is heard, but internally, the robes of winter and sackcloth continue to be the covering of my spirit.

22nd.—Read, with some savour and spiritual application, some chapters of the Evangelist John. "Great is the mystery of godliness" and of faith, when held in a pure conscience, washed "by the blood of sprinkling," and "sanctified by the Holy Ghost."

Sixth month 10th.—Soon after I sat down in the forenoon meeting, some degree of supernatural solemnity seemed not only to cover my own mind, but measurably the assembly in general. The Patriarch's petition, concerning one of the tribes of Israel who was tried at Massah, and proved at the waters of Meribah, was strongly impressed, with a pointing to express the same, with some similar expressions; our friend, Rudd Wheeler, coming in, I remained in silence; if either myself or others suffered by my so doing, I am sorry for it, but I should have been more sorry, if I had broken in upon the concern of another. The meeting was wholly silent, but seemed an uncommonly favoured season.

11th.—Walking by Dunkirks towards Brickendon place, as I sat on the bench, I read the 13th and 14th chapters of the Evangelist John, and contemplated the great mystery of godliness contained in them, with some recollection and spiritual perception of the things which are written.

19th.—Our friend Zachariah Dicks, of North Carolina, came in the morning to our

house, and attended a meeting appointed at Hartford in the forenoon. I passed most of the afternoon measurably recollected, in the house belonging to Dunkirks' farm, where, in the time of T. Grubb, I had been so frequently refreshed both in respect to body and mind; I remembered the days of my youth, and the love of my espousals; I was then very defective, and am I now nearer the kingdom of God, which is "righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost?"

21st.—In the week-day meeting, the attention of myself and others present was recalled to the great Physician, who said to the petitioning leper, "I will; be thou clean."

25th.—In the forenoon meeting at Hartford, I was measurably quickened under the ministry of M. P., who bore a living testimony to Him, "who quickeneth the dead," and suffered without the gates of Jerusalem, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood; in concurrence with which, a few words were added in respect to the having fellowship with him in his sufferings: upon the whole it seemed rather a favoured season, especially towards the latter part. Sarah Beck and Sarah Sheldon were at Ware in the afternoon; rather a low season, although divers evangelical truths were delivered by the former.

Seventh month 2nd.—The dead were again in some degree raised, under a short testimony delivered by M. P. concerning the number of dry bones formerly beheld by the prophet.

3rd.—The monthly meeting was small, and a low season; I withdrew before the business was fully finished. As I walked towards Hartingfordbury, and stood in the meadows on the banks of the river Mineram, my mind became measurably calmed, and awfully impressed, under a sense of that Almighty Being, "who made heaven and earth, the sea, and the fountains of water." My soul has long been "tossed with tempests, and not comforted." In the late hours of my life, may the Prince of Peace, who commanded the tumultuous waves, speak peace, and bruise satan, the author of strife.

5th.—The week-day meeting very small, but rather a solid season. The sitting at the feet of Jesus, to hear his gracious words, was recommended in a short testimony.

9th.—At Hunsdown general meeting, few words were spoken; M. P. and myself were present, and I hope measurably exercised in a ministry, which, without the medium of vocal language, has a tendency to gather others who are present under the wing of the great Shepherd, whose name is "Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is, God with us."

15th.—Some part of this week has passed pretty fairly: "the fruits of righteousness, which are sown in peace," have this day been despoiled, as by a dry wind from the wilderness.

16th.—In the early part of the morning meeting, I sat in a state of heaviness and great helplessness; my secret sighs were many, and my heart was sad; but ere I was aware, a testimony was internally formed to the nature and universality of the true light, which shineth in darkness; "Christ within the hope of glory," and "the mystery hid from ages and generations;" but now manifested by the gospel of light and immortality. No liberty for utterance attended. M. P. was afterwards exercised acceptably in a public ministry.

17th.—In the afternoon was at J. Allis's, whose son-in-law, my worthy and beloved friend and kind landlord, J. Kaye, was present; who, although in the bloom of youth, is in a declining state. What is man but the creature of an hour, as a bubble upon the water? "he cometh forth as a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not." May the Lord, in mercy, from whom only are the deliverances from death, prolong yet a little a life so valuable, and useful to myself and many others!

19th.—In the early part of the week-day meeting, a recommendation to sit as at the footstool of that redeeming grace, which alone "bringeth salvation," and teacheth to deny all ungodliness, was mentally formed, but not expressed.

20th.—I remembered the Lord, whose mercies "are new every morning;" of which I am unworthy. I admonished, in a cross to my own will, two members of our monthly meeting, who had behaved inconsistently with their Christian profession.

21st.—Went in a chaise to Berkhamsted, Cheshunt, &c. On my coming home, I was informed of the decease of my esteemed kinswoman, M. C. who, for many years past, had been at times an assistant in our family when in Tooley-street, and always conducted herself towards me in a kind and obliging manner: she was poor in this world, but I believe for some years had been seeking after those riches which fail not; under a sense of the weakness and depravity of human nature, and the invalidity of those things which perish with using.

23rd.—In the forenoon meeting, those present were recommended to "the Fountain of living waters."

28th.—How innumerable are the Lord's mercies respecting the dispensation both of his grace and providence! Without him not a sparrow perisheth.

29th.—A very tempestuous day with respect to weather, but some part of it rather serene within; but low in respect to that life which is "by faith in the Son of God." Divers days in the preceding week have been passed in a similar manner.

30th.—In the forenoon meeting, some desires that those present might be inwardly gathered to the great Shepherd, who laid down his life for his sheep, were formed and expressed.

31st.—In the evening, sitting on Queen's-bench, with some tenderness of spirit, I sought forgiveness of the errors of the preceding month in particular, and of my past life in the general, which have been many. Lord, pardon; Lord, save, or I perish. The Lord's way is in the whirlwind, "and the clouds are the dust of his feet."

Eighth month 2nd.—Every vision of inoffensive amusement fails, when the spoiler is present.

4th.—The fore part of the day uncommonly luminous and comfortable; before dinner, sitting in the Grange road, I was measurably recollected, and read divers portions of Holy Writ, particularly the 5th and 7th chapters of Micah, and the 1st of Nahum: in the latter I remarked those gracious promises, "Though I have afflicted thee, I will afflict thee no more: I will break his yoke from off thee, and burst thy bonds in sunder." "Behold, upon the mountains, the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace."

5th.—Notwithstanding the views of the last, this was a day of deep and heartfelt distress; the yoke was renewed, and my bonds strengthened, because of unprofitable discourse.

6th.—The monthly meeting held for worship at Hammersmith was silent, in respect to verbal testimonies; and if I was not mistaken in my feelings, a degree of interior silence was the companion of some spirits present; I myself was also measurably a partaker of the benefit.

12th.—For the most part of the past week, a desire has attended my mind, that I might be delivered from evil, which has in degree been graciously answered; but I have been weak respecting religious retirement, and too deficient also in reading the Holy Scriptures.

13th.—In going to the general meeting at Crossbrook street, I was inwardly so poor, that I could scarcely say, "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner;" yet there was a desire that peace and silence might prevail, at least in my own particular. After some time of sitting, my mind became suddenly impressed with a sense of the burthen of the word of the Lord, which is "as a fire, and a hammer,

that breaketh the rocks in pieces;" and the necessity of its influence and operation on all, that the crown of pride might be abased; not only in the exterior adorning "of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of the putting on of apparel," but in the more hidden workings of the mystery of iniquity; the filthy rags of our own righteousness.

16th.—In the week-day meeting, some words were spoken, concerning that prayer which is "in the spirit, and not in the letter." The meeting was very small, but rather solid.

22nd.—In the morning, I read some portions in that part of Scripture which is deemed apocryphal, with some degree of savour and application; particularly the 2nd and 3rd chapters of the Wisdom of Solomon, and the prayer of Manasses king of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon.

24th.—In the evening, I found an inclination to attend the Park meeting; I remembered my attending that meeting in the days of my youth, when the Lord was calling me by his grace to be a disciple of his Son Jesus Christ; who, during a long pilgrimage in a world of trouble and accumulated woe, hath at times been as "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." May he be graciously pleased yet to arise upon my benighted mind, in the effulgence of the Father's glory.

26th.—The forepart of this week was rather placid and serene: religious retirement and reading were not wholly unattended to.

27th.—Our friend Z. Cockfield, being buried from Ratcliff, the meeting was very large, and in a good degree solemn and favoured.

31st.—The evening meeting at the Park was small, and much of the time passed in silence; I myself was peaceable, but poor, destitute of that deep exercise and those deep openings which are experienced, when "deep calleth unto deep," and the water spouts descend upon the dry ground.

Ninth month,—From the 13th to the 25th I was confined; internally my state gloomy: searching the Scriptures, and other experimental records, could not perceive the condition of any parallel with mine. "Is it therefore nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see, is there any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, where-with the Lord hath afflicted me." He hath made me desolate and faint all the day; the yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hand: "they are wreathed," and fallen heavy upon me.

Tenth month.—To the 3rd of this month I continued confined; with this additional dis-

tressing circumstance, such a cough as I do not remember to have had before.

16th.—About noon I was seized with so violent a spasm at the bottom of Mill Lane, that I was brought home, by three men, entirely helpless; no bodily strength remaining, and little sense but that of the danger of immediate dissolution, and my own unfitness to appear before a God of purity, peace, and love; whose Son, our Saviour, and only Mediator with the Father, when he suffered for us, reviled not again; "who his own self bore our sins in his own body on the tree; that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness;" by whose stripes only we can be healed: very wonderfully I received a reprieve for a few hours from the grave.

22nd.—Great and inexpressible has been the lowliness of my flesh and spirit; "my sighs have been many," and my heart has been sad; an universal languor has seemed to pervade my whole system. I have indeed been more conversant in a copy of the Night Thoughts, which accidentally came to hand, than for many years before; and the following address to the Deity has been frequently revived in my remembrance, with an application to my own state of captivity and desolation.

Father of immortality to man!
And Thou the next! yet equal! Thou, by whom
That blessing was convey'd; far more! was bought;
Ineffable the price! by whom all worlds
Were made; and one redeemed! Illustrious light,
..... Look down, look down,
On a poor breathing particle in dust,
Or, lower, an Immortal in his crimes.
His crimes forgive!

29th.—Another week of great distress; day unto day has uttered the language of self-condemnation, and night unto night has shown the knowledge of my own vileness, and unmeetness to appear before Him, who is "of purer eyes than to behold evil." Divers times—daily, an exhortation contained in chap. iv. 1st epistle of Peter, which I read this day week, hath been renewed in my remembrance; with desires that the Lord may prosper so necessary and important an exercise, and cause me continually to increase therein, viz: The end of all things is at hand: be sober, and watch unto prayer: during a disturbed night, this exhortation was very frequently renewed in my remembrance. Reading in the morning the 57th chapter of the prophet Isaiah, the following verses were impressed upon my mind; "for the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth, and smote him: I hid me, and was wroth, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart: I have seen his ways, and will heal him: I will lead him also, and restore comforts unto

him and to his mourners :” they remained on my mind during the course of the forenoon meeting, with a reference to my own state, and the covetousness of my own heart ; a covetousness neither of silver nor gold, nor the praise of men ; yet of things that perish with the using. The meeting was large and silent, and I hope profitable to some.

Eleventh month 5th.—I was desirous of attending the forenoon meeting, but the day being very cold I was prevented ; my heart doth not much condemn me for a neglect of the attendance of religious assemblies when in health, and a desire after an inward exercise of spirit before Him who seeth in secret ; but I now see, more diligence might have been practised even in that respect ; I have been particularly led to see the importance of that duty, by the late perusal of a treatise, entitled, “The Privy Key of Heaven,” by Thomas Brooks, in which the worthy author recommends mental prayer, in the following pathetic address, by way of reply to an objection against the duties of the closet. “Thou sayest thou canst not pray ; but canst thou not sigh nor groan neither ? there may be the spirit of adoption in sighs and groans, as well as in vocal prayer : the force, the virtue, the efficacy, the excellency of prayer, doth not consist in the number and flourish of words ; but in the supernatural motions of the spirit, in sighs, in groans, in pangs, and strong affections of heart, that are unspeakable and unutterable : certainly the very soul of prayer consists in the pouring forth a man’s soul before the Lord, though it be but in sighs, groans, and tears ; one sigh or tear from a broken heart is better pleasing to God than all human eloquence.” By which it appears that Thomas Brooks and some of his brethren in that day, and under that dispensation, were not wholly unacquainted with that prayer which is “in the spirit, and not in the letter :” although strangers to the glory, beauty, and excellency of silence in solemn assemblies, as they have been conspicuously and clearly manifested to those called Quakers ; concerning whom, it may, in this respect, be said, “Who is like unto thee ; a people, favoured by the Lord,” herein, “above thy fellows ?”

12th.—Again prevented from attending meeting, O ! that I had been more diligent when better able. Although, from the time I was visited with the day spring from on high, I have remembered the Lord, and “the word of his holiness ;” and have neither sought the riches, nor what are commonly called the pleasures of the world, yet I have been too much attached to the things which are seen, and which have perished with the using ; the

most pleasing of which has usually proved as the prophetic roll, sweet in the mouth, but bitter in the belly. O thou ! who delightest in mercy, and “forgivest iniquity, transgression and sin ;” let thy mercy be great, and, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, purify and pardon at the hour of death ! My sister Scott was buried this evening at Ratcliff.

13th.—The petition of the preceding evening, for purification and pardon, being measurably maintained, in the afternoon I perused divers parts of the Scripture, in which I had been frequently conversant, with more savour than at other times. O Lord, sanctify the solitary chamber ! may it be sanctified through the truth, so as to become a school for my instruction in righteousness.

15th.—Within doors : pretty peaceable in the day, but in the evening my soul became as the troubled sea ; tempests arose, the waters roared, and were troubled, as by an east wind from the wilderness ; “not to fan or to cleanse,” nor I hope to make a full end of that small degree of faith, which may yet remain in the bottom of my distressed mind ; justly comparable “to a grain of mustard seed,” which is the smallest of all seeds.

19th.—At the forenoon meeting, those present were reminded of the apostolic commendation, to wait for the coming and revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ.

26th.—Although much heaviness and weakness were my attendants in the forenoon meeting, my mind was measurably enlarged, respecting the spirituality of prayer ; and the mistake of many of our fellow-professors of the holy Christian religion, who suppose the medium of vocal language essentially necessary to the making their requests known to Him, who “searcheth the hearts, and knoweth the mind of the spirit.” I expressed nothing verbally.

30th.—At the commencement of this month, my continuing here until the close of it appeared rather improbable ; there is still less likelihood of my seeing the close of another : but our times and the length of our days are in the hands of an all-wise Disposer, who sometimes is pleased to bring down the mighty, and to support the feeble ; his ways and the designs of his providence can never be ascertained by the utmost efforts of human sagacity. My pilgrimage on earth has been long extended, but in many instances I have grievously erred and “fallen short of the glory of God,” and of the gracious purposes of the heavenly vision with which I was favoured in the days of my youth : but are the bowels of the Lord’s compassion and forgiveness for ever sealed towards me ; may he not

yet find a ransom and return, and have mercy on the workmanship of his hands? He will assuredly visit for iniquity, transgression and sin; but he knoweth our frame, that we are dust: distressed and self-condemned, may I not despair of his loving-kindnesses, which have been of old, and of his mercies, which fail not? Lord, I would believe, "help thou mine unbelief."

Twelfth month 1st.—My wife being one deputed by the women's meeting, to inquire whether any connected with our Society were not properly provided with Bibles, I went with her to Hoddesdon and Wormley for that purpose; and, on inquiry, one family appeared not duly furnished with one. How remiss are many professing with us, concerning the things which conduce to their instruction in righteousness; and how attentive to those which "perish with the using."

4th.—Under much debility both of body and mind, I attended the monthly meeting; our friend S. W. had a short but lively time in testimony; two Friends having previously declared their intentions of marriage. In the subsequent business a concern prevailed, that the answers to the quarterly meeting's queries might be faithfully expressed; and all evasive representations avoided.

6th.—In much weakness, I attended the marriage of J. S. and M. P., jun.; a degree of solemnity seemed to prevail, particularly in the fore part; my mind was much impressed with a sense of the obligation and efficacy of drawing nigh unto God in spirit, according to that which is written, "Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you;" and our incapacity to comply with so profitable a requisition, without a heavenly draught and attraction from above; as it is written, "Draw us, and we will run after thee;" and again, "No man can come to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him." But I expressed nothing.

7th.—In the evening, I remembered the words of the Lord Jesus, which I once heard livingly repeated, in a select sitting, by our dear friend George Dillwyn; "In my Father's house are many mansions." But alas! "what portion have I in David," or "inheritance in the Son of Jesse?" It is not every one who calleth him Lord, Lord, that shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of his Father which is in heaven; and they only who overcome shall inherit the promises.

8th.—In the morning watch, I remembered the many mansions which are in the Father's house.

10th.—I sat under great languor in the forenoon meeting, but was not wholly desti-

tute of some feeble aspirations towards the God and Father of life, who is able to gird the feeble with strength, "fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power." Being distressed in the evening, and Luther's Commentary on the Galatians being particularly addressed to the wounded in spirit, I recurred thereto; but on a perusal of some passages, it appeared to me that the author, in endeavouring to exalt "the foundation," built not only with "gold, silver, and precious stones," but with "wood, hay, and stubble;" afterwards, I was profitably employed in hearing my wife read some more clear testimonies to the truth.

13th.—I was at the week-day meeting, which was low, small and silent. Our forefathers and many other faithful men were formerly feasted with the "fat things full of marrow," which are on God's holy mountain; they participated of the wine which is well refined from the lees; but to some of us it is an unmerited mercy, to partake of the crumbs from the Master's table.

14th.—In the forenoon, I read the 88th, 143rd, and 145th Psalms, with some spiritual savour and application to my own disconsolate state: I also dipped into John Bunyan's works, in which, with many mistakes and inconsistencies, there are waymarks for the weary. Afterwards, I read the parable of the prodigal son: I have been a prodigal; but from my youth upwards there have been desires to return to the Father's house, where the true bread is only found.

17th.—T. D. of Surry, was at our forenoon meeting. When the showers are withheld, both immediately and instrumentally, those who esteem themselves righteous are apt to attribute the cause to others present; but the truly humble and penitent, who dwell under a deep sense of their own demerits, are rather ready to query, Is it I? Is it I?—I am indeed humbled, but not sufficiently so.

25th.—This day being set apart for the commemoration of the birth of Christ, without a superstitious regard, I have annually, for some time past, viewed it with a degree of peculiar attention, and remembrance of that important event, in which all men have been interested ever since the commencement of time. I have seen many of them; the present in all probability will be the last; why should I desire an addition to their number? have I from year to year experienced an increase in the knowledge of Him, who took upon him flesh, in order to finish transgression, and save his people from their sins?

31st.—Many sorrowful days have been passed during the present year, and for some months past I have been in all human proba-

bility hastily advancing to that very awful, tremendous period, when time shall be no longer. This day there have been some desires after good, but contrary things have too much had the prevalence; and what can I now add in the close of the year 1786, but adopt the sentiments expressed by a pious writer, which I lately met with; videlicet, "O Lord! how soon will my life be at a period! How little or nothing good have I worked, or how much have I wasted of my time only in vain thoughts; and what shall I say of all the unprofitable, nay, sinful words and works? O Lord! I cannot answer thee one of a thousand; I am ashamed and humbled in thy sight; pardon me, pardon me, O Lord! and if any time longer remains, grant that I may redeem it better, and bestow every part of it upon the most important and useful things, especially in prayers for myself and others: nay, let me spend all the few remaining hours as it were in prayers, and thus send them before me into eternity, that I may reap a blessed fruit of every hour in the world to come. O therefore! set eternity in all things before my eyes as my only mark." The prayer of Manasses king of Judah is also excellently adapted to the state of an awakened and disconsolate spirit. The evening was spent pretty much in reading, and religious conference. In many words frequently sin is not wanting, but I hope nothing, or at least but little, was uttered this evening, which was inconsistent with truth and soberness.

First month 1st, 1787.—Some good desires have attended, but evil also hath been present with me. A petition of a son of sorrow to the God of Israel, was also the meditation of my spirit, viz: "O that thou wouldest bless me!" and keep me from evil, that it might not come near me, to grieve me: the root of evil is within: after man's primæval transgression and separation from the tree of life, it sprang up in him as a mighty tree, with a prolific growth and luxuriant branches, bearing fruit abundantly. "From within, out of the heart, proceed evil thoughts," "anger, wrath, clamour, evil speaking;" according to that which is written, "When lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin, and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death:" these have been the sins which have so easily beset me; and have so frequently brought me into captivity to the law of sin and death: from them, good Lord! deliver me, that I may, during the few moments remaining, "receive, with meekness, the ingrafted word, which is able to save the soul." Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen.

5th.—When the Lord visiteth his people

because of their iniquities, "he invadeth them with his troops," and by their punishments, graveth before them, as "with a pen of iron," the things in which they have transgressed. I have derived too much consolation in the participation of the bread and wine that perish; but lo my strength hath failed! have I not been too inattentive to the spirit that quickeneth, and the law written within? whilst I have with solicitude pursued religious improvement, by the things which have been written by faithful and true witnesses; and behold, where are they? If all knowledge fails as a brook, and as the stream of a brook, passeth away; may I never forget the Lord, and his loving-kindness, which remain for ever.

6th, 7th, and 8th.—I was much indisposed with dizziness of sight and sense, my heart and my flesh failing; but I frequently remembered, with a degree of consolation, the declaration of Jehovah to his former people, viz: "O Israel! thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help."

26th.—I was much depressed by being suddenly informed of the decease of our dear and worthy friend Samuel Nottingham; whose lively labours in the ministry of the gospel, and exemplary conversation, made strong and lasting impressions on myself and wife, when with us at Hartford, above three years ago.

27th.—My bodily health and strength in the course of this week have been rather increased; but where have been my grateful returns to the Preserver of men, who, "bringeth down to the grave, and lifteth up." How unnecessarily are we often alarmed in respect to the casualties which may befall a body which soon must perish; but too inattentive are we to the diseases which attend a soul, which was formed for eternal existence!

28th.—The fore part of the day was rather luminous, both in respect to body and mind: I remembered the Lord that made me; the God and giver of every good gift, who "will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil;" in some degree I also sought after that peace which passeth knowledge.

30th.—The day was passed more luminously than some: in the evening divers Friends were with us; but little conversation passed which tended to edification, or a forwarding one another in the faith of Christ, "that faith which works by love." When we are together, outward and verbal opposition may be measurably avoided, but tumults and swellings may be felt within, which ought to be suppressed. We may esteem some of our fellow-men, and fellow-members, over-zealous,

and others too lax and indifferent; yet both parties may in degree be actuated by the same spirit and love of truth; although by natural complexions and prejudices they may in some respects be perverted from a perfect rectitude of judgment: in those cases we ought to forgive, as we desire to be forgiven, and to bear with the errors of those we may esteem mistaken; at the same time desiring all may be preserved from that mammon of unrighteousness, which leadeth men to justify themselves, and to despise others.

31st.—This day was passed pretty peaceably as to the outward, and without much cause for condemnation in that respect: but ought not the inside of the cup and platter also to be made clean? for “out of the heart proceed evil thoughts.”

Second month 1st.—With God all things are possible, “He bringeth down to the grave, and he lifteth up;” His is the power and the glory for ever. Amen.

4th.—After having been absent from our religious meetings ever since the first of the Twelfth month at Hartford, I once more attended the forenoon meeting, which, although small, was in a good degree satisfactory. I had cause of thankfulness to Him, who hath the key of David, and openeth when, where, and to whom, he pleaseth; notwithstanding my unworthiness, he did not appear to be wholly withdrawn; matter being freely and plentifully opened, with an application to myself and those present: but, alas! I have been “a man of unclean lips, and have dwelt among a people of unclean lips;” and what remaineth for me now, but that I wait for the salvation of God; and in much bowedness and nothingness of self, receive what may be graciously imparted by Him, who “giveth liberally and upbraideth not?”

10th.—This week has not been passed without some aspirations after a divine life, and that forgiveness of the past evil, which is only from God, through Christ, “whom he hath set forth to be a propitiation.”

11th.—Although prevented from attending a public meeting for worship, or reading in the Holy Scriptures, by reason of my want of sight, at intervals I experienced some attraction of spirit towards the great “Minister of the Sanctuary,” who is full of grace and truth, and fairer than the sons of men.

14th.—In the preceding evenings I have been in some degree edified, by hearing my wife read William Law’s answer to Dr. Travel; an excellent performance, replete with those pious and Catholic sentiments which are dictated by the gospel of Christ: the wise in that wisdom which is from above,

who labour to turn many to righteousness, shall shine; their work shall remain in the generations which are yet to come; when the memory of those who have excelled in that wisdom which this world teaches shall be forgotten.

17th.—After so long an absence, I was desirous of once more visiting Hartford and its environs; but found great feebleness in the attempt: for behold, the day is now come in which the pillars of the house tremble, “and those that look out of the windows are darkened;” and the hour is at hand, in which “the silver cord shall be loosed, and the golden bowl broken.”

18th.—After a long absence, I went with great feebleness of flesh and spirit, in a chaise, to the forenoon meeting at Hartford: early in the meeting a short testimony was delivered to the divine light and word, which is near in the heart and in the mouth; according to that which is written, “The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ, (he is Lord of all).” Our friend, M. P. was afterwards much enlarged in a living and evangelical ministry.

19th.—Be ye always ready, for ye know not the day nor the hour in which the Son of Man cometh, was often revived in my remembrance during the course of the day. I was not sensible of much cause for condemnation.

21st.—Great weakness and heaviness attended me in the week-day meeting; I strove against the latter, not without some desires towards Him, who “quickeneth the dead.”

24th.—How wonderful are the ways of the Preserver of men, both in respect to our immortal spirits, and those material forms with which they are clothed! “He bringeth low, and he lifteth up:” adorable are all his ways; in consummate wisdom are they formed. During the last week I have experienced some increase in bodily strength; but has there been any increase attained in that spiritual strength which is by faith in the Son of God? it has indeed been sought for; but great feebleness and imbecility have been my companions.

25th.—In the forenoon meeting, after a long and laborious silence, those present were exhorted to seek after that spiritual enlargement which is by the divine gift and grace of the Redeemer. In the evening walked once more by Kamp’s Hill to the brick ground, and in much weakness sought to set up my Ebenezer to Him, who hitherto hath helped me.

26th.—My bodily strength is indeed increased, but, alas! I am afraid of every

view of inoffensive gratification, lest interruptions and contrary occurrences should despoil the peaceable fruits of righteousness.

28th.—Towards the conclusion of the week-day meeting, a short testimony was delivered, recommending to a true and living faith in God and Christ; according to that which is written, “Ye believe in God, believe also in me:” before I stood up, some life and freshness seemed to be attendant on the opening, but on the expressing it to others, great weakness and languor both of flesh and spirit were my portion; and I sat down abashed, and in a very different sensation from my exercise on the 18th of the last month.

Third month 3rd.—Neither the present day, nor the week preceding, have been spent so well as they ought; nevertheless, in each day, desires after the best things have been attendant.

4th.—Attended the forenoon meeting, which was held in silence; some interior sense of the silencing influence of Emmanuel, who commandeth the waves and the seas, and they are still, was graciously experienced. I have frequently wondered at our being more often favoured with those sensations in our religious meetings, than at other times; but I recollect that we are exhorted, not to forsake “the assembling of ourselves together;” and that at such times we are more free from the impediments of peace and recollection, than we are in our own families and other places. O! the beauty and excellency of that spiritual silence, in which we feel after the Lord; who is “not far from every one of us,” in the temple of our own hearts; according to the divine and obligatory monitions, “Be still, and know that I am God.” “Keep silence before me, O islands! and let the people renew their strength: let them draw near, then let them speak; let them come near together to judgment.” I am fully persuaded, if this exercise was maintained, our religious meetings would be for the most part attended with a divine solemnity, superior to those of our fellow-professors of the holy Christian religion.

5th.—In the monthly meeting, Friends were excited to a faithful labour in a discharge of religious duties, by a revival of these words, “The labourer is worthy of his hire.” After the women Friends withdrew, those present were reminded of a labour essentially necessary for all, viz: a drawing near in spirit to Him, who is able to forgive their iniquities, and heal their diseases: the subsequent business was transacted in a spirit of love and condescension.

6th, 7th and 8th.—All these days I was in great perplexity, occasioned by various en-

cumbering and embarrassing views: I could see no way.

11th.—At the forenoon meeting at Hitchin, S. C. and M. R. appeared in acceptable testimonies: respecting myself, the vision within was as a sealed book; heaviness attended, which I endeavoured to resist, according to the proportion of faith and strength imparted.

14th.—A low, silent meeting at Hartford: dined at Amwell, and assisted cousin D. H., in selecting books for M. S., from her father’s library: walked once more into the shrubberies of my late brother.

17th.—In Tooley street. This day I was preserved measurably under the precious influence of the Prince of peace.

18th.—I pursued in spirit after peace; nevertheless, perturbations were too prevalent. In the evening my wife read some testimonies of Christian Friends. O for patience, from the God of patience! from whom proceed mercy and forgiveness, “and every good and perfect gift;” praises wait for him in Zion, who preserveth his prisoners, and those who are appointed to die; he only looseth the captives.

21st.—The pillars of the house trembled, the sound of the grinding was low, and every desire and hope of help seemed to fail.

Fourth month 1st.—In the forenoon meeting, after a long sitting in silence, those present were reminded of the penalty annexed to our first parent, in case of his disobedience; according to that which is written, “For in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die:” and that all his posterity have “sinned, after the similitude of Adam’s transgression.” Afterwards those present were reminded of the redemption which is by Christ Jesus; “the fountain opened” “for sin and for uncleanness.” The meeting held long, but I hope was measurably a solid and favoured season.

2nd.—In the monthly meeting, before the women Friends withdrew, it appeared to me, that a bare traditional belief in, or assent to, the coming of our Saviour, his death and sufferings in the flesh, or the most strict adherence to our own moral and ceremonious righteousness, without experiencing Him revealed in us, as our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, will prove unavailable to our salvation; according to that which is written, unless Christ be in you, ye are reprobates.

3rd.—I wrote a few lines, condemning myself, and requesting the forgiveness of a Friend, to whose remark I had made a hasty and unadvised reply in meeting: in the evening showed the same to M. P.

6th.—This day is set apart by the churches

of Rome and England, for the commemoration of the Resurrection of Christ from the dead: may we experience being "buried with him by baptism into death," and a being raised by him, through that faith which is "of the operation of God."

8th.—Went to Horsleydown meeting in the afternoon, a small, silent, suffering season. I was deeply distressed by the enemy of peace before I slept.

9th.—I was in the outward room at the quarterly meeting, at Devonshire house, before the men and women separated; it was a large and solemn sitting, although chiefly held in silence; there seemed virtue to go forth from Jesus, and to be extended to those who were afar off: I was favoured with some distant views of Him, who is "the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."

14th.—Came to Hartford. This week, together with many preceding ones, has been passed in much lowness: in respect to the small excursions I have made in the city and its environs, I can truly say I have had little pleasure in them.

15th.—Just before the close of the forenoon meeting a suing out of a pardon from the King of kings, not by "thousands of rams, nor with ten thousands of rivers of oil," neither by the law of any carnal commandment, but by "the power of an endless life," was recommended to the assembly: for a time, my mind was rather warmed and impressed with a sense of the inestimable gift.

16th.—I received a very kind, affectionate, and sympathizing letter, from the Friend whom I had offended on the 2nd instant; the receipt of which afforded some consolation to my wounded spirit.

18th.—The forepart of the week-day meeting was both unsettled and heavy; afterwards some degree of solemnity seemed to attend; and I was enabled in much weakness to look towards that beneficent Being, who promised to "bring the blind by a way which they knew not," and to "lead them in paths which they have not known;" to "make darkness light before them, and crooked things strait."

21st.—Every alleviation of evil is of grace, and ought to be received with thanksgiving. In the past week, I have in some degree been preserved from the ebullitions of turbulence; nevertheless, I have had abundant cause to adopt the plaintive language of the church formerly, "my leanness, my leanness!" The language of my spirit has been continued almost incessantly, Lord, I would believe, "help thou mine unbelief." I cannot rest satisfied with the reports of faithful witnesses, even those which are recorded in the sacred

writings, without a witness freshly imparted from on high, and a record from heaven, that the Son of God is come, and hath given me an understanding according to what he personally pronounced when on earth, viz: Thy sins, which have been many, are forgiven thee.

23rd.—I see my manifold calamities in measure arise from a secret, undesired, and almost unperceived infidelity. Unfaithfulness to discoveries of duties, plainly imparted, is the parent of doubtings and distrusts. He that doeth the will of God, "shall know of the doctrine;" "my feet have stumbled upon the dark mountains;" I have been as "a reed shaken with the wind," and more tossed with tempests than many who have been at ease in Zion, unemptied "from vessel to vessel;" but with a standard of their own formation, or the prejudices of an unrightly informed education, with much supposed readiness and clearness of judgment, are judging of the attributes of God, his dealings with man, and the nature of a future state of existence: but the day is coming, in which every false rest and mistaken judgment must be disturbed; in which deep only shall call unto deep, and the blind see out of darkness and obscurity: Lord, hasten this! the day of salvation; make plain thy paths to babes and sucklings, for the sake of thy Son, who is the light of life, and can open the blind eyes. Amen.

29th.—"There is no peace to the wicked," but the righteous is as a "green olive tree," in the garden of God; and standeth fast upon the mountains of holiness and everlasting strength; he shall not be overmuch dismayed at the terror which walketh in darkness, nor the desolation which wasteth at noon-day.

30th.—Rather placid and peaceful; not entirely void of thankfulness on account of my dear wife's indisposition being alleviated: I am not likely to be long with her, but find an increasing degree of affection and tenderness towards her, and of gratitude for her past and long continued goodness. We have lived together in the connubial state for nearly thirty-two years, in much concurrence and similarity of sentiments, in matters of importance; both in respect to things spiritual and temporal; frequently seeking with some solicitude after those things which appertain to life and salvation: the seed of the kingdom has been plentifully dispensed within us, but an enemy has likewise sown tares, which have sprung up, and too greatly prevented the good seed from growing up to maturity: with the men of Succoth, we have been taught with the briars and thorns of the wilderness, which many times, and often, caused us to "go mourning all the day long," and to bow down

our souls as the street and the ground, to them which went over. Now the time of separation is near, arise, O Lord! "thou and the ark of thy strength;" rebuke the devourer, and put a hook into the jaws of the Leviathan, for our souls' sake, and the sake of thy beloved Son, who only is able to save; to whom be the praise of his works. Amen and amen.

7th.—I was informed of the decease of my dear friend John Kaye. He was early favoured with the visitations of divine grace and truth, and being obedient to the heavenly vision, he became "as gold" seven times "tried in the fire;" an example to believers, "in word, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity:" having also a good report amongst those that were without, by many of whom he was greatly beloved, and his death is deeply deplored: and of him it may be truly said, as of righteous Abel, that "being dead, he yet speaketh."

Fifth month 9th.—At the week-day meeting, the translation of the beggar into Abraham's bosom was much before me.

13th.—At Crossbrook street meeting, after sitting some time, these words were imparted, viz: "Out of the belly of hell I cried unto thee, and thou heardest my voice;" they remained as a nail fastened in a sure place "by the Master of assemblies," during the sitting, and the subsequent part of the day, and night following.

14th.—My wife read to me divers passages of Holy Scripture, in Job, Isaiah, and Jonah, which were rather consolatory.

24th.—At the Park evening meeting I was measurably recollected, in the room adjoining the meeting-house; and enabled to look in much debilitation and weakness towards Him, who is entered within the veil, and who is able, by the might of his power, to destroy all the veils which remain, and to "swallow up death in victory." For a season, my mind seemed to acquiesce in the divine counsels and allotments, both in respect to time and eternity; according to that which is written, "although he slay me, yet will I trust in him."

26th.—Returned to Hartford. A remarkable change from former days at this period of the year; but a still greater change is at hand: I cannot with any degree of rationality have the most distant expectation of seeing the return of another year: alas! where shall I then be? Futurity is a blank; it baffles every vision; excellent things have been spoken of Zion the city of God: but the most authentic and faithful records are as sealed books, unless freshly opened by Him, who hath "the key of David:" from whose

internal documents I have too much deviated. Lo! now my darkness and distress is as the great deep: "is it nothing to you," who "are at ease in Zion," who are trusting in uncertain riches, or in the most dignified elevations of an imperfect and creaturely rectitude?

27th.—I attended the forenoon meeting at Hartford; my hope was to participate of bread in secret, but alas! heaviness and dissipation enclosed me as a garment: various sentiments and scriptural passages passed my mind in a hasty and swift succession; but alas! what are the cogitations formed by or in the human mind, unless impressed "by the Master of assemblies," "as a nail in a sure place?" what is the chaff to the wheat? it is the Word, which is as a fire, and "like a hammer that breaketh the rocks in pieces," and opens the prison doors.

29th.—Upon my bed, in the morning watch, the call of Jehovah to the men of Israel was brought to my remembrance, and continued with a lasting impression during the succeeding day; "Seek ye the Lord, and ye shall live." Came from Hartford to Tooley street.

30th.—I was with my wife in the forenoon at Devonshire house meeting; a season of recollection, and I hope of some advantage to myself as an individual; and in general a solid and favoured sitting.

31st.—In the forenoon, much embarrassed by a succession of company, and some disagreeable confabulations which attended. I have now no time to attend the works and ways of men: one work is only necessary, the work of salvation. Having for some time had a pointing to attend the evening meeting at Devonshire house, I went; at first sitting down I was much discouraged, on account of my own weakness in every respect, and the concourse and heat attendant; before many words were spoken, my mind was suddenly impressed with a sense of that spiritual and internal worship, which can never be described by human eloquence; nor attained by the wisdom, efforts, and righteousness of men: men may limit themselves, and one another, and seek to set bounds to the great deep; but they can never limit Him, who is illimitable; who causeth his sun to arise, and his rain to descend, both on the just and the unjust; who hath compassion, when and where he will have compassion. "Search the Scriptures," was the command of our great Master, and is of universal obligation; they ought to be searched by all; but one word or sentence thereof, enforced by the wind which bloweth when and where it listeth, is of more efficacy than all creaturely

researches of them, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelation: but this ought to be no discouragement to a diligent perusal of their sacred records, in the lowest and most disconsolate seasons, when they may seem to us only as a dead letter; for the words which we then read, "as bread cast upon the waters," may be raised in power, after many days. Our dear friend George Dillwyn, had afterwards living and evangelical ministrations, both in testimony and supplication. I came home better than I went.

Sixth month 1st.—In the room adjoining Horsleydown meeting, soon after sitting down, I remembered that when many people were assembled, the Messiah was pleased to display that fulness of the Godhead which dwelt in him bodily; and the power of the Lord was present to heal them: on the same ought to be our only trust; for "in vain is the help of man," and cursed are they who trust in him. The meeting was very much crowded, and numerous testimonies were delivered by our female Friends.

3rd.—I went to Devonshire house meeting; soon after I sat down the testimony of the Lord Christ was brought to my remembrance with a degree of power, viz: "If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins:" do I truly believe in Him, whom God hath sent, by a faith which works by love, to the purification of my heart and conversation? Am I through a true and living faith saved from those sins which so easily beset me? Shall I ever be saved from them, through faith in the Son of God? All things are possible to Him, with whom we have to do. The afternoon meeting at Devonshire house, low and restless in the fore part, more solid and composed afterwards. Our friend John Gough had a large time in testimony, "the hand-writing on the wall" was set forth against those who only cry Lord, Lord; who are "weighed in the balances and found wanting" in the oil of life, which only gives admittance into the bridegroom's chamber; and whose kingdom is nearly finished. I would not turn aside from the terrors and judgments of the Lord, which are so justly due to me; neither would I harden my heart against "the sure mercies of David," which fail not; is not he who writes "the sins of Judah," as "with a pen of iron," able to cast them as into the depths of the sea; and to remove the hand writing upon the wall? He seeth not as man seeth; who shall "say unto him, what dost thou?" Nothing is withheld from him; the work is his, and to him only the power belongs.

20th.—Soon after I sat down in the weekday meeting at Hartford, the call of Jehovah

to his people formerly was renewed in my mind with a degree of power, viz; "Be still, and know that I am God:" many passages of holy Writ, relative to the mission and ministry of the Messiah, by whom the Father now speaketh, who is a high "Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec," were also attendant, and continued with a degree of freshness during the sitting; but I was fearful of expressing any thing, both on account of my own weakness in every respect, and unfitness for so solemn and important an exercise.

24th.—The morning being very hot, I was much oppressed in walking to meeting, and sat a considerable time in great languor both of flesh and spirit; but our friend M. P., about the middle of the meeting, having a lively and evangelical time in supplication, I was measurably strengthened; and the circumstance subsequent to the crucifixion of our Saviour, that when a soldier finding his body differing from his fellow-sufferers, thrusting a spear into his side, "forthwith there came thereout blood and water," was freshly renewed in my remembrance; together with some considerations respecting the spiritual and mystical significations of that very singular event; but judged those sublime subjects more proper for my private meditation than for public utterance.

27th.—Being better in my health a few days past when at Hitchin, than I had been for some months; whilst there, my spirits were rather exhilarated; and perhaps I might converse on subjects too freely among my friends, for in the tongue is deadly poison, and "in a multitude of words there wanteth not sin." I have often thought, that in the relating narratives there is a great aptitude to exceed the bounds of strict truth, by exaggerating for a supposed embellishment what we relate; this is a species of falsehood I myself have been too guilty of, although not more so I believe than many others; and have been condemned for the same by Him, who bringeth every word into judgment, and with a most unerring scrutiny and precision distinguisheth the truth. For some time past I have had rather a recourse to palliatives, as, if I remember right; or a, suppose it might be so; rather so and so. Although these subterfuges may be preferable to downright and unguarded lying, yet they are beneath the dignity of real truth, which is bold as the day, and in no need of deceitful coverings; there is therefore abundant cause for us to unite in the address uttered by one formerly, viz: O Lord! keep thou the door of our lips, that we offend not with our tongues.

29th.—During this month, an increase in

bodily strength has been continued. Some embarrassment on account of acute disease in the neighbourhood has for some days past been rather prevalent; and interrupted a due gratitude and thankfulness for an increase of strength and health, beyond all human probability; but this day I remembered, with consolation and self-application the following declarations in holy Writ, viz: "When Israel came out of Egypt," "Jordan was driven back; the mountains skipped as rams, and the little hills as lambs:" the great mountain became a plain.

Seventh month 1st.—In the forenoon meeting, heaviness and lassitude attended; towards the close of the sitting, the spirit of heaviness was removed, and a religious exercise increased; all visions of a divine savour were withheld; "the wind bloweth" when and "where it listeth." I hope this sitting in poverty and outward silence was profitable; although before the close, as is too common, some were desirous of the meeting breaking up; an error very inconsistent with the profession of a patient waiting; for, after we have long sat under the dominion of death, circumscribed with penury and distress, He who "turneth the shadow of death into the morning" is sometimes pleased, by an unexpected exertion of grace, to cause light to arise out of obscurity; to quicken the dead, and to call "those things which be not, as though they were;" His is the power, and to him the praise belongs.

2nd.—The monthly meeting was large and measurably satisfactory; I was enabled, if I mistake not, to speak in the meeting for business with some clearness on various subjects. Walking in the evening in the meadows behind my former habitation, near Cowbridge, I was enabled in weakness to petition the Supreme Being, that sweetness of spirit might prevail; that instead of the thorn, there might be the myrtle, and instead of the brier, the fir tree; for a name and a sign not to be cut off, to the praise of the Prince of peace. Amen.

8th.—After attending the forenoon meeting at Hitchin, I was at an evening meeting at Wymondly; where, after two testimonies were delivered, there was a long time in silence; during which inward and religious exercise was experienced, and an increase of solemnity seemed to cover the large assembly, which I believe was upon the whole satisfactory.

25th.—Went in great distress to the evening meeting; by a remembrance of that faith in Christ by which "the elders obtained a good report" before the law, and under the law; but which is more conspicuously signified by the manifestation of God in the flesh

and the publication of the gospel. I was measurably relieved.

28th.—I have been at Hitchin above three weeks; have experienced during that period a considerable increase of bodily health and strength; every increase in that which is of good "cometh from the Father of light" and spirits, whether it is ghostly or corporeal; but that increase which is by the faith of Christ is inestimably precious, the chiefest good; and proceeding from Him who is from everlasting to everlasting, is of an everlasting duration: but in this, I have grievously fallen short; when I would have done well, evil has been too frequently present with me: who shall deliver me from "the law in my members," which warreth against the law in my mind? "I delight in the law of God, after the inward man."

29th.—Two low meetings at Hitchin, and very small; but I hope not altogether unprofitable.

30th.—I went with my wife to Baldock monthly meeting, which was large and satisfactory; our friend T. D. of Surry, being accidentally present, appeared in testimony: towards the close, some words were spoken concerning the benefit of a due attendance of such assemblies, if the minds of those present were exercised in feeling after that inward life, which far surpasses all that is outward.

Eighth month 1st.—I came with my wife and sister D. from Hitchin, having passed a month in and about that town; my strength and health were considerably increased during that time; but a due thankfulness for the unexpected blessing received, and the fruits of righteousness and peace, were greatly wanting.

5th.—I was at Hartford meeting in the forenoon, which was a low season.

6th.—Some degree of life seemed to attend in the monthly meeting.

12th.—Went with my wife and M. P. in great weakness to Crossbrook street general meeting, which was small, and to some a suffering season.

15th.—I went in a coach to the week-day meeting, in much faintness and debilitation; but after sitting a while, some glances were imparted towards the great Physician, who heard the blind man, that earnestly sought for help from him. He "is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," and "in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead." I received a hint, if possible to continue my diary, which has of late been too much neglected; it may perhaps be only necessary to add a few lines to those which are written. A peaceable day, with some desires after the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus.

16th.—Great lowness and languor continue, the little degree of strength which was unexpectedly renewed being dried up as a potsherd. I am in "the dust of death," but there is life in Christ, and that is the light of them who sit in darkness, bound in chains of affliction and iron. My wife read to me in Quarle's Barnabas and Boanerges, and some other pious books.

17th.—On my bed I suddenly remembered these words, which I found written in the 14th chapter of the book of Hosea, viz: "I will be as the dew unto Israel; he shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon;" a gracious promise. Very weak and low, but pretty clear from condemnation on account of temporary transgression.

21st.—I came from Hartford to Tooley street.

25th.—Since I have been in London my bodily strength has increased, with frequent incitements to petulance and peevishness; nevertheless, desires have attended, that being "blind as the Lord's servant, seeing many things," but observing them not; opening mine ears, but hearing not; I might be delivered from "debates, envyings, wrath, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults."

26th.—I was rather recollected in the room adjoining to the Park meeting-house in the forenoon. I remembered those who were tried at the water, and the men who lapped, even "as a dog lappeth."

29th.—In the evening, with soreness in my throat, I was cast down. I remembered that awful and tremendous annunciation recorded in holy Writ; viz: "This night thy soul shall be required of thee." I have not been anxious to lay up treasure on earth, but too remiss in constantly seeking the riches and righteousness which come by Christ Jesus.

31st.—In some degree, I was a companion with those who are looking up for redemption in Israel.

Ninth month 1st.—Great searchings of heart were attendant, in "the valley of the shadow of death."

6th.—In the evening, signifying to our friend Deborah Townsend my intention and desire to have attended her and companions to the evening meeting, she replied, Meeting is every where; a plain saying, but faithful, and worthy of all acceptance; according to that which is written, "Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin, the Lord is with you, while ye be with him;" which gracious declaration was confirmed and enlarged by the Legislator of the new covenant, saying, "Lo! I am with you always."

8th.—The necessity of the new birth was set before me, and its consisting in the love of God; according as it is written, "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." Men are naturally lovers of their own selves, following after pride, covetousness, the lust of their eyes, and the pride of life; and a final separation from those enjoyments seems likely to prove their torment to all eternity: may those tremendous sensations be averted by the blood of the everlasting covenant, which "speaketh better things than that of Abel." This evening, about the sixth hour, departed my long acquainted friend and relative, J. Allis, senior, the acquaintance and frequent companion of my juvenile years.

13th.—Came from Tooley street to Hartford.

14th.—When the rebellious servant of the Lord "went down to the bottoms of the mountains; the earth with her bars" seemed to inclose him for ever; and when the apostle Paul was supposed to have been overtaken by the avenger of blood, the Lord magnified his power in their deliverance. Arise, O Lord! "I beseech thee," and the ark of thy strength; subdue principalities and powers, "touch the mountains," that they may smoke, and cause the hills to flow down at thy presence, that the horn of thy salvation may cast all iniquity into the depths of the sea; "for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever" and ever. Amen.

16th.—I went once more to the forenoon meeting at Hartford, in great weakness of body, and abased in spirit, like unto him who lifted not up his eyes to heaven, "but smote upon his breast." After I had sat awhile I felt, or at least thought I felt, somewhat of the consolations which are in Christ Jesus; and the good will of him who dwelt in the bush, when the bush burned and was not consumed, to be extended to those present; not only to the weak and depressed in spirit, but also to the stout-hearted, who were far from righteousness. A freedom, and a seeming impulse, seemed likewise to attend, to call all present to look to the Lord Jesus Christ, who trod "the wine press alone," who suffered for our sins without the gates of Jerusalem, and who is the light and life within. I went after dinner to Hitchin, and attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders; I experienced a degree of strength to be renewed both inwardly and outwardly: the meeting was large and solid; M. P. had a lively allusion, in her testimony, to the men who formerly pressed through the host of the Philistines, to draw water from the well of

Bethlehem: a sublime oriental narrative, replete with spiritual and mystical instructions in righteousness.

17th.—I sat in the quarterly meeting at the outskirts, but was in some degree a participant of that silence, which, as a canopy, seemed to cover that numerous assembly. I seemed also to be favoured with some sense of that illimitable compassion, which causes the sun to shine on the just and the unjust, and the rain to descend on the righteous and the wicked.

18th.—In the evening meeting at Baldock I was favoured with some sense of that love, which is stronger than death. Sarah Crawley only appeared in testimony.

19th.—In the week-day meeting, Samuel Spavold having appeared in testimony, a few words were added, concerning "the Captain of the Lord's host;" Christ Jesus, "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

23rd.—Came in the afternoon from Hitchin to Hartford.

26th.—In the evening after the reading of some religious letters, I was suddenly recollected, with some views towards Him, with whom nothing is impossible; by whom sometimes, when every refuge has failed, "the valley of Achor" becomes "a door of hope;" and those gracious purposes brought to pass almost instantaneously, which have been unsuccessfully sought for during the greatest part of a man's life. This remark may appear rather calvinistical; but it is consistent with the analogy of faith, declaratory of omnipotential benevolence, and untainted with the errors of John Calvin.

29th.—I was exercised in striving against sin. This week I have heard a narrative of interesting and remarkable occurrences in the life of *****; containing many stupendous displays of divine grace and providence, in his preservation from death and hell. The Lord "speaketh once, yea, twice, in a dream, in a vision of the night;" when men appear to be sleeping the sleep of death, he then sealeth those instructions which are the way to life; but they rebel against Him. Our author being early favoured with convictions of sin, and incitements to religion and righteousness, erroneously supposed them to be the dictates of a natural conscience. If any thing inferior to the spirit of the Redeemer effectually reproves for sin, "satan is divided against himself:" it is only the spirit of Christ that "convinces the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." Sound therefore, and consonant with the analysis of gospel faith, were the testimonies of George Fox and Robert Barclay, to the Lord Jesus Christ; as "the light of life;" and only "true light,

which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

30th.—In the forenoon meeting, various vague openings passed my mind in swift succession; but I was preserved in silence, and not without some true travail after the real substance, both for myself, and on behalf of those present. Afterwards, divers adverse occurrences attended: I was wanting in patience.

Tenth month 3rd.—On the third of 10th month, 1754, I was married to my dear wife, who has ever since been my faithful and constant companion: Almighty goodness has blessed us with a due proportion of "the fatness of the earth," and what is infinitely more valuable, with "the dew of heaven," and the knowledge of Christ: but satan has withstood us, and too greatly obstructed the fruit of that righteousness which is sown in peace. I attended the week-day meeting, which was small and low.

20th.—This week, in hearing read the experiences and records of some, who I believe were measurably partakers of the heavenly gift, much tenderness of spirit has been attendant, with an efflux of many tears; but I fear those ebullitions have been of the flesh.

28th.—At Hartford. I went to the forenoon meeting as well as usual; my mind was early impressed with a conviction of the inestimable advantages resulting from continually seeking after that divine mercy, which we all so greatly stand in need of.

From the tenth month 28th, to the eleventh month 3rd, I was almost wholly confined to my solitary chamber, by means of extreme weakness and want of breath: in respect to the state of my mind, I have been distressed, "but not in despair:" divers passages of Scripture have at various times passed through my mind with a degree of freshness. I have been much preserved from petulance, with gratitude to my dear wife, for her tender and unremitting attentions. The Lord is a God that hideth himself; he passeth by, but we perceive him not; he goeth by, but we observe him not; and he is often nearer to us than we are aware of; "for in him we live, and move, and have our being;" to whom be glory and dominion, not only from cherubims and seraphims, but from the dust of Sion for ever. Amen.

5th.—Whilst my wife was absent at monthly meeting, my desires were, that I might in my solitary chamber, be incessantly seeking the Lord; that as a poor wandering sheep, I might at last be gathered "to the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls," who laid down his "life for the sheep." Manifold and diversified are the sentiments even of pious

and good men, concerning the nature of true faith in Christ; but they all agree in this, that there is a faith in Him, which works by love, and that he is become "the author of eternal salvation, unto all them that obey him." May we follow after faithfulness to the internal documents and attractions of the spirit; and if, in any respect, we may obtain mercy to be found faithful, may we ascribe it solely to his faithfulness, "who worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure."

8th.—A pretty peaceful day, attended with some desires after divine good, although in much feebleness: every good desire is of God, and ought to be received with thanksgiving.

10th.—This week I have been low and weak in body and mind, but favoured with some researches after that divine mercy, which is adequate to the deepest misery. When I recollect how it hath been with me, since the Lord visited me by his grace, showed me the vanity of the world, and drew me in spirit towards himself; I am astonished: "I lie down in shame, and confusion covers me." The most superlative blessing of divine light and life has not been withheld from me; nor a sincere desire after the things which are the most excellent: I have likewise been favoured with a competent acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and the experiences of the pious in the former and the present age. Yet under these advantages how have I gone astray as a wandering sheep; in my supposed religious duties too frequently have I followed the sight of my eye, and the inclination of my own heart; there has frequently been the begettings of a divine birth, but for want of steadfastly abiding in the divine light, mistakes have been multiplied, and I have been prevented from being so useful to my fellow men, as otherwise I might in many respects have been: but God is gracious and merciful, "forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin," and "passeth by the transgressions of the remnant of his heritage." "Though he slay me," may "I trust in him."

11th.—I was weak both in body and mind. J. P. and his wife visiting us in the evening, some time was passed in retirement, and a cessation from words, a profitable exercise too unfrequent among us, for in many words sin is seldom wanting; at first sitting down below stairs I was perplexed, but going up stairs I soon became more calm, and my mind was a little opened, concerning that prayer which is in and by the Spirit; and that a sincere and earnest desire after it is in some degree a measure of the same, heard and accepted by Him, who "searcheth the heart, knoweth the mind of the Spirit," and

maketh intercession in a language that cannot be uttered.

13th.—In the forenoon I was favoured to contemplate the blessed estate of the numberless multitude, which John saw standing before the throne, clothed with white robes, and having palms in their hands: O! may we witness, through great tribulations, our robes washed and made white by "the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel."

17th.—A low day, but pretty peaceful; in the morning I heard some chapters read in that mystical portion of Holy Writ, entitled the Song of Solomon.

18th.—Whilst my wife was gone to the forenoon meeting, I meditated on the gracious promises made to the wilderness and the solitary place, as recorded in Isaiah, chap. xxxv. verse 1.

24th.—This week has been spent pretty peaceably; I hope with some increase of bodily strength, and religious improvement. "Take thee again another roll." When I consider the Lord's dealings with me from my youth upwards, I am filled with astonishment, I see no end of his praise: being early brought out of a state of the greatest enmity, and favoured with some sense of the divine life, I became exceedingly zealous for the truths of Christianity; particularly as held forth by the doctrine and discipline of the people called Quakers, according to their strictest form; and was applauded by many of my fellow-creatures almost as a spotless character, and an example unto others. Whilst in a spirit of self-exaltation I was exclaiming, behold my zeal for the Lord of Hosts! the cleansing of the inside of "the cup and platter" was too much neglected, and with the beam in my own eye, I became an eager observer and reprover of the motives in the eyes of my brethren: very uneven was my walk: may He who seeth not as man seeth, be merciful. For the last thirty years of my life, I think very few days have passed without repeated desires after the Lord, and the remembrance of his name, and that salvation which is by the grace of Christ: nevertheless, iniquities have still grievously prevailed against me. All my life I have been comparatively weak in body, but for the last three years the infirmities of old age have come fast upon me, my flesh and my strength have failed, and I have been chiefly confined to my solitary chamber; where at times I have sought with a degree of solicitude for religious improvement; and that the afflictions of my flesh might through the operations and influences of that grace which saveth, be a means of producing "the peace-

able fruits of righteousness:" but for want of constant watchfulness and walking in the divine light, in which only is the power, even there satan has intruded; and I have fallen into many inconveniences. How great has been the long-suffering of the Lord towards me, and his unwearied forbearance. He has followed me with his calls, and the reproofs of his spirit, from early youth, as to the eleventh hour of the day, and the advanced periods of old age, notwithstanding my manifold revoltings from Him. How justly might he in anger have withdrawn his loving-kindness, and bound me in chains of darkness "to the judgment of the great day;" but I hope he hath not so dealt with me: His ways are not as the ways of men, who mark the failings of their fellow-creatures with a rigorous severity, and often exact from them the utmost farthing. Since the last severe attack of disease on the 28th of last month, I hope some degree of spiritual exercise has been supported; and some internal sensation of Him, who is invisible, experienced. May He, who only hath the power, rebuke the spoiler for his own name's sake; that before I go hence, a further knowledge may be obtained of the Lord God and the Lamb, whom to know is life eternal. Amen. During the course of the present week, I have frequently meditated on various passages contained in the 3rd chapter of the Lamentations of Jeremiah the prophet, which I judged suitable to my late and present state. Blessed be the Lord for the words which are written.

25th.—In the evening I suffered compunction, because a degree of petulance prevailed; when shall I be saved from the sin which so easily besets me, by the blood of the Lamb? who on all occasions "committed himself to Him, that judgeth righteously."

Twelfth month 1st.—This day my soul sought for the preservation of prayer and peace, but satan was also at my right hand to resist me. In the evening I was agreeably affected in reading and meditating on the 40th chapter of Isaiah, a sublime portion of oriental or rather of sacred oratory; bearing such convincing proofs of its Divine Original, as have a strong tendency to confirm the weak and trembling believer in the faith of the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent; and to correct the arrogance and futility of skeptical suspicions. I had frequently before read this chapter, without being so fully sensible of its peculiar excellence: the scripture of itself is dead, unless inspired by the Lord, the spirit from whom it proceeded, with fresh light and unction.

4th.—A low day both in body and mind, and in distress for not having been more

obsequent to the monitions of that wisdom and grace, which "are profitable to direct."

6th.—This day I have been much afflicted with a difficulty in breathing, an awful sensation; may my looking amidst my many and diversified calamities be to Him, in whose hand only is the breath of life.

8th.—My mind was preserved for the most part of the day, in a good degree of calmness and serenity; often remembering the gracious monition and declaration of the Lord Jesus to his immediate followers, "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; he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened:" and now the Lord Jesus Christ is ascended on high, the power remains with him; and all the promises are in him, yea, and Amen, for ever.

19th.—"Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." "Be ye holy, for I am holy." I was sincerely desirous to perfect "holiness in the fear of God;" difficulties and defects were not wanting, nevertheless, I hope some degree of victory was experienced, by and through Him, who, that he might sanctify his people, suffered for them without the gate.

20th.—I came from Hartford to London pretty peaceably, with an unexpected increase of bodily strength.

23rd.—I went to the Park meeting in trepidation of spirit, not having been in any place set apart for worship since the 28th day of the Tenth month; but I soon became measurably recollected by the revival of an apostolic injunction, "Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you: resist the devil, and he will flee from you."

24th.—In the evening, I remembered the awful and stupendous preservations I have experienced from my youth to the present day; which have been of God, and not of man: may my mind be impressed with a proper sense of them, for the few hours which remain.

25th.—Being the day called Christmas day; very dark and cloudy in respect to weather, but rather placid within; for the most part of the day experiencing desires after the knowledge of the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent; neither was much condemnation attendant.

29th.—During the present week I have not been without desires after that spiritual improvement which is by the grace of Christ; but my dear wife having been for the most part indisposed, anxieties have arisen, which have too much interrupted the fruits of that righteousness which are sown in peace.

30th.—Early in the Park meeting-house, the gracious promises to, and dealings with, the blind, the lame, the halt, and the maimed, became the subject of my meditation, as a seed sown in weakness; according to the words which are written, viz: "I will bring the blind by a way that they knew not, I will lead them in paths that they have not known: I will make darkness light before them." The lame shall leap as an hart, the tongue of the dumb shall sing, and in the wilderness streams shall break forth. Although the stream was small, I hope some increase of the waters was experienced. Afterwards a short and well connected testimony was delivered by our friend A. C., I hope a favoured season to myself and others.

31st.—On the commencement of the present year, I adopted in sincerity the petition of Jabez, "Keep me from evil that it may not grieve me." I then little expected to have been in the body at the close of the year, but the works and wonders of the Almighty have been marvellously displayed, both in mercy and judgment, and I look upon my present state of existence a miracle of mercy. On the 22nd of the Tenth month "the king of terrors" seemed with irresistible power to invade my habitation, but for a season he was repelled; during that part of the ensuing year which may be allotted me, may my looking be continually to Him, who hath the "keys of death and of hell," the Shepherd of Israel, who neither sleeps by day, nor slumbers by night; but who is God over all, blessed for ever, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

First month 9th, 1788.—I set the Lord before me all the day long, that I might not offend against him.

10th.—The reverse to yesterday, particularly in the latter part of the day; I was wanting in patience.

28th.—A distressed and disturbed night; after an absence of six months I found an inclination to attend once more the forenoon meeting at Hartford. I went in much bowedness of spirit, but was enabled to sit until the close, not without some sense of the Lord, who healeth; and who formerly commanded the people to be still, and know that he was God.

30th.—I had more quiet and undisturbed repose than for many months past, and was measurably thankful for the benefit; nevertheless, in the morning some unprofitable words were spoken; afterwards a pretty quiet and peaceable day, attended with some searchings of heart after Him, who "giveth his beloved sleep."

31st.—This was a pretty peaceable and

satisfactory day throughout. "If we walk in the light," as God is in the light, we have peace one with another; thanks to the Prince of peace, "if He giveth quietness, who then can make trouble?" and when He hideth his face, who then can behold him? whether it be done against a nation, or against a man only.

Second month 2nd.—In the evening, these words were suggested, viz: Great is the power and goodness of God; "for since the beginning of the world, men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen," "what he hath prepared for him, that waiteth for him."

3rd.—Was a day of disappointments and cross occurrences, which were not endured with due patience or acquiescence in His will, without whom not a sparrow falleth. If the Lord was set always before us, it would have a great tendency to smooth the rugged paths of human life, and to render us more placid and agreeable to those with whom we may have to do.

4th.—I attended the forenoon meeting with some degree of bodily strength, but with little sense of the Spirit which quickens.

13th.—I set out from Hartford in such debilitation, I seemed scarcely likely to reach Tooley street in the body; but my life and strength were wonderfully preserved by Him, who looseth the bands of death, and delivereth those who are ready to die.

16th.—This day, part of the last words of David the son of Jesse were much in my remembrance, viz: "Although my house be not so with God; yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure: for this is all my salvation, and all my desire, although he make it not to grow." The earthly tabernacle has been assailed with a long continued series of adversity; and for want of walking with a steady pace in the divine light of which I have long made a profession, my distressed spirit is far from that purity and perfection which is proposed by the gospel of Christ; yet, at times, some sense is imparted of the virtue of an everlasting covenant, and some distillations of the mercies, which fail not, are experienced, which passes through the veil, by the everlasting arms which are underneath.

22nd.—I remembered the bush burned and was not consumed; when the Lord, because of sin, renders his rebukes with flaming fire, there is still mercy with him, that he may be feared.

23rd.—This day I met with unusual provocations from some which were without: by means of them, I deviated from the meekness of Christ Jesus, "who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threat-

ened not; but committed himself to Him, that judgeth righteously."

27th.—This day I was preserved in a tolerable degree of peace, under some sense of that sparing and forbearing mercy which fails not, and of that love which is stronger than death.

Third month 1st.—This week my bodily strength hath been much diminished; nevertheless, a remembrance of the bush that burned and was not consumed, hath at divers times with a degree of strength and consolation been impressed. "I will now turn aside; and see this great sight, why the bush is not burned," said the prophet formerly; and undoubtedly he not only beheld with his bodily eyes that wonderful manifestation, but likewise understood the mystical and spiritual signification of the same; and its accomplishment by the great prophet, like unto him concerning whom it is written, "And a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind; and a covert from the tempest: as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." "Oh! may I be hid as under the sacred pavillion of his power," in the tremendous hour of inquisition for blood. Amen.

8th.—Since I returned to Hartford my bodily strength has been measurably increased; but unprofitable words have too frequently prevailed: "I am troubled, I am bowed down, I go mourning all the day long." They who boast themselves in a vain show, and speak peace to themselves in their secret sins, shall surely be confounded in the day when the Lord shall sit in judgment, and make inquisition for the blood of his Son. When he shall rise up as in mount Perazim, and be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon, and bring to pass his terrible act, who among the sons of pride shall stand before him?

21st.—On hearing my wife read a catalogue of the elders, who obtained a good report, as recorded in the 11th chapter of the Hebrews, the chapter immediately following, and the divine evangelical testimony on regeneration, delivered by our ancient friend William Dewsbury, on the new birth, I became suddenly affected with a sense of that faith, which is by the operation of God. For above fifty years I have been seeking after a death unto sin, and the life of righteousness; but woe is me! I still dwell in Mesech, am stationed in the tents of Kedar. O! may this day be as the beginning of that birth which is from above; for I have ever esteemed and still esteem myself a beginner in the way of the Spirit; and that the seed now sown in debilitation, even as a grain of mustard seed, may, by the irradiating emanations of the

Sun of Righteousness, arise in dominion, until mortality is swallowed up of life, even so. Amen.

23rd.—S. F. and J. C. were with us in the evening; the young people read the narratives recorded, respectively, by the evangelists, concerning the resurrection of the Lord Christ; who died for our sins, and "became the first fruits of them that slept."

27th.—I went with my wife to Lackington's, where I unexpectedly met with a late publication, entitled the Messiah, by John Newton; containing many pious sentiments, with a just censure of that vile and insolent mockery of the Father, the Son, and the sacred writings, stiled the Oratorio. Although my eyes are now waxed dim, and my strength and flesh have failed, yet I delight not only "in the law of God after the inward man," but likewise in those words and letters which have in any degree proceeded therefrom; yea, I seek them with a solicitude somewhat similar to that with which the sons of this world seek for hidden treasures. The weakest and most trembling leaves of the tree of life are "for the healing of the nations."

28th.—For two or three days past, my bodily strength has very undeservedly and unexpectedly been measurably increased; I hope not without some increasing concern for an increase of that faith in Christ, which worketh by love, to the purification of the heart, the expiation of iniquity, and the washing the whole body of our affections by the blood of sprinkling. Lord, I would believe, "help thou mine unbelief;" thou only canst do it, by the operation of thy grace, and the word of thy power!

Fourth month 6th.—A day "of rebuke, of blasphemy," and of treading down in the valley of vision. My heart seemed filled with enmity; but is there not One, who is able to destroy the enmity, and break down the wall of separation? yea, verily there is; he hath already done it in his own person without us, when the veil "was rent in twain, from the top to the bottom," the dead were raised, the earth was shaken, and covered with darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour. He remains equally able to achieve these mighty acts by his power within us; for power belongs to him; and by whom shall it be said to the Almighty, what doest thou? In the evening I heard read some portions of the book of Job, very correspondent with my own afflicted state; also some part of Newton's Messiah.

7th.—This day was passed pretty peaceably, and not without some searchings of heart for the rending the veil, and removing the enmity, by the power of an endless life,

and "the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel."

14th.—I once more sat under the roof of Friends' meeting-house, near Devonshire square, it being the quarterly meeting there. Although my sitting was but short, I was not wholly destitute of some glances towards the Helper of Israel, and thankfulness for the unexpected favour of Him, whose "hand is stretched out still," both in mercy and judgment. O may his mercies overspread his judgment seat! otherwise the most righteous among the sons of men must unavoidably perish from before him.

15th.—I was agreeably visited by John Miller, some time being spent in silence, with a sense of the advantage and great benefit of internal recollection, and that prayer which is in the Spirit; though peradventure, through mental and corporeal weakness, it may be maintained but for a short space; yet it sometimes leaves something of a supernatural savour, as it is written, "I rose up to open to my beloved," or I looked towards him, "but my beloved had withdrawn himself and was gone;" nevertheless, "my hands dropped with myrrh, and my fingers with sweet-smelling myrrh, upon the handles of the lock." I afterwards heard some other portions of that mystical song of songs, which was Solomon's. A peaceable day; praise to the Preserver of men.

21st.—A pretty peaceable and quiet day; not passed without some seekings after divine favour, and that righteousness which is by faith, in the light and life of Christ Jesus.

25th.—Friend B. visited us in the afternoon; he spake many words, being mighty in the letter and form of godliness; yet I am persuaded he is not destitute of the Spirit of that kingdom, which the Lord compared to the least of seeds which are sown.

26th.—Great weakness in the flesh; in the spirit some desires after salvation by faith in Christ.

27th.—I was in the outward room of the meeting-house: in the early part I remembered the prophetic call, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found;" the plain practical testimonies of holy Writ are oftener renewed in my mind, than such as may be esteemed more lofty and sublime; though the latter are worthy of all acception, and despised by none but fools. M. P. had afterwards an acceptable time in testimony; she recommended a daily perusal of the Scriptures, a practice in which many members of our Society are grievously deficient; pluming themselves on a profession of inward light and a partial conformity to certain religious and moral precepts; whilst their spirits are light as

chaff, and dead as a door nail, respecting a real experience of that light and grace which saveth; as it is written, "if the light (or profession of the light) that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness."

28th.—A warm day, and passed, I hope, not without some irradiations from the Sun of Righteousness.

Fifth month 3rd.—This week I have been favoured with an unexpected increase of bodily strength, and a degree of that peace I have been so long seeking after. Religious reading and recollection have not been wholly unattended to; but a lion has been frequently in the way, and various interruptions have evinced the leanness of my spirit. From all I have seen in myself and fellow men, both in respect to body and mind, it has plainly appeared that man is not in the state he was, when his Almighty Maker saw that every thing he had made was good; but an enemy has been permitted to sow tares, and deface the beautiful image in which the creatures were formed. Although I decline the epithet of original sin, as not found in the Bible, but first adopted in the ages of apostatical darkness; I am convinced, by an evidence which baffles all the power of argument, "that the whole creation groaneth" in pain, under "the bondage of its corruption," and particularly that man is absolutely destitute of original rectitude, and prone to sin and misery, "as the sparks fly upward;" having a natural aversion to the law which is light, and the commandment which is a lamp, his thoughts being evil continually; according to that which is written, "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passeth upon all men, for that all have sinned." In the evening, some unnecessary words were spoken, which I was sorry for.

4th.—I passed an hour in the forenoon meeting at Hartford. I remembered divers passages in holy Writ, and particularly wrestling Jacob, and the princely prevalence of which he was made a partaker; he wrestled not by any might or holiness of his own, but under the influence of him, whom the Father ever heareth, who was set up from everlasting. If in our assemblies there were more such wrestlers with the Angel of the everlasting covenant, there would be more tremblers, and our practice would be more consonant with our profession: may this exercise increase and be multiplied among us. Amen.

8th.—In the evening at the Park meeting; the ministry was low, but there seemed to be some solemnity and profit in silence.

10th.—This week I have seemed to be sensibly solicitous for that peace within and without, which I have been so long seeking

after, and sorry for my deficiencies in that respect. All boasting is justly excluded; we have nothing but what we have received: nevertheless, the following testimonies of holy Writ are not annulled by the grace of the gospel, viz: "If thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked." "If ye love me, keep my commandments." "Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil." These testimonies are not proposed, as they are by too many, to establish a covenant of works, or in the least to frustrate or detract from the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that free unmerited salvation which is only by and through him; but rather as a renewed check to antinomianism, and the vain efforts of those, who, forming an unscriptural distinction betwixt justification and sanctification, would render the latter a work of supererogation; make void that part of the analogy of faith and canons of holy Scripture, by separating the truths which God hath joined together, by a decree as irrefragable as the everlasting mountains.

24th.—I have divers times, both before I rose and on other parts of the day, expressed, internally, those words which are called the Lord's prayer, endeavouring to chew the cud on the important petitions proposed; remembering the declaration of the pious Archbishop of Cambray, that whatever draws our minds nearer to God is good for us.

25th.—Some laborious exercise of spirit was experienced at Devonshire house, in the forenoon meeting.

30th.—In the forenoon, after having heard some portions of the holy Scriptures read, I was suddenly favoured with that sense of the internal presence of the Supreme Being, which imparts peace to the distressed, and pardon to the poor, through the blood of the everlasting covenant. I could for a season adopt the prophetic language, the Lord is good unto them who wait upon him.

Sixth month 1st.—In the forenoon meeting at Hartford, I was repeatedly assailed with heaviness, which was resisted: some internal labour towards the Angel of the everlasting covenant was experienced. Various passages in holy Writ were presented, particularly the narrative of the men of David, who wrought so wondrously, because of their love and fidelity to the Lord's anointed; the Angel of the everlasting covenant was their sword, their spear, and their battle axe.

9th.—In the forenoon I was assailed by turbulence, but was measurably preserved from its baneful influence; not by any power or holiness of my own, but by the Angel of the everlasting covenant, who encampeth around

those who fear him, and in the hour of difficulty and danger look towards him, under a deep sense of their own debility, either to do good, or resist evil. Upon the whole rather a favoured day; thanks to the Preserver of men!

14th.—During the course of the last week, and for many preceding, I have had abundant cause to adopt the words of the preacher, viz: "Vanity of vanities, vanity of vanities; all is vanity." Only a few feeble feelings after Him, who dwelleth in the light, to whom immortality only belongs, have been daily renewed in my spirit as a seed sown in weakness; yea, as the least of all seeds is my only good; but "the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

15th.—Rather a sabbatical forenoon; I remembered the words which are written concerning the type, "the Lord blessed the sabbath day:" the evening was depressed and darksome.

29th.—A quiet, peaceable day. There is a comfort and satisfaction in conducting ourselves in a manner comporting with the dictates of the gospel, and those convictions which we suppose to be those of the truth in our consciences, that surpasseth knowledge, and abundantly excels the increase of corn, wine, or oil; therefore as on the one hand, let none hope for final acceptance by their own works, or a bare external rectitude; so on the other, let none suppose an internal pursuit of purity and perfection, to be low, legal, or unevangelical, inasmuch as He who suffered without the gate, sanctified himself for our sakes; and "he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of One."

Seventh month 4th.—A comfortable, placid morning, my soul measurably participated the pleasures of peace and love.

5th.—During the latter part of this week turbulence hath prevailed, more grievously than in many preceding months: these evils arise from a want of a due attention to the monitions of truth, viz: "Watch ye, and pray always:" "be vigilant, (or constantly watchful) because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." "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." To them who abide in the seed in which the dominion is, and who walk in the light, there is no occasion of stumbling; to them, the goings forth of Jehovah are prepared as the morning, and his returns as the former and the latter rain: but woe is me! because of sin, I am cast out of his sight; nevertheless, I will look again towards his holy temple.

6th.—At the forenoon meeting I repeatedly

remembered these words, "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed:" I am a monument of his mercy.

7th.—At the sitting before the monthly meeting, the words which are written, viz: "I will look again towards thy holy temple," were the subject of my meditations.

8th.—One morning this week I went to sleep in much distress; but instead of being terrified by dreams and scared through visions, I remembered the patriarch Jacob, who, pursuing his perilous journey from Beer-sheba towards Padan-aram, took the stones for his pillow in the night season, and beheld a ladder which reached from heaven to the earth. Waking, I was rather refreshed, and enlightened to look towards the God of Jacob, and of all the holy patriarchs and apostles, which have been since the world began. I have also been entertained and edified in the hearing of some discourses of John Arnt, and Anthony William Boehm, two enlightened ministers of Christ Jesus; who, avoiding the two erroneous extremes of calvinism and arminianism, principally insisted in their ministry on the fall of the first Adam and his wretched posterity; and their recovery by the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit, who, by the efficacy of his atoning blood and spiritual influence, redeems from the law of sin and death; according to that which is written, "By man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead: for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

20th.—I sat in the forenoon meeting in much languor and distress of mind; the lifelessness and formality of those assembled seemed to spread with a darkness that might indeed be felt: in vain do they pretend to worship the God and Father of light and spirits only in exterior forms and by the rudiments of men: my eyes also affected my heart, in beholding the exterior gaiety and fantastical habits of many, whose countenances witnessed against them, and declared the iniquity of their hearts; appearing in their outward forms more like unto the haughty daughters of Zion, than the disciples of a suffering Saviour, gathered together in his name, to worship the Father in the bowedness of their spirits.

Eighth month 2nd.—In the evening, sitting at my own door, this testimony, although not literally contained in holy Scripture, viz: that which is to be known of God is manifest in man, was impressed on my mind, together with the sufficiency of that divine anointing, which "is truth and is no lie." O! may my mind for the few hours remaining closely attend on the light within; that I may expe-

rience a daily application of the blood and merits of Him, in whom is life, and whose life is the light of men; as it is written, "If we walk in the light," "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin."

5th.—Lord! forgive my past petulance, and preserve from it for the future: it is the death of prayer.

6th.—A pretty peaceable and placid day, I hope passed in the fear of the Lord; I was thankful for the favour.

10th.—A low sitting in the outward room of the meeting-house; I was deeply distressed under a painful sense of the spiritual barrenness of those within, and my own demerits; I hitherto remain a monument of sparing and forbearing mercy; Lord, thou knowest how long!

13th.—Rather better in my health; reviewed the diaries of some former days, with desires that at the latest period of human life, I might experience that salvation which is by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

17th.—In some part of the forenoon my feelings were after Him, who can "save by many or by few;" with whom one day is as a thousand years, respecting the operations of his power.

18th.—I once more left my house at Hartford: after I got out of the town, I was enabled to look to the Lord and was enlightened; his sanctuary is the salvation of Zion; he can bring through great desolation; he is the only safe hiding place for the poor, and refuge from the storms of the terrible: praises await him in the dust of Zion. I reached London much better than I left Hartford.

20th.—I can feelingly subscribe to the declarations of the Messiah, viz: "That servant which knew his Lord's will and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes:" these stripes I have sustained from my youth. The Lord is righteous altogether, and will not suffer sin to go unpunished; he will bring every secret work into judgment; but the mercy seat covers his judgments. Therefore, O Lord, merciful and just! cast our iniquities as into the depths of the sea; redeem the prisoner from the pit, and those who are bound in chains of affliction and iron, from the prison house; raise "the poor out of the dust, and lift up the beggar from the dunghill," to "inherit the throne of glory;" that with those who have been redeemed out of great tribulations and washed their garments in the blood of the Lamb, I may behold thy beauty, and celebrate thy praise for ever. Amen.

22nd.—On the whole a pretty easy and comfortable day: was visited by one who professed much sympathy with the afflicted

in body or mind; a declaration easily delivered, but only experienced by such who are buried by baptism into the death of Him, who suffered, "the just for the unjust."

29th.—This afternoon I had a conference with a Friend concerning various persons. When we observe any degree of malignity in those with whom we converse, it is necessary carefully to attend the movements of our own spirits, lest something of the same nature should arise in ourselves: hasty replies gender to bondage, and prove as galling wounds to a soul awakened to a sense of its own demerits. That charity which is from above edifies, and preserves in perfect peace; but unless the Shepherd of Israel is a wall of fire on the right hand and on the left, we are as easily overcome with the evil propensities of our natures, as the reeds are shaken with the wind.

30th.—There has been painfully felt, a deficiency in that peaceful acquiescence in the dispensals of Infinite Wisdom, whereby the true believers in Christ, and faithful followers of the Lamb, whithersoever he leads, are enabled to glorify God in the fires, and even to rejoice in their tribulations; but alas, how far am I from this. O Thou! to whom the power only belongs, arise for my help, and scatter the remains of that which is of the earth—earthly; and beget a life which may live with thee for ever: thine is the kingdom, power and glory, everlastingly. Amen.

Ninth month 3rd.—By reason of an undeserved provocation from a person whom I had esteemed in her station, turbulence and wrath were too prevalent; whereby I suffered both in body and mind. I do not know that I expressed any thing but a just reprehension of the evil by which I was offended, if it had been in a peaceful mind, and "the meekness of wisdom." Christians ought to be redeemed not only from "envy and evil speaking," but that internal wrath and clamour of spirit, which is prohibited by the gospel.

6th.—My spasmodic complaints have been abated: but a tremendous inquiry attends, viz: what have I rendered to the Lord for all his benefits, both corporeal and mental? multiplied more than the hairs of my head: instead of the voice of melody, there has been a cry, because of the oppression of the true seed.

8th.—I was, through the course of the day, concerned to render thanks to the Lord for his multiplied mercies, by seeking after the cup of his salvation. I sought to be preserved in peace, by "the God of peace;" of whom are the issues from death: "his name is holy throughout all generations;" praises wait for him in Zion; to him shall the vow be performed.

9th.—A pretty peaceable and quiet day; seeking to perform my vows, and feeling after power for that purpose, for the power belongs to God only; in our flesh there dwelleth neither strength nor power.

10th.—About noon I set out for Hartford, dined at Waltham-Cross, and reached Hartford much better than I expected. The kindness of my friends and neighbours was liberally conferred, on my return once more amongst them.

23rd.—In the evening this petition filled my spirit, viz: "O thou Preserver of men; thou Saviour of Israel in time of trouble; be thou graciously with me through this night's life or death!" My request was answered in the multitude of the Lord's mercies.

26th.—I received a little degree of strength, though comparatively not bigger than a man's hand, to look towards Him, "who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not, as though they were."

27th.—Before I rose, I remembered with a degree of freshness, a gracious declaration in the evangelical prophet, viz: "The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary: he awakeneth morning by morning: he wakeneth mine ear to hear as the learned," "neither turned I away back." Our happiness arises from not turning away from the awakenings of Him, who speaketh not as man speaketh; but whose voice is altogether lovely. A pretty quiet day, passed in a sense of my manifold desolations, and some desires after the grace which saveth.

Tenth month 4th.—Grievous visions have been before me, of a final separation from the beatific vision of the Lamb, who dwells in the midst of the throne; but let the Judge of all the earth deal with me as he may see meet; I have only to lay my hand upon my mouth, for he is righteous altogether. In respect to my fellow men, unrighteousness hath not been in my heart, nor iniquity in my hands; I have sought no increase of the unrighteous mammon, but have been rather desirous that many might be partakers of the benefit: bulky and ostentatious donations have been declined, rather from the persuasion of humility than avarice: verily, these righteousnesses have their reward; but in respect to a final acceptation with the Supreme Being, they ought only to be esteemed as filthy rags: our dependence ought only to be on "the blood of the everlasting covenant," and the interior operations of the Spirit that worketh in us, both to will and to do, according to his own good pleasure.

7th.—For some days past, in much pain of

body and debilitation of spirit, I have been through grace enabled to look to Him, who is "the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths;" and only able to destroy the enmity, and break down the wall of partition, by the blood of his cross. 'The cross of Christ ought to be considered not distinctively, but rather adjunctively, with respect to his sufferings and blood-shedding on the tree of the cross without the gates of Jerusalem, when he suffered, the just for the unjust; and the operations of his light, grace and spirit within us, by which it only effectually becomes "the power of God unto salvation."

11th.—It is in my heart to leave behind me a testimony to the truth. In my youth, when dead in trespasses and sins, and walking according to the course of this world, although in my infancy educated in an esteem of those precious testimonies borne by George Fox, and his fellow-labourers, to plainness of dress and address, I contemned them in my heart, and departed from them in practice. When I was awakened to a sense of my lost and miserable estate without a Saviour, I embraced them with all acceptance in their strictest forms, and have not since deviated from them, either in sentiment or practice, not for an hour: they are of God, and will be established in the earth, when "the crown of pride" shall be cast down, and the glory of all flesh abased. Nevertheless, let none, who by the influence of education, or any other means, invariably adhere to them, glory in, or value themselves upon a bare exterior conformity to these truths; while the inner man of their heart is full of pride, self-preference, and ravening after the unrighteous mammon.

13th.—This morning, that gracious annunciation of Jehovah was illustrated in my view, viz: "Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up their voice, the villages that Kedar doth inhabit." I attended at the quarterly meeting at Devonshire house; I was thankful for the favour: our worthy friend George Dillwyn and others, had acceptable testimonies. After dinner, by the provoking conduct of some, who would have been by men esteemed my inferiors, and to whom I had behaved with a parental tenderness and affection, passion prevailed; and I suffered for my sin. Lord! who can bear the unkindness and ingratitude of their fellow creatures? none but those who are armed with the same mind which was in Christ Jesus, "who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; and when he suffered, he threatened not:" but committed his cause to Him, that judgeth righteously. Our great Master, and only perfect Exemplar, conversed with such publicans and sinners as

the self-exalted Pharisees despised; yea, he ate and drank with them; and shall such as we are, justify ourselves, and despise others, because of some exterior evils from which we may suppose ourselves clear? I verily believe self-preference, and the despising of others, are as detestable as more open immoralities, in the sight of Him, who seeth not as man; but who searcheth the heart, and in his own time will make inquisition for secret sins.

14th.—This day was passed in deploring my own defects, and distance from the *mark*.

16th.—In the evening I received my common-place book, containing select passages of the Old and New Testament, accurately performed by J. C. In the selection of them I was wonderfully favoured, considering my debilitated state of body and mind; may their testimonies prove as watch-words to the weary, and my instructions in righteousness.

19th.—Opening my Bible accidentally on the xxxth of Jeremiah, I perused the gracious promises contained therein, with some savour and spiritual application. A quiet and peaceable day, with some internal longings after the Saviour of Zion, who turneth her captivity "as the streams in the south."

20th.—Favoured with an unexpected increase of bodily strength. May I, by the grace of God, be enabled to lay aside all malice and envy. Lord! teach me to love my enemies, persecutors, and those who have contemptuously treated me; "thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen." Upon the whole the day passed without much condemnation.

21st.—In the evening we were acceptably visited by our esteemed friends George Dillwyn, M. G., and S. R.: during a testimony delivered by George Dillwyn, and a considerable space of silence; seeking after recollection of spirit, and adherence to the great Teacher, I remembered the testimony of that deep traveller in the interior walk, Michael de Molinos, viz: "That the spirit of prayer might be supported, amidst a vast variety of adverse and contrary cogitations, as the desires of the heart are lifted up to Him, who knoweth the mind of the spirit." So in internal recollection, the soul, though driven about as with fierce winds, like unto the iron attracted by the magnet, returns to the centre; and an acceptable sacrifice from "a people whose land the rivers have spoiled," is brought to the Lord of Hosts in Mount Zion.

24th.—How absurd it is to be discomposed at what we may esteem unkind treatment from our fellow creatures, whose mistakes we ought to overlook, and to forgive, even as we would be forgiven; which is one part of what is called the golden rule; even to do by

others, as we would they should do by us. None of the sons of fallen Adam can attain hereto, only by the prevalence of Him, who "is able to subdue all things unto himself," and to bring every emotion of the mind into captivity to Christ.

25th.—I was with E. Millis at Martin's le Grand, and reviewed the ground on which I was early favoured with a sense of the divine presence. O! that I had been faithful to the religious monitions which were then imparted; then would my peace have been as a river, and the righteousness of Christ within me "as the waves of the sea." Indeed my mind has been, since, almost daily exercised in seeking after the Lord; and I hope, in various instances, my concern has been for the good of my fellow creatures.

31st.—I set out once more for my residence at Hartford, with some affiance on the Shepherd of Israel, who neither slumbers nor sleeps; but whose merciful eye guideth "the poor of the flock," and shineth on the seed of Jacob from between the cherubims. I was strengthened on my journey, reached home in a competent degree of strength, found my friends and assistants in health, and received fresh instances of their fidelity and attention. "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits" and mercies multiplied more than the sand? May I be enabled with due resignation to receive the cup he may be pleased to hand forth, either in mercy or judgment; to "give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name," and to worship him in the beauty of holiness: I am not worthy of the least of his mercies; righteousness belongs to him, but to me there only belongs blushing and confusion of face.

Eleventh month 1st.—This week I have been in a state of distress and anxiety. Some have in their hearts imagined evil things against me, and with their tongues they have uttered mistakes: Lord! enable me from my heart to forgive them, even as I would be forgiven by thee, to whom I am indebted in more than ten thousand times "ten thousand talents;" and in a particular manner an individual, by whom I have been treated with great ingratitude and contempt: I know that to me, as a son of fallen Adam, this is impossible; but all things are possible with thee, the work is thine, and the power is thine; in this particular, may thy own works praise thee in time and eternity. Amen.

2nd.—A quiet and peaceable day; thanks to the "Prince of peace," who is our peace, and from whom only our peace proceeds; according to that which is written, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you."

4th.—In the evening I was much tendered

in spirit, by hearing my wife read the stupendous account of our blessed Redeemer's raising Lazarus from the dead.

5th.—My nephew W. P. D., assisted me in the penmanship of a sympathetic epistle to my esteemed friend S. R., on account of the decease of her companion Mary Gurney; a loss justly to be deplored by the church militant in general, and her in particular. Our deceased friend was one of them concerning whom the Spirit formerly declared, "that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come;" for whom there is no cause to sorrow, as those who are without hope; inasmuch as they have an everlasting interest in the hope of their glory, and are uninterruptedly entered into that rest which remains for the people of God. In the evening my mind was in a placid state, feeling forgiveness for others, with some hope of being forgiven myself.

6th.—This day I was measurably preserved under some sense of "the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel;" expiating for sin, and purging from it. In the evening, contemplating on the various divisions of professed Christians, their attachment to their own principles and practices, and prejudices against others, a faithful testimony to Him, who "teacheth the way of God truly," was renewed in my remembrance with life and freshness, viz: "To whom shall we go? for Thou only, "hast the words of eternal life."

8th.—This week, I hope, some increase has been attained in the forgiveness of such, by whom I may have supposed myself evilly entreated; a disposition incumbent on those, who themselves are "in jeopardy every hour," and who stand in need of forgiveness from the judge of men and angels; it having been declared by the 'lip of Truth, that if we forgive not men their trespasses, our heavenly Father will not forgive us our trespasses.

9th.—Some things in my conduct are now likely to be exposed to those who are already prejudiced against me: being for a short time dismayed at the displeasing prospect, these words were with power brought to my remembrance, viz: but "I say unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but I will forewarn you whom you shall fear: fear Him, which, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, fear Him." We ought indeed to walk as becomes the gospel, and to "shew out of a good conversation our works with meekness of wisdom;" but the approbation of our fellow men, their praise, or their censure,

is lighter than chaff, when placed in the balance with those mercies, forgivenesses, and righteousnesses, which are in Christ Jesus.

11th.—In the evening, the following passages in the second Lecture of the 4th volume of Hunter's Sacred Biography, seemed attended with light and unction, viz: "But is it possible to remove from God an instant of time, a hair's breadth of space? No: God is about our path, and our bed, watching our going out and coming in, our lying down and rising up. God is in this place; and, were our eyes opened, we should even now behold his face clothed with the frowns of just displeasure, or beaming with the smiles of paternal love. As the awfulness and solemnity of the prophet's condition are not peculiar to him, and to that important occasion, so neither are the privileges which he enjoyed, nor the communion to which he was admitted. Christian, you have but to retire into your closet, and to shut the door after you, and you are immediately on the top of a higher mountain than Moses climbed; and near to God, as he was in the most precious moments of the most intimate communication. Alone, or in company, we have access at all times to

the throne of grace; and we have what gave him safety and confidence in drawing nigh unto God, an Advocate with the Father, a great High Priest, a Mediator betwixt God and us."

14th.—Although from my youth up to the present day, I have been proved at Massah, and striven with, as at the waters of Meribah; yet have I not sanctified the Lord, neither in spirit nor practice, so fully as I ought to have done. Nevertheless, my wife reading in the evening Hunter's Lecture concerning the death of Aaron, I was favoured with some distant views towards that land which is "on the other side of Jordan."

15th.—During the preceding week, I hope at times some victory has been experienced; but a great shortness in that peace and perfection which is by Christ Jesus, has also attended.

16th.—In the evening my wife read some pious meditations and addresses to the Supreme Being; I was more easy in body and placid in mind, than on the preceding evening.

17th.—Respecting the spirit of prayer, *Perdidi Diem* [I have lost a day]. Lord, let thy mercy be great, and pardon!

JOURNAL

OF

THE LIFE OF THAT FAITHFUL SERVANT

AND MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST,

WILLIAM CATON:

TO WHICH ARE NOW ADDED, FROM ORIGINAL AND OTHER SOURCES, SOME OF HIS LETTERS.

George Fox's testimony concerning WILLIAM CATON.

In the year 1663, William Caton went to Holland, and not long after he had finished his testimony there, he died; and soon after that, his wife died; and he left this journal of passages behind him, which being sent to me, I thought fit to put it in print and to recommend it to all that knew him. For after he was converted, he preached the gospel of

Christ, and strengthened his brethren; and you may see he was one like to the converted scribes in the kingdom of God, which bring forth things new and old. He was like unto Timothy, who was an example both in innocency, simplicity and purity, in his life and conversation, after he was converted; for they did preach, as well as his doctrine, in the churches of Christ. And whereas many have made a boast and a talk of Truth in the beginning, who never knew what it was;

in his narrative, you may see both an example and a testimony of Truth in the beginning, and how for many years he travelled many weary steps on foot, both in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, in the Lord's service. His innocent life preached both righteousness and truth: where he came and was a good savour to God, and in the hearts of the people. He was one who had a care of God's glory and honour, and the spreading of the Truth and the prosperity of it; and in it he spent himself and finished his testimony; who, in his life time, wrote many precious epistles to Friends, besides several

books. In his travels he had many trials and exercises by false brethren, backsliders, and apostates, besides his perils by the sea, and among the priests and professors; but the Lord with his eternal arm and power gave him dominion over all. And as for his opposers, they withered and vanished away; and after he had finished his testimony, he died in the Lord, and is blessed, and rests from his labours, and his works follow him. G. F.

Gooses, [near Brentwood, Essex, his son-in-law
W. Mead's house,] 4th of Sixth month, 1688.

LIFE OF WILLIAM CATON.

CHAPTER I.

The infinite mercy of the Lord God to him from his very infancy; how it was with him in the days of his youth: his introduction into Judge Fell's family at Swarthmore.

THE God of my salvation hath been pleased of his infinite love, to show mercy unto me from my very infancy unto this present day, and hath through a secret hand preserved me from many of the evils in the world, which befall the children of men, and with which many of them are overcome: yea, from my very childhood hath he dealt exceeding gently, bountifully, and mercifully with me, and especially since he was pleased to make known his heavenly truth in me, and his eternal salvation to me. How should I therefore forbear to show forth his praise, and to declare his wonderful works? To the end, that others may learn to fear and know him, to serve and obey him, that their souls may receive mercy from him as I have done, and that they may praise and magnify him in the land of the living,—who is God over all, the Creator of all things; to whom be glory, honour, and dominion for ever and ever.

When I was a child I was nurtured and tutored with such fatherly care and motherly affection, as my parents at that day were endued with. While I was yet very young, my heart was inclining to wisdom and understanding: and being inspired with a divine principle, [the Holy Spirit] I did in those days sometimes feel the power of it overcoming my heart, and begetting tenderness in it towards my Creator, when I have stood musing upon his handiwork: and through this divine principle, I was much restrained from

some vices to which children are prone. But, alas, I knew not, that that which restrained me was within me, though I had a dread and fear upon me when I was liable to sin against my Creator; which now I know right well, came through the aforesaid divine principle. I had also a fear upon me of reproof and chastisement from my parents, who according to their knowledge endeavoured to educate me in virtue and godliness; and therefore instructed me to pray morning and evening, to read often, and to go frequently to hear that which they called the *Word of God*. Great was their care to bring me up in the fear of the Lord, according to their ability and understanding, as also in good fashion, as they called it, in the world; and therefore they educated me in such schools as the country there afforded, and that for many years.

When I was about fourteen years of age, my father took me to Judge Fell's, to learn with a kinsman, a priest, who was preceptor to the aforesaid judge's son; and thereby I came to have an opportunity to be conversant with them that were great in the world. And through the mercy of the Lord, I behaved myself so well among them as to the outward, that I found favour among the whole family, even from the greatest to the least of them; and was in due time promoted to be a companion night and day to the judge's son, and did eat as he did eat, and lodged as he lodged, and went after the same pleasure which he went to, as fishing, hunting, shooting, &c. In that day my heart was affected with my condition; forasmuch as Providence had cast me into such a noble family, where there were such sweet children, with whose company I was more than a little affected; and in as much pleasure, ease and fulness,

I lived with them, as my heart could well desire. There remained an integrity in my heart towards God, and often did I call upon his name: to that end, I would linger in the chamber, until the judge's son, with whom I lodged, was gone down, that afterwards I might go to prayer alone; for my soul desired to have the blessing and favour of the Lord, in which there was satisfaction to be found, but not in the pleasures which I followed, nor yet in the ease and fulness in which I lived.

After we had learnt some time together in the judge's family, we were removed to a school in the country, at a place called Hawkshead; where I met with many temptations, and seldom good company, but such as were given to folly and wantonness. But the Lord was wonderfully gracious to me; and many times when I have deserved nothing but stripes from him, hath he broken and overcome my heart with his divine love; so that I often stood admiring his wonderful mercy, his long-suffering, forbearance, and infinite goodness: for truly had his compassion failed, I might have been destroyed in the sins of my youth: but blessed be his name for ever, he had mercy on me. As Providence ordered it, we did not stay long at that school, but returned to Judge Fell's, where it was with me as before mentioned, so that I began to see into the depth of what the world could afford.

Being then about fifteen years of age, my heart was much inclined after wisdom, as also to seek knowledge; for in that family there was a great profession, and such as could speak of the Scripture, and could make repetitions of sermons, and paraphrase thereupon, were held in esteem: therefore I endeavoured much to retain the heads thereof, but when my memory would not serve me to do as some did in that particular, I used myself to write much after the priests: but that which I reaped thereby, could not give satisfaction to my soul, which at times hungered much after the Lord.

CHAPTER II.

1652.—*George Fox's first visit to Swarthmore; the tendency of his doctrine—W. C. leaves school, and becomes an inmate in the Fell family, as teacher and writer; the divine love and refreshment prevalent amongst them—Is moved to go into steeple-houses, markets, &c.—Quits Swarthmore.*

In the year 1652, about the middle of the fourth month, was that faithful messenger and servant of the Most High, George Fox,

cast among us, who declared unto us the way of life and peace. Of those in that family who believed his report, I was one, who came finally to be affected with his doctrine; though at the first I did as much admire at his non-conformity to our fashions, customs, and salutations, as strangers at this day admire at our non-conformity to them; yet something in me loved him, and owned his testimony. I began to find in myself the truth of what he spoke; for his doctrine tended very much to bring us to "the light, which Christ Jesus had enlightened us withal, which shined in our hearts, and convinced us of sin and evil;" and into love with that, and obedience to that, he sought to bring us, that thereby through the Son we might be brought into unity and covenant with the Lord.

In due time the witness of God was awakened in me, whereby my sins came to be set in order before me; and it brought judgment and condemnation upon me by reason of them: but I, being as the wild heifer which is unaccustomed to the yoke, sought to get from under it, as I often did, until I came to know something of the power of God, which brought that wild nature in me, which was unaccustomed to the yoke, into subjection. And so good was the Lord unto me, that I had not long heard the Truth, when I came to be a witness of the power of it in myself; whereby the strong man in me was made to bow, and the keepers of the house to tremble.

At that time I had not left the school, but went with Judge Fell's son thereto; and he being somewhat convinced of the same truth, and touched with the same power, it was the easier and the better for me: howbeit, we were often wild, vain and wanton, and sported ourselves in folly, to the extinguishing of the good oftentimes in ourselves. But such was the love of God to me in those days, that I was as surely pursued with judgment, as I was overtaken with folly. Sometimes I would separate myself from the rest of my school-fellows, and get retired into some place, where I might wait upon the Lord and ponder upon his marvellous works. When I was thus retired, and in singleness of heart waited upon the Lord, I received refreshment from him; but when I was drawn aside through the provocation of my companion, or the temptations of the wicked one in myself, then was I troubled and disquieted in my heart.

In process of time my study became my burden; for when I was so much in trouble through the condemnation that was upon me, I was so much the more incapable of making themes, Latin verses, &c., neither could I well give to the master the trivial compliment of the hat, for I was then convinced in my

conscience of the vanity of it. My special friend Margaret Fell, the judge's wife, taking notice of my condition, was not willing to suffer me to go longer to the school than I was free, but caused me to stay at home to teach her children, and to go with her when she went abroad, and to write for her, &c., which was a happy time for me. After I left the school, I was much exercised in writing precious and wholesome things pertaining to the Truth; whereby I came to have good opportunities to be conversant with Friends, in whom the life of righteousness began to bud and spring forth, and who grew in love and unity, with which my soul was exceedingly affected; and I desired very much to be one with them in it, that I might share with them therein, for my soul was delighted with it and in it, far beyond the pleasures and delights of this transitory world.

When I was about seventeen years of age, the power of the Lord God did work mightily and effectually in me, purging, cleansing, and sanctifying me; and then I began to see something of the gloriousness of the ministration of condemnation, and of the goodness of the Word of life, which was become "as a fire in my bones," and "as a sword and hammer in my heart." I began to be broken, melted and overcome with the love of God, which sprang up in my heart, and with the divine and precious promises that were confirmed to my soul. Oh! the preciousness and excellency of that day! Oh! the glory and the blessedness of that day! how, or wherewith shall I demonstrate it? or by what means shall I explain it, that generations to come, and they that are yet unborn, might understand it, and give glory unto the Lord Jehovah?

Oh! the love which in that day abounded among us, especially in that family! and the freshness of the power of the Lord God, which then was amongst us; and the zeal for Him and his truth, the comfort and refreshment which we had from his presence,—the nearness and dearness that were amongst us one towards another,—the openings and revelations which we then had! I confess I find myself insufficient to declare these things to the utmost; neither do I now intend to go about to describe them particularly; for then I might make a larger volume by much, than now I am intending; but, my heart is affected with the remembrance of them at this day.

In those days meetings were exceedingly precious to us, inasmuch that some few of us did commonly spend some time every night in waiting upon the Lord; yea, often after the rest of the family were gone to bed: and, oh! the comfort and refreshment which we

had together, and the benefit which we reaped thereby, how shall I declare it! For if we had suffered loss in the day-time, when we had been abroad about our business or the like, then we came in a great measure thus to be restored again, through the love, power, and mercy of our God, which abounded very much unto us. Howbeit, sometimes I was deprived of that sweet society, when my heart was with them, through my going to my bed so early with the judge's son, with whom I then lodged. For a season he was tender and hopeful; but afterwards meeting with many temptations, his heart was drawn aside from the truth, and his mind ran after the delights and pleasures of this present world. When he was removed to another school, we came to be separated, which was at that time no disadvantage to me in one respect, though looked upon by some to be a disadvantage as to my outward preferment. But in that day I could have chosen much rather to do any kind of labour pertaining to the house, with the servants that were in the truth, than to enjoy the delights of this world with this son, or any one else, for a season. For my delight was not then, so much as it had been, in the vain, perishing, and transitory things of the world, but in the Lord, in his mercy and loving kindness, and to be with his people; for the sake of whose company I could have exposed myself to some pretty hard employment. Neither was it then too contemptible for me to become as Amos, a keeper of cattle, or as Elisha, to follow the plough; for indeed in those days I did enjoy and possess that which made all things easy and light to me. And oh! the abundance of living refreshment, which I received from the Lord! it is hard for me to utter or declare the same to the utmost. I was often overcome with the love of my Father, which did exceedingly break and ravish my heart, and I know it was so with others of that family; and of the overflowings thereof, we communicated one to another, to the comforting and refreshing one of another. We were willing to sympathize and bear one with another, to be helpful one unto another, and in true and tender love to watch one over another. And, oh! the love, mercy, and power of God, which abounded to us, through us, and among us, who shall declare it? Hence came that worthy family to be so renowned in the nation, the fame of which spread much among Friends: and the power and presence of the Lord being so much there with us, it was as a means to induce many, even from afar, to come thither; so that at one time there would be Friends out five or six counties: all which tended to augment my refreshment. By rea-

son of my much writing, it came to pass that I especially was much conversant with them, and thereby I had a privilege beyond others of my fellow servants. I was frequently with dear George Fox, who, as a tender-hearted father, after he had begotten me through the gospel, sought to nurture me up in all wisdom, faithfulness, and righteousness, to the glory and praise of my heavenly Father. And on the other hand I was cherished, and encouraged in the way of life, by my entirely beloved friend Margaret Fell, who as a tender-hearted nursing mother cared for me, and was as tender of me as if I had been one of her own children: the kindness, the respect and friendship, which she showed me, ought never to be forgotten by me.

When I had thus plentifully reaped of the mercy of the Most High, and his power had wrought so effectually in me, to the redeeming of my soul from death, then did his Word of life begin to grow powerful in me: and seeing the darkness and ignorance so great, in which people were involved, my spirit was stirred within me, and came to be filled with love to their souls, and with zeal for God and his truth. About that time I began to know the motion of his power and the command of his Spirit; by which I came to be moved to go to the places of public worship, to declare against the deceit of the priests, and the sins of the people, and to warn all to repent: for I testified to them that the day of the Lord was coming. But oh! the weakness, the fear and trembling in which I went upon this message,—who shall declare it? and how did I plead with the Lord concerning this matter: for I looked upon my own weakness and insufficiency, and how unfit I was in my own apprehension, to encounter with gainsayers, who I knew would also despise my youth. Howbeit, whatever I alleged by way of reasoning against the Lord concerning this weighty matter, I could not be excused; but I must go, and declare what he should give me to speak; and his promise was, he would be with me.

When I saw it must be so, I put on courage in the name of the Lord; and having faith in him, which stood in his power, I next gave up to his will, and went in obedience to his motion. When I came to the place, behold, the consultations which before I had had, were gone, and the fear of man was departed from me; and strength, and courage, and boldness, and utterance were given me, so that I became, through him that strengthened me, rather as a potent man than as a stripling, and that even in the face of the congregations. Howbeit, my testimony was by many little regarded, neither did they lay to heart

what I declared among them. Some fell upon me, and did much abuse me; others pitied me and were much troubled for me; and sometimes they were much divided among themselves, for some were for me, and others against me. But in the midst of them the Lord was with me, and his mighty power did preserve me; and when I had cleared my conscience among them, I returned in much peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, for my reward was with me.

After the Lord had fitted me for his work as aforesaid, I was much exercised in going to steeple-houses, insomuch that there seldom passed a first-day of the week, but I was at one or another; and I was also often in markets, where I was moved to declare God's eternal truth, of which through his infinite mercy I was become a witness. And though when I went to such places as aforesaid, I seldom knew what I should say till I came there; yet behold when I was to speak I never wanted words or utterance, to declare that which the Lord gave me to publish; but oftentimes on the contrary I had fulness to my great admiration. And the beating, buffeting, stocking, stoning, with the many reproaches, which I went through in those days, were little to me; nay, not to be compared to the refreshment which I had through the enjoyment of the life, power, and love, which the Father had revealed in me, and by which I was carried through them and over them all. By how much the more the Lord tried me in those days, by so much the more I came to experience his loving kindness to me.

After the Lord came to honour me with bearing his name, and accounted me worthy to bear my testimony, both in public and in private, to his eternal truth, I had much favour and respect from and among his people, whose love abounded much to me; and I being sensible thereof, was very much supported and strengthened thereby, in that service which God appointed for me, and called me unto. When such service was over I returned again to the place of my residence, where I was diligent in my employment, until the Lord ordered me to other service again, either to meetings abroad on the first-days of the week, or else to steeple-houses: and the Lord was with me, and his word of life did often pass powerfully through me, and never did I go about any service for the Lord, in which I was faithful, but I had always my reward with me.

When I returned again unto that honourable family, the place of my abode, (I mean Judge Fell's at Swarthmore, in Lancashire,) then was our refreshment very great together in the Lord, and with rejoicing did we speak

together of his wonderful works, which were very marvellous in our eyes. And after I had had many glorious days there, and seen many of the wonderful works of the Lord, in the fulness of time, according to the will of God I was called out from among them, the Lord having other service for me elsewhere. When it was the will of the Lord that I should go, the judge was much against it, being then very unwilling to part with me; but his dear wife, who could not well give me up before, was then made willing freely to resign me to the will of the Lord, especially upon so honourable an account; for I left them not to go to serve other men, but to publish the name of the Lord, and to declare his eternal truth abroad.

CHAPTER III.

1654.—*Leaving Swarthmore he travels southward into Warwickshire and to Norwich, and afterwards to London; he and the brethren have great service in that city, &c.*

IT was in the year 1654, in the eleventh month, when I was about eighteen years of age, that I took my leave of that renowned family at Swarthmore. But, oh! the tears that were shed among us at our parting;—the prayers and intercessions that were made to the Lord; and what deep impression our parting had upon our hearts, who can declare the same. So exceedingly were we united and bound up together, that it was very hard for us to part one with another. Howbeit, when we considered upon what account it was, and that notwithstanding our parting, we should enjoy one another in the Lord, then could we give up to the will of the Lord so much the better in the thing. Therefore according to the will of the Lord, in his name and power, I set my face southward; and visited Friends in Lancashire, and in some parts of Yorkshire and Derbyshire, which counties I passed through into Warwickshire, to a place called Badgley; where I met with many of the brethren, who did dearly own the power, and the motion of it, by which I was drawn forth into that glorious work. Being very sweetly refreshed together, and confirmed in the faith and power of God, and encouraged to go on in that glorious and honourable service, I took my leave of them, and went on in the name and power of the Lord towards Norwich in Norfolk, being accompanied by another Friend; and coming to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, we found several there newly convinced of the Lord's truth, with whom we were much refreshed. And being there the first-day of the

week, it was upon me to go to their steeple-house, where I had some liberty (and but little) to declare the everlasting truth of God. After that I returned to the meeting of Friends, where the power and presence of the Lord God were with us; so that a very sweet, comfortable, and refreshing meeting we had. I and my companion were apprehended, and kept that night in custody; but the next day, as Providence ordered it, while the priest and some with him, as we were informed, were gone to get a warrant to bring us before a justice, we were by a certain officer released.

After that we travelled towards Cambridge, where we had a very good opportunity to visit Friends; which having done, we passed on our journey towards Norwich. It being in the depth of winter, and we travelling altogether on foot, it was something hard to the outward man; but the Lord was with us, and his mighty power upheld us, and carried us through all, and through mercy we got well to Norwich; where there were several of our north country Friends in prison, whom we visited, and with whom we were sweetly refreshed.

In this city we had a very large meeting, to which many people resorted; and the Lord was with me, and gave me a mouth and wisdom freely and powerfully to declare his living truth: at that time we were in much jeopardy of being taken, but the Lord preserved us out of the hands of unreasonable men. At that city my companion left me, and returned towards the north; and after I had visited Friends and the brethren there, I went into the country, and had very good service for the Lord; and in a short time after I went to London, where I was very kindly received by Friends, and we were refreshed together in the Lord.

Not long after, came several of the brethren to the city out of the north and other parts; and the mighty power of the Lord God was with us, and very much we were exercised, sometimes in steeple-houses, and sometimes in the meetings of Separatists. Upon one first-day I was at two of their steeple-houses in the forepart of the day, and at one of them I had large liberty to speak. In the afternoon I was at a meeting of Professors, where there were six that spoke one after another; and I had liberty to speak freely among them without opposition or contradiction from any of them, and afterwards I departed in peace.

About that time, the word of the Lord grew mightily in that city, and many were added to the faith; and many steeple-houses, and most of the meetings in the city were visited by some of the brethren; for at one time

there were ten or twelve of the ministering brethren in the city; most of us came out of the north, even plain, honest, upright men, such as the Lord was pleased to make use of in that day; and very diligent we were in his work night and day, labouring faithfully so much as in us lay, to exalt his name over all, and to make his truth and salvation known unto all.

Many meetings we had about that time in the city, and I began to experience much of the faithfulness of the Lord to me, who furnished me according to necessity, and was pleased to give that which was suitable to the condition of the people, unto whom I was to communicate it.

About that time, I met with my dear brother John Stubbs, who was also come up to London out of the north; and though at that time we had little outward knowledge one of another, yet Providence did so order it, that we became companions and fellow travellers together. It was upon us to go into the country, partly towards Uxbridge; and at a certain place within a few miles of Uxbridge, we had very good service both in the steeple-house, and also at a meeting, which was ordered upon our coming to that place; and the Lord was with us, in whom we were strong, and our word powerful, though in our own eye we were weak, and contemptible in the eyes of many. The priest being moved with envy, stirred up the people against us, so that through his means we were apprehended and carried before a justice; but he being a moderate man, reasoned moderately with us, and perceiving our innocency, discharged us. Afterwards we returned to London again with joy and rejoicing, when we saw how the Lord had been with us, and how eminently he had appeared, through us weak and contemptible vessels; which we made known to the brethren at our return, who, when they understood it, rejoiced with us.

CHAPTER IV.

1655.—*He travels with John Stubbs into Kent; they reach Dover, are haled before the Magistrates—Luke Howard,—his boldness in their service—They proceed to Hythe and other places;—are cruelly treated at Maidstone.*

WE staid some time after this in the city, where we had good service for the Lord; and afterwards it was upon us to go into Kent towards Dover, which accordingly we did, upon the 13th day of the first month, 1655, in much weakness and fear, we being but young in the truth, and hearing of such wise professing men in those parts. Howbeit, in the faith

we went on, having confidence in God, who had been with us, and who was with us.

In due time we got to Dover, where we were as pilgrims and strangers, not knowing the face of any in the town. After we had walked awhile in the streets, being very much pressed and burdened in our spirits, we took up our lodging at an inn or ale-house; where we had been but one night, when the mayor came to us, having heard something of such men being in town, and he examined us: it being on a first-day in the morning, he would have had us secured for that day, but having nothing against us, he could not well bring his purpose to pass.

After he left us, it was upon me to go to the steeple-house, where I had but little liberty to speak before I was haled out; but in the yard I had some more liberty to clear my conscience to the people. As for my dear companion John Stubbs, he was at the same time at the meeting of the Anabaptists, so called. In the after part of the day, he was at the other steeple-house, and I was moved to go up to the castle to the meeting of the Independents, so called, so that by that day's service the report of us went not only through the town, but also into the country, and of the truth of which we bore testimony. Shortly after, we had liberty to have a meeting in the Baptists' meeting place, to which many people resorted; and the Lord was with us, and gave us mouth and wisdom, not only powerfully to declare, but also zealously to contend for the everlasting truth, which was then much opposed and gainsaid both by professors and profane: howbeit, some began to adhere to it, and to be affected with it, and then did the enmity begin to work in the hearts of the people against us. We were haled before the magistrates, who examined us, and did use much means to get the town cleared of us, and ordered that none should entertain us upon a certain penalty; whereupon we were turned out of our lodging. But the Lord raised up one Luke Howard, a shoemaker, who was become so loving to us, and so bold and valiant, that he undertook to entertain us in his house, notwithstanding their order; where we abode several days, and had afterwards a meeting or meetings in his house; and several at that time came to be convinced of the truth, whom we commended to the grace of God and left them.*

* [The following account is given by Luke Howard in his Journal, of his first meeting with William Caton, and of his visit to Dover. After describing the bewildered state of his own mind, and that he could find no trodden path, and no man to lead him out of the wilderness, Luke Howard informs us, he went up to London in

[*The following letter copied from the original, found in a valuable private collection of letters formerly from Swarthmore, may also be interesting to the reader.*]

"JOHN STUBBS AND W. CATON TO F. H. & E. B.
(HOWGIL AND BURROUGH.)

"Dear hearts, Francis and Edward,

"We came into Dover upon the seventh-day in the last week, being the market-day, towards night, and passed to and again through the streets and in the market place, though we had nothing given us to speak there; then at

1654-5; and on a first-day he went to hear "one Cardwell, in Lombard street. When he had done, there stood up a young man newly come out of the north country, his name was William Caton; who sounded an alarm out of Zion, and proclaimed the gospel of peace. At that time it seemed to me like the priest's preaching; my mind then being more abroad after visible things, than within after invisible: which made me say to my companion, 'come, let us begone to dinner,' (not staying till he had done;) 'for I know as much as he can tell me, or more than I or he either can live in;' thus making myself a judge of his life and doctrine, which I knew not: and so I turned my back upon the truth, as too many do. The after part of the day we spent our time in walking in the fields; and the week following I got home. The next first-day afterwards, one meets me in the street, and tells me there was a Quaker preaching in the churchyard, who was the same aforementioned William Caton. At which I immediately went to see what manner of man that Quaker was: and when I saw him, my heart smote within me, and I was more reached with his bare person in Dover, than with his person and words too in London. And I was made a safeguard to him from the boys and rude spirits that offered him abuse. When he had borne his testimony, he passed away. I then took notice where he went in, and at night, Nicodemus like, I went to see him: I was loath to go in the day, and would fain have got company to go with me, but could not, so I went alone; and then met with him and his dear companion John Stubbs, who had been at the other steeple-house.—I believe the Lord stirred me in my mind to go to see them. I found them eating a little bread with beer, without anything to sweeten or relish it. So I asked them to go out with me; and we went to a professor's (Baptist,) who conversed with them much, and agreed to have a meeting the next day in the Baptist's meeting-house, which was performed.—[After which] many followed them to their inn, as wonderers and gazers, and some to oppose. Then the rulers of the town sent to the innkeeper to turn them out of his house, or else they would pluck down his sign. So the innkeeper spoke to me, because he saw that I most took their parts, and desired me to tell them, which I did: but I also said to John and William, 'go home to my house, for I care not for the rulers or mayor either.' So they

night we took up a chamber, and we were known to no man by face. The next morning the mayor and some of his attendants came to our lodging, and examined us from whence we came, &c.—he was much troubled that we did not bow to him, and [said] we should be secured as vagrants. Then we were had before a captain, who is one of the separate teachers; he with this mayor was very exact in examining us severally;—they asked us for letters,—we had papers,—they saw them, and gave us them again. We had our liberty with a charge from the mayor that we should be of good behaviour. After our departure from them, one of us went in the forenoon to a steeple-house, and the other to a Baptist meeting. William was pulled down in the steeple though with little violence, but had his liberty to speak in the yard. I had as much liberty amongst the Baptists as I could desire. I saw a seed amongst them: a few words were spoken;—great was the power that attended. In the afternoon, William went to the castle where the garrison is, and there the captain was much opposite, but the soldiers were willing to hear. I went to a steeple-house of Independents: here are many high airy spirits as ever I met with, both in the fort and in the town. Oh! who is sufficient to encounter with such a generation! There was a captain in that Baptist meeting

went with me, and the fifth-day following we had a great meeting at my house: and their testimony was to me as John the Baptist's was to Herod, who heard him gladly, and as Paul's was to Agrippa, who was almost persuaded to be a Christian. I was convinced in my judgment, and their testimony was to me as a pleasant song: so the meeting ended, and all passed away in quiet." He then describes his refusing to give up these Friends, when applied to by the constables sent to his house by the mayor, &c. "The next day at my house again, we had a good and blessed meeting I may say; in which these words were delivered, viz:—that notwithstanding men's profession of religion, the body of death is yet standing in them." He then states that the witness within was answered, and he became sensible of his own dark condition and state of mind; so that it seemed to him to be the Lord's work "to show me myself, and that I was but death and darkness, and to empty me thereof; that so he might fill me from his own fulness of grace and truth, even the life of Christ Jesus, in whom alone he is well pleased. Then did my two friends and fathers in the truth pass out of town, and I went two or three miles with them; and they took in writing the names of some towns and men along the sea-coast:—and all whose names I gave received them; at which time Samuel Fisher was one. After I left them, my sorrow was great, and my tears many; so that I had much ado to get and keep my eyes dry, when I came back to Dover."]

and his wife, who sent for us to their lodging upon the first-day at night, and some others were there. There is a convincement upon them both, but especially upon him; he commands a castle betwixt this place and Maidstone, and is a very moderate, plain-hearted man; he was very attentive at the meeting when I was there. There come frequently from the castle and from the town to our lodging some rich and some poor;—pray that we may be kept in the discerning state. This day the post-master told us they desired to have a private meeting with us; there is something kindled amongst them; the man is of a temperate spirit, and very hopeful. Another, a shoemaker, one Howard, who hath been a Baptist, (and his wife,) as he says these ten or eleven years, but hath no rest,—he is clearly convinced. A fire is kindled amongst them, which cannot be suddenly quenched. They are rich and very full, and now they are afraid to come to a loss; we shall endeavour to get a meeting among them, and so clear our consciences to them. Let us hear from you as shortly as you can, and we would have you to send us a dozen of some sorts of books which you think would be serviceable, and we shall endeavour to get money for them. You may direct them to be left at Luke Howard's, the shoemaker, in Dover, to be conveyed to us. The post-master is loving towards us, but we are at an inn in the town, where many are free to come to see us. So our dear love to all our dear friends with you. We remain your brethren, &c.

“JOHN STUBBS, WILL. CATON.”

“We would have you to show this to G.”
(doubtless George Fox.)

“Dover, 19th of First month, 1654”]

(*This letter is addressed “For his dearly beloved friends Francis Howgill or Edward Burrough, at Justice Hubbert’s house, in Moorfields, London.”*)

After that we went thence to a town called Foulstone [Folkestone,] where we were kindly received by Thomas Nichols, his wife and others,—and some good meetings we had there; the priest of the town and many others being present at some of them: and the witness of God was truly reached in some, and some were convinced of the truth, and received it in the love of it. I was also at their steeple-house, but was uncivilly treated and suffered to speak but little, until I was turned out violently by a rude fellow; but some that were simple and moderate were troubled thereat.

When we were pretty clear of that town, we travelled towards Hythe, and in our way thither we went into a castle which stood by

the sea-side, [Sandgate Castle,] where we were kindly received both by the captain and his wife. We had a meeting or two among the soldiers and others, and after that we went to the aforesaid Hythe. It was upon us to go to their public place of worship, which we did; but soon after one of us began to speak, we were violently haled out, but preserved, through the hand of the Lord, from being much harmed by the rude multitude. It was much noted that he who was the most violent against us, had afterwards in a short time, some remarkable judgment which befel him.

In that town the Baptists allowed us the use of their meeting-room, and at the first were pretty moderate and civil to us, but afterwards they became (or some of them) our great opposers; howbeit there were some in that place who believed and received our testimony.

We went from that town further into the country, and were at Romney and Lydd, where there were many high professors, and among the rest Samuel Fisher, a very eminent and able pastor among the Baptists. It was upon me to go to the meeting of the Independents, and upon my dear brother, to go to the meeting of the Baptists, where he had good liberty. The aforesaid Samuel Fisher had been speaking among them, but, as it appeared, was so much affected with John’s doctrine, that after John had done, Samuel began with his wisdom to paraphrase upon it with excellency of speech, thereby to set it forth in his apprehension beyond what John had done. At the meeting where I was, they would scarcely allow me any liberty to clear my conscience among them. After that, we had meetings in both places; and being one time at a meeting in the street at Lydd, for the Friend’s house would not contain the multitude, the magistrates, or some of them, sent to the aforesaid Samuel Fisher, who was also present at the meeting, to tell him that we might have the church-door, as they called it, opened to go in thither, but we refused to accept of it, and chose rather to continue our meeting in the street. The aforesaid Samuel Fisher believed our report, with several more in those two towns, who were convinced of the truth of God, which had not been declared in those parts by any Friend before.

We were also up in the country about Ashford and Tenterden, and had great meetings, and strong contests with professors, who did much oppose us, especially in those two towns; howbeit we found some who were simple and tender-hearted in most places where we got meetings. We were also at Cranbrook and Staplehurst, where we found

a very open people, who were very ready to receive, and to embrace the everlasting truth, which we freely and powerfully, according to our measures received, administered unto them, in the demonstration of the eternal Spirit; and several large and precious meetings we had among them, and the power and presence of the Lord God were much with us, in which we rejoiced together, freely distributing the Word of life unto them, which at that time dwelt richly and plenteously in our hearts; and as we had received it freely, so we did dispense the same freely. For though there were those that would have given us both gold and money, which some would even have forced upon us, yet we had not freedom to receive one penny of them; for we told them it was not theirs but them which we sought. Many were convinced and much affected with the truth, which with joy and gladness they received. Among them, as at other places, we sought to settle and establish meetings, and to bring those that were convinced to wait upon the Lord in silence, in that light of life in themselves, which we turned them unto; to the end that they might enjoy the substance of what they had professed. Accordingly meetings came to be settled in most of the places before mentioned, which they that were convinced kept up after our departure.*

After that, we were moved to go to a great town called Maidstone; and it being on a first-day of the week, we were in the fore part of the day at a meeting of the people called Baptists in the country; and after we had declared the way of salvation among them, we left them and went to the town aforesaid. When we came there, it was upon my dear brother John Stubbs, to go to their public place of worship, and it was upon me to go

to the meeting of the Independents, which accordingly we did; and John was taken at their steeple-house, and I the day following at my inn, and were both sent to the House of Correction, so called, where we were searched, and had our money, and our ink-horns, and Bible, &c., taken from us; and afterwards we were stripped, and had our necks and arms put in the stocks, and in that condition were desperately whipped; and afterwards we had irons and great clogs of wood laid upon us, and in that condition they would have compelled us to work, saying, he that would not work should not eat, &c. Forasmuch as they had dealt so wickedly with us, and that without any just cause, neither could they justly charge us with the breach of any law, we were not free to consent so far to their cruel wills as to do their work; and therefore they kept us without victuals for some days, only a little water once a day we had allowed us: he that committed us, and was the chief agent in cruelty against us, was a noted Presbyterian. And though the malefactors that were there, would have given us of their bread, yea, the women of the house being moved with compassion towards us, would have given us something privately, but we were not free at that time to accept of either, until they by whose order the provision was kept from us, gave consent that it should be brought in to us; which finally he or they did: many in the town began to be offended at their cruelty, which they manifested towards us. And when they, who sought to bow us to their wills, were made to bow by the power of God, we were free to receive victuals for our money, and did eat and were refreshed.*

* [Dover Friends were among the first that set this noble example of gathering in the name of Him, who promised to be in the midst of them, and who was found to be the faithful and true witness unto them.

"I may also acquaint you a little how things were with us in our first conviction and meetings, after we came to sit down to wait upon the Lord in silence; which was our practice for some years, except some travelling Friend came amongst us. I can truly say, the Lord was our teacher, and his presence and power were manifested amongst us, when no words have been sounded in our outward ears: for several of us, and at several times, in these meetings, have felt the power of the Lord, that hath made our outward bodies tremble as well as our hearts: and great fear and reverence took hold of my heart; and the Lord confirmed his truth in me from day to day, and answered my doubts, and settled my faith by and in his power."—*Luke Howard's Collection of Writings*, 1704, p. 29.]

* [The following particulars, in addition to those given above, are obtained from some early records of Friends of East Kent.

"William Caton being brought before the magistrate, was examined where he dwelt, and how long it was since he came from his outward being, and what way he came; with more of the like questions. William answered, he came from London. The magistrate asked what he did while he continued in London? William said, in making known the everlasting truth, as he was moved of the Lord; turning people from darkness to the light; that with the light they might see themselves, and be brought to repentance, &c. Then the magistrate told him, he had a master for him, and that he should be set on work, and be bound unto him for so much a year, &c. But William refused to be bound to man, or to be in bondage to any; saying, he was in the work and service of the Lord, and could not go out of the Lord's service to be a slave to man."

This early record then describes their cruel treatment in nearly similar terms as in the journal above, though sometimes more minutely. After

The next day following, after their cruelty seemed to be abated, they sent an officer, who made restitution of some of our things again which they had taken from us, but burned several good wholesome papers and letters. Afterwards they parted us, and with officers conveyed us out of the town, one at the one end of it, and the other at the other, which was no small trial to us to be so separated. We were conveyed from one officer to another in the country, and in that manner sent towards our habitations in the north: but when I had been in the hands of about twelve of them, they began to grow careless of their order, and finally, suffered me to travel alone, which accordingly I did towards London.

The day following I got well up to London, where I was more than a little refreshed with the brethren; and there I met my dear companion John Stubbs again to our great refreshment. It came presently upon us to return to the town of Maidstone again, and into that country, which was no small trial to us; however, to the will of the Lord we gave up, and returned within two or three days. When our grand persecutor at Maidstone heard of our return, he sent a hue and cry after us, and it being gotten eight miles into the country, the officer came into a Friend's house where we had lodged; but were then at another place; and it being on a first-day, in the morning we went to their steeple-house, but the officer was not then there; and Providence did so order it, at that time we were preserved out of their hands. Afterwards we passed through the country visiting the brethren that had received the gospel, who were confirmed in the faith, and the more so through our patient suffering. We were also at Canterbury where we had good service, especially among the Baptists and Independents so called; for we

being sent out of the town they passed into the hands of many constables, William Caton being separated from his friend. The account then states, that these officers began to grow careless of their order; and at length left them in the highways; their heavenly countenances and sober lives and words preached so much to them, that they finally suffered them to travel alone whither they pleased. The record continues to give account of their returning to Maidstone, &c., and adds, "before they got to Dover again, the report of their wicked usage at Maidstone came to the ears of the mayor of Dover; who meeting with Luke Howard, said, 'Luke, I hear your friends have been at Maidstone, and been whipped: we did not deal so badly with them here.' 'No,' said L. H., 'but you dealt with them worse than you should.' So in a little time came William Caton and J. Stubbs again to Dover, where they, with Friends, enjoyed their meetings peaceably: many being convinced."—*MS. of Friends of East Kent.*

were at their meetings, and had pretty good liberty to declare the truth of God amongst them, and some there were that received our testimony in that place also, who were convinced of the truth, so that there came to be a meeting settled there. We were likewise at Sandwich, where I had some service in particular among the Dutch people at their steeple-house, but at that time the truth could get but little entrance in that place.

CHAPTER V.

1655.—*He visits Calais in France—returns to Dover—Travels to Yarmouth, and afterwards into the North—With John Stubbs sails to Holland; their labours in that country—returns to England.*

UPON the 12th of the fourth month, 1655, it was upon me to go over to Calais, in France, which accordingly I did from Dover. When I came there, and saw the place so much given to idolatry, my spirit was very much burthened and pressed within me: and in the power of the Lord I went to their high place of worship, where some were worshipping before their dumb idols: and I walked through by them, but could not well ease myself with words to them, because they could not understand me, neither could I then understand their language; but the Lord afterwards made way for me to ease my spirit, and to clear my conscience among some of them. For after I had been some little time in the place, it came to be known to some of the chief of the city, who desired to see me, and to speak with me, and some of them came down in person to the quay to look for me, and understanding I was aboard, I was called ashore, and was afterwards conveyed through private places, for fear of the rude multitude, as he told me that was appointed to convey me, to a great house, where several of the great ones were gathered together, to see me, hear me, and to speak with me; so that I had a very gallant opportunity to declare the truth among them. A certain Scotch lord, so called, was the interpreter; and precious dominion the Lord was pleased to give me over their vain, frothy minds and spirits, which were very much addicted to lightness and vanity. When I had had this opportunity to clear my conscience among them, they suffered me to depart in peace. And soon after I was clear, and free to return again for England, which I did, and found my dear companion John Stubbs, at Dover.

About that time it was upon John Stubbs

to go to Holland, and I was made very free in the Lord to accompany him. We had some good service afterwards in the country, in our return towards Gravesend; and from thence we went to Colchester, and so to Yarmouth in Norfolk. As to the outward we were poor and feeble, yet full of power and strong in the Lord, and were very provident and sparing in our expenses, of which I could say more than here I am free to insert; yet nevertheless the Lord did enable us to travel day after day, and many a mile upon a day, notwithstanding our keeping our bodies so much under. Neither did we in those days want for money, of which we might have had plenty given us; but our hearts being clear and free from coveting that, as the Lord well knows, we kept ourselves clear and free of it; for as we had received freely, so we were as willing to give freely, and the little we had, the Lord did sanctify and bless to us, and our reward we had always with us, in whatsoever place or condition we were.

After we came to Yarmouth, we waited there and in the country thereabouts the most part of three weeks for a passage for Holland; and finally an opportunity of a ship seemed to present, as also of wind; so we got aboard, though not without some difficulty in the roads: but presently after the master came aboard, and perceiving what we were, he would not carry us, but forced us ashore again; which disappointment, after we had waited so long, was no small trial to us. When we saw there was little likelihood of our getting passage from thence for Holland, we determined to go for the north; and after we had waited some time longer there, we got passage for Sunderland, having no small weight upon us, which was the heavier because it was reported in the nation among Friends, that we were gone over sea.

When we came into the north, I had much desire in me to go to see my dear and near relations in the Lord at Swarthmore and thereabouts, and Providence did so order it that I had an opportunity. Oh! the refreshment which we had at our meeting, and during the time I staid among them, it would be hard for me to declare it to the utmost. Dear Margaret Fell, who had been as a tender-hearted, nursing mother to me, was refreshed to hear how the Lord had been with me, how he had blessed my labours, and prospered his work in my hand; for all which mercies, together with many more, we returned unto the Lord his praise, his due, and with joyful hearts offered unto him the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

When I had staid some little time there, in which I was refreshed both in soul and body,

it was upon me to return again, to endeavour to accomplish the aforesaid journey to Holland; and when the time of my departure was come, I took my leave of them with much brokenness of heart, in which I also left them; and visiting other Friends, I returned again into the bishoprick, where I had left my dear companion. Afterwards we had some precious meetings in those parts, which together with those we had had before, were of no small service: and being pretty clear of those parts, we sought again an opportunity for Holland.

Coming to Shields, we heard of a ship that was intended for Flanders, which, though it was in the king of Spain's dominions, and pretty wide from Holland, yet we were willing to go along with her, hoping to get passage from thence; so going aboard of her, we got finally through mercy to Yarmouth Roads again, where we found a ship intended for Flushing in Zealand, which being nearer to Holland than Flanders, we embarked in her. Through the mercy of the Lord, we arrived well at Flushing; where we came among a people of a strange language, among whom we had been but a little time, when our spirits were stirred within us by the power of the Lord; through which we were moved to proclaim his mighty day, and to publish his eternal truth, in and through their streets, whether they could understand or no; which we did, and his power and presence were with us. At that time no man laid hands upon us; so after we had unburdened our spirits, by easing them of the weight that was upon them, through obeying the Lord, we returned to our lodging again.

When the first-day of the week came, it was upon us to go to the congregation of the English and Scotch, which we did; and many gazed upon us and wondered at us, because of our non-conformity to them. But after we began to speak, they were much stirred, some with fury and rage, and others with admiration; but withal, they would not suffer us to speak much, but hurried us out with great indignation, and some violence was offered to us: howbeit the Lord preserved us, so that we received but little harm from them,—blessed be his name for evermore!

The same day we went to another great city called Middleburgh, and got thither before their afternoon's devotion was ended. When we came there, it was upon us to go to the meeting place where the English and Scotch did meet, where we waited until the priest had done; afterwards one of us began to speak, but the priest would not suffer us, imagining at first, before he understood us well, that we had come a begging. But when

he perceived the contrary, he and others were more against us, and some especially were very violent, and did beat me much; and indeed had not the Lord been with us, and preserved us through his mighty power, they might have done us much mischief; but blessed be the Lord, he was our keeper and preserver.

After that, the priest sent for us to his house, and reasoned awhile with us; but he was of such a lofty and ambitious spirit, as many of that generation are, that the truth could have little entrance in him, or entertainment from him. After we had had other good service in the city, and were become pretty clear of it, we embarked for Rotterdam in Holland; where, after some difficulty and hardship sustained, we arrived through the mercy of the Lord; but did not know the face of any. When we had been some few days in the city, it was known to several, and after some time we got a meeting at an English merchant's house, to which many merchants came, both Dutch and English. We suffered for want of a good interpreter; for he that interpreted for us not being true and faithful, to interpret our words as we spoke them, but sometimes otherwise, the hearers or some of them, came rather to be incensed against us, than to be won or gained to the truth; howbeit, the witness of God in some, answered to the truth of our testimony. As there had been no Friend before to declare the truth among them in that city, it was looked upon as so much the stranger thing, and we were so much the more wondered at; but in due time, when we had cleared our consciences, and borne a faithful testimony to God's truth in that place, we departed thence and returned again for Zealand, where we took shipping for England.

After we had waited some time for the wind, we had an opportunity of sailing, but met with a very sore storm at sea; howbeit the Lord preserved us, and we got well to Burlington (Bridlington), in Yorkshire, but were not permitted to go into the town, because we were come from Holland, where it was said the sickness then was; nevertheless we saw our Friends, and were refreshed in seeing one another. Soon after we set sail again, and when we came near Hartlepool, the wind blowing very hard, we lost our foremast, and were in some apparent danger; but the Lord was pleased to preserve us then also, and to assuage the violence of the boisterous waves through his mighty power, in which we put our confidence. And when through mercy we were gotten well ashore, we went up into the country among Friends, with whom we were more than a little refreshed in

the Lord. After I had had several meetings in the bishoprick [Durham,] I went again into Lancashire, and coming to Swarthmore, I was received with joy again in the Lord, in whom our refreshment was great, and a very precious time we had afterwards together, whereby my very life was much revived; and therefore did my soul magnify the Lord, with the rest of his lambs and babes in that place.

CHAPTER VI.

1655.—*Visits Scotland, passing through Northumberland—Has good service for the Lord at Edinburgh and Glasgow—Returns to Swarthmore, and proceeds to Cheshire.*

It was not long after this, that I took my leave of that blessed family, for I was to go for Scotland, towards which nation we had felt some drawings, before we were clear of that service beyond the sea. Having taken my leave in abundance of love of my dearly beloved friends at Swarthmore, I went through Westmoreland, and had some good meetings among Friends there, which were of good service. Upon the 12th of the ninth month, 1655, I went towards the bishoprick, in order to go into Scotland. When I came into the bishoprick, I met with my dear companion John Stubbs again; and when we had visited the brethren and Friends in those parts, and had been truly refreshed together in the Lord, we went afterwards into Northumberland; in some parts of which we had very good service, especially in the country about Morpasse [Morpeth?]

About the beginning of the tenth month, 1655, we were at Berwick; and upon the market day, it was upon us to go into their market, where we had some good service. On first-day following, I was moved to go into their great assembly, where none of our Friends had been, but such as had been imprisoned and afterwards put out of the town. Nevertheless, I was not therefore to be discouraged, but went in boldly in the name and power of the Lord; and when the priest had done, I stood up upon a stall, but none seemed to make such haste to get away as the priest; however, my mouth was opened in much power, and the Lord was pleased to give me courage and boldness, and *indifferently good* liberty I had to declare the truth. When I had done, the mayor met me at the door, and took me by the hand, and delivered me to the sergeants; but afterwards I was brought before the mayor and magistrates, and further examined by them, who finally ordered that I should be turned out of the town, which

also came to pass. In the afternoon I was at a steeple-house in the country, where I spoke to the priest; but he was furious, and called me *madman*, and bid the people have me to the stocks, and bind me hand and foot, with more such like expressions; but none of the people would obey him, but gathered generally about me, and were pretty willing to hear the truth declared, though they were a sottish, ignorant people. Afterwards I could not well get any lodging among them for my money; and when I was wandering up and down, being destitute of a place to lay my head, or to rest and refresh myself in, there came a man out of Berwick to me, and I went along with him. The guard suffered me to pass very freely into the town again, where I met with my dear companion John Stubbs, who had also been in great service that day; in the forenoon among the Baptists, and in the afternoon he did supply the meeting which we had appointed; so that day we had good service, and staid afterwards some few days in that town, and had another meeting or two there.

We travelled from thence into Scotland, towards Edinburgh; and though our travails were great, and our sufferings many, both in the inward and outward man, yet the Lord by his mighty power supported us, and carried us through them all. And that which made them the easier to us, and made us the more capable to *bear with them*, was the extraordinary love and unity in which the Lord preserved us; insomuch that I do believe scarcely any of the brethren who travelled abroad upon the same honourable account, ever agreed better than we did, or were more mutual in their service, and in other things incident to travellers, than we; therefore were our travels and sufferings so much the more easy to us, through him that blessed us, and with the right hand of his righteousness supported us;—to whom be glory, honour and dominion for ever and ever!

When we came to Edinburgh, we found things somewhat out of order there, through the unfaithfulness of some that were convinced of the truth, but who did not order their conversation aright, neither did they live as became the gospel; which we endeavoured to rectify among them, as much as was possible; and the word of the Lord was effectual through us among them, to bring them into better order.

After we had been some time together in that city, it was upon my dear brother to go to some other places, as to Burnt Island, Ayr, &c., and afterwards to return to England again: so we parted in the fulness of endeared love, with much brokenness of heart.

I staid several weeks in that city, [Edinburgh,] being accompanied by another dear brother, John Slee by name: and many good meetings we had in the city, especially upon the Castle-hill, where many hundreds heard the truth of God in much power and plainness; and often was the witness of God reached, and many were made to confess unto the truth; so that we had extraordinary good service for the Lord. We did not only keep our meetings upon the aforesaid public place, but also we often had meetings at William Osborne's, who formerly had been a Lieutenant-Colonel, but was then become very zealous for the Lord's truth. Upon one time especially, it was upon me to go to their high place of worship,—the chiefest in the city—which accordingly I did; and after the priest had done, I spoke to the people, but was not suffered to speak much, until I was carried out with the press of the multitude, which was indeed extraordinarily great. When I came out in the street, there was a guard of soldiers set in readiness to secure me from the multitude, and to conduct me to the place where I desired to be, which they did with their drawn swords; and after that I went in peace to the meeting of Friends.

I was also about that time with General Monk, so called, who was seemingly moderate, and did hear me, and received such papers from me as I had to deliver to him.

I was also at Stirling; and at my going into the city, was carried to the main guard, and from thence I was sent to the governor, who at first was high with me; but when I had spoken a little to him, and had given him something to read, he became more moderate. I went from his house to the English chaplain's, who was very moderate and kind in his way towards me. After I had had good service among them, I went to Glasgow, another great city; and it was upon me to go to their great cathedral, where three congregations did meet at once; and after they had all done, I had some liberty to speak to the multitude in the yard, for the rude people were kept very much under by the English soldiers, who were pretty moderate towards me, so that I had very good service in that city.

I was at a place called Douglas, where I had good service, both in the steeple-house and elsewhere; but the priest caused me to be turned out of my lodging, and did what he could to hinder me from having any entertainment in the town; but some that lived a little from the town, were willing to receive me into their house.

Thus after I had had such good service both in the city of Edinburgh, and at the places afore-mentioned, I was pretty free to return again to England, which I did.

When I came back to England, I visited Friends both in Northumberland and in the bishoprick, [Durham] and had some good service among them, especially in the bishoprick; and afterwards I visited Friends again in Westmoreland, and in due time got well back to Swarthmore, where I was received as formerly, even in the fulness of dear and precious love. I found the power and the presence of the Lord with them as formerly, and therefore was our refreshment together again as it was wont to be. I could truly say, it was good to be there: but the Lord having much service for me abroad, I could not stay long before I was constrained to travel again in the work and service of the Lord. About the middle of the first month, anno 1656, it was upon me, and another dear brother, William Simpson, to go down into Lancashire and Cheshire, &c., to visit Friends, which accordingly we did. Many precious and serviceable meetings we had, and the Lord's heavenly power and presence were much with us, and very good service we had both at Warrington and Manchester; and I was at the great Independent congregation at Stopard, [Stockport?] but Eaton, their pastor, caused them presently to take me away, so that I had very little liberty among them. Afterwards I went to the meeting at Manchester, and my companion was moved to go to the steeple-house, but had little liberty to speak, for he was taken thence, and was turned out of the town, as he had been twice the day before: but that night he came in again, and we had a good meeting in the town, as I had had the night before at Stopard. The next day many people followed us, through William's speaking, at the end of the town, and there I had a favourable opportunity to declare God's truth among them; which they heard with moderation and attention. Upon the third-day following, we had a meeting at a place called Sunderland, and upon the fourth-day another meeting four miles from thence, and on first-day, we had a good general meeting within four miles of Northwich; yea, night and day we laboured in the work and vineyard of our heavenly Father, and our reward was with us.

We were put in prison at a place called Congleton in Cheshire; and remained there some few days, when Providence did so order it, that we were again released. Time would fail me to relate particularly the good service which we had at that time in Cheshire, Lancashire, and at Leek in Staffordshire; sometimes in steeple-houses, sometimes in streets and markets, and night and day frequently in meetings. In due time we were made free in the Lord to return again, after we had

spent several weeks as aforesaid; and always when I returned to Swarthmore, it was to me a place of refreshment.

CHAPTER VII.

1656.—*Attends a general meeting in Leicestershire—again visits Scotland; has good meetings at Edinburgh, Leith, Stirling, &c.—Returns to Swarthmore, and proceeds to Bristol and into Cornwall—Visits George Fox in Launceston gaol.*

ABOUT this time, as I remember, I took a journey into Leicestershire to a great general meeting which was appointed, to which many of the brethren resorted, and among the rest there was dear George Fox, whom I much desired to see. A very precious meeting it was; and afterwards I had some precious time with the brethren, and took my leave of them, and returned again into Lancashire. I had not been long there, when it was upon me to go into Cumberland and Scotland again; whereupon I took my leave of Friends in those parts, and went towards Cumberland: and on the 4th day of the third month, 1656, I was at a meeting at Ambleside close by the chapel, and several of the people were with us after the priest had done. In the afternoon I was moved to go into the chapel among them, but they were exceedingly violent against me, and seemed to thirst much after my blood, for they fell upon me, as if they would have torn me to pieces; but their power was limited, and I was preserved in the arms of the Lord, and ended with much courage and boldness to declare the everlasting truth among them.

Afterwards I went into Cumberland, where I had several good and precious meetings among Friends, to the confirming of them in the truth, and to my great refreshment in the Lord. When I had visited Friends in that county, I took my leave of them, and went from thence to Scotland again, being accompanied by a dear brother called John Grave. We travelled towards Douglas, where we visited the few Friends that were convinced, and had a meeting in the steeple-house yard, where many heard the truth declared in the power and demonstration of the Spirit, especially in the priest's absence; but when he was at his devotion many of them left us. In the steeple-house, when the priest was catechising his hearers, and sometimes when they could not answer him, I was ready to reply, and I gave him some queries to answer: and sometimes he said he would answer them, and sometimes he said he would not; but finally he broke out into a very

great rage and passion, and caused the people to turn me out of my lodging; and it is possible he would have done much more, if he had had power.

We travelled from thence to Edinburgh, where we had several good meetings, as also at Leith, and that openly in the street; many resorted to them, both of the English that were in that country, and also of the natives: so that many precious opportunities we had of declaring the everlasting truth of God freely and powerfully among them. About that time I was not well in body, having oppressed it with sore travel; howbeit the Lord was pleased to restore me again in a pretty short time, even for the service sake.

When we were pretty clear of Edinburgh and Leith, we travelled towards Stirling city; but when we came there, the people were so incensed against us, that we had very much to do, to get lodging for our money, which finally some soldiers procured for us. When the first-day of the week came, it was upon us to go to their great steeple-house, which accordingly we did; and being there at the very time when the priest was going about to swear some of them upon some occasion, I was moved to speak, and tell them that Christ, the head of the church, said, "swear not at all;" but little more would they suffer us to speak in that place. Afterwards we were carried before the governor, who was pretty high against us, and would even have forced us out of the city; howbeit he was then prevented, for the Lord had a very considerable service for us in the afterpart of the day. We had appointed a meeting upon a green, near the steeple-house, to which a great concourse of people resorted; and a very precious and serviceable meeting we had,—for the Lord was pleased to give us his word plentifully to communicate to the people freely and powerfully, and his presence was with us, and his living witness was reached in many, which testified to the truth of what we declared; and little further opposition did we meet with at that time. Yet some of the people were so envious, and others fearful, that many of them durst not entertain us; neither could we well get lodging in the city that night; so we went out into the country, and not without difficulty could we get lodging there; for the Scots were prejudiced against the English, they looking upon us as if we had been some straggling soldiers, were therefore the more afraid of us; yet Providence did so order it, that we got well through the country to Glasgow. When we came there, we found the governor, one Colonel Ashfield, a very moderate man; and he sent for me to his house, and reasoned very moderately

with me, as also his wife, who is since convinced of the truth, and he is very loving to Friends; his chaplain was also friendly to us. When the first-day of the week came, it was upon us to go to one of their steeple-houses, which accordingly we did. When the priest had done, I began to speak to the people, but the drums beat, whereby the soldiers were called away; and as for the Scots they could not endure sound doctrine, but turned away their ears from hearing the truth. At this city I was carried to the main-guard, where I had good service among the soldiers, who were very civil towards me, and in due time they suffered me to depart in peace to my lodging.

When we had had very good service in that city, and were pretty clear and free of it, it was upon me to go to another noted place called Ayr, in the west of Scotland, and it was upon my dear companion John Grave, to go to another place, so that we parted for a season, which was no small trial to us in that dark and barbarous country. In due time I got to Ayr; and it was upon me to go to the steeple-house there, where I had pretty good liberty, there being many soldiers, and I was civilly treated among them.

After I was clear of that place and others, according to the will of God, I set my face again towards England, and travelled many a mile alone in that barren and rude country; howbeit the Lord was with me, and through his mighty power I was not only preserved out of the hands of unreasonable men, but also through his mercy, from the sin and evil which abounded among those people; for which my soul hath cause to bless and magnify the name of the Lord, while I have my being.

In due time afterwards I met with my dear companion to our mutual refreshment; and then with cheerfulness, after we were clear of that country, we returned to England again. When we got into Cumberland we had very large and precious meetings, even as we had had before our going into Scotland; and Friends were strengthened and confirmed in the precious truth, which in those days did flourish and prosper very much; and the Lord's power and presence were with us, through which we were carried on in his work and service, in which our souls delighted to be exercised.

After I had had good service, in Cumberland, I visited Friends in Westmoreland, and in due time got well back to Swarthmore again, where I was dearly received as in months past; after my great travels, I always found it a place of refreshment to me, both for soul and body. But I was not permitted to stay much, there being such an effectual

door open abroad in the country; and therefore I was constrained, through the love of God which dwelt richly in my heart, to labour so much the more diligently,—for I knew it was good working while it was day. When I was at Swarthmore, we had not only many precious meetings there, but also several in the country thereabouts, near to the steeple-houses and chapels: so that many heard the truth of God plentifully declared, both of them that believe and of them that perish; and, indeed, a glorious and precious time we had, to make known unto people the way of salvation, and what the Lord had done for our souls; many believed and were converted, and brought to serve and worship the Lord in spirit and in truth.

I had not been long in those parts when it was upon me to go towards Bristol, and further westward so far as Cornwall; whereupon I took my leave of Friends at Swarthmore in abundance of love and tenderness, in which we were wont to meet and to part, and travelled with a dear companion, whose name was Walter Clements. Many brethren and Friends we visited in our journey to their and our comfort; and in due time, through mercy, we got well to Bristol, where I was more than a little refreshed with Friends, to see how the truth prospered among them, and what large and gallant meetings there were, both in the city and also in the country thereabouts. I was moved to communicate freely to them of the overflowing of the life and power dwelling in me, which tended to the comfort of many. After we were refreshed together in the Lord I left them, and went on my journey westward, for I was determined to visit some of the brethren that were in prison in Launceston jail in Cornwall. I visited several Friends as I went, travelling mostly alone and on foot also: but the Lord was with me, and through his goodness I got well to my journey's end; where I was not a little comforted with the brethren. I went out also into the country, where I had some very good service; and afterwards returned to the prison again, where my refreshment was so much, that my cup was even made to overflow,—there being at that time dear George Fox and several other Friends prisoners there: of whom in due time I took my leave, even in the fulness of endeared love, and returned again out of those parts.

CHAPTER VIII.

He returns to Bristol, and travels eastward into Kent—Remarks on the exercise of his gift—Reaches London.

ABOUT the latter end of the fifth month, or the beginning of the sixth, 1656, I was at

Plymouth, where I visited Friends; and after I had had a meeting among them, I travelled into the country, and being refreshed with Friends, I came to a place called Totness in Devonshire; where upon my coming into the town I was apprehended, and carried before the mayor, who threatened to have the whip laid upon my back, though without cause. But Providence ordered it otherwise, for others of the magistrates were more moderate; and when they examined me the priest was present, and a very gallant opportunity I had, to bear a large and faithful testimony unto the truth, which accordingly I did; for indeed the Lord was much with me, and it was given me in that very hour what I was to speak. That night they kept me prisoner, and the next day they sent me away with a pass from tithing-man to tithing-man, or from constable to constable; and thereby I had a fine opportunity to declare the truth to the people in the country as I travelled. For when I came into a town, and was in the officer's hand, many people that heard of it came out of their houses to see the Quaker, as I was called; and some were pretty tender and loving, and others were otherwise. I freely declared the truth among them as I was moved; and in due time I was freed from that entanglement by a countryman that would trouble himself no further with me, but gave me the pass, and let me depart in peace.

I got well to Taunton in Somersetshire, where I visited Friends, as elsewhere in the aforesaid shire; and in due time I got to Bristol, where I found several of the brethren, as Francis Howgill, John Audland, &c., with whom I was more than a little comforted; for the Lord's presence was with us, and his heavenly power was amongst us, so that we were not only a refreshment one unto another in the Lord, but many were refreshed through us, and we all in the Lord, whom our souls did magnify and praise.

When we had been sweetly refreshed together among Friends at Bristol, we went into Wiltshire, and were together at a great general meeting: after which we parted in abundance of love and unity; for I was to go into Kent, and they elsewhere.

I came to a place called Basingstoke, where I happily met with my dear brother and former companion, John Stubbs; and another dear brother called William Ames was with him, who had been together in Holland; but they travelling westward, and I eastward, we had but little time together: howbeit, in that little time we were truly comforted one in another; and afterwards, in the ancient brotherly love, we parted again. I

travelled along in my journey, being much alone, but the Lord's heavenly presence was with me; and I had several good and precious meetings, to mine and Friends' great refreshment in the Lord: and finally through mercy I came well into Kent, where I went from place to place, and visited such, especially, as before had received our testimony. Many precious and large meetings I had in the county, and the Lord was very much with me, who furnished me plenteously with his word and power; insomuch that I stood admiring at sundry times, from whence I had that fulness. This was not only the case with me, but with many more, who looking with the eye of reason upon my earthly tabernacle or outward man, could not expect any great thing from myself, being then but about twenty years of age;—neither had I ever been in much profession, until I was convinced of the truth of God; yet plenty of heavenly things the Lord was pleased to open in me and through me, to the end that I might communicate the same to the multitude, which sometimes being great, I was ready to say within myself, whence shall I have wherewith to satisfy all these? And when I looked at my own weakness and insufficiency as of myself, I was ready to faint; but when I looked only at the Lord, and put my confidence entirely in him, I was strong and courageous. For the Lord showed me by his eternal light, at a time when I was even bemoaning my own weakness, and groaning under the sense of the weight of the service and work of the Lord; saying or thinking within myself, Oh! such and such (meaning the ablest and wisest of the brethren) are so fitted and furnished, that they need not care what service they are called unto,—but as for me, I am so simple,—I am so weak,—and I never have any thing beforehand,—neither do scarcely ever know, when I go into a meeting of several hundreds, what I shall say, or whether anything or nothing. But even when I was full of those and such like reasonings, the Lord showed me how they that had much had nothing over, and they that had little, had no lack; even as it was with the Israelites of old. For the brethren that were wise and eminent, who had received much from the Lord, behold there was so much the more required of them: so that of all they had, they had nothing over, but what they were to employ in the work and service of God. As for my own part, I, who was so little in my own eyes, and so mean and contemptible in the eyes of others, had no cause to complain; for though I was often in the state that I knew not what I should say when I went into a meeting, yet even in such a meeting, hath the

Lord been pleased to give me his word so plentifully, that through him I was enabled to speak two or three, yea, sometimes four hours in a meeting with little or no intermission. And often it hath been with me, that as I knew not before the meeting what I should speak in the meeting, so neither could I well remember after the meeting what I had spoken in it; and yet had plenty and fulness, though I was often daily at meetings; and not only so, but in the evenings also; and the Lord gave a fresh supply always out of that good treasury, which affords things both new and old.

These things I rehearse, not for my own praise, but do say, “not unto me, not unto me, (who have nothing but what I have received,) be the praise; but unto the Lord alone;” who is the giver of every good and perfect gift. And I can truly say, that which I received from him, I delivered unto his people: and no small favour, love, and esteem I had from them and among them; so that the Lord, whom I faithfully served, was pleased to give me even what my heart and soul desired; and an exceedingly glorious day I had of it, and did much rejoice in the Lord, notwithstanding my great travails and sufferings; all which, through him, were made easy to me; neither were they much to me, with all the perils and dangers I went through both by sea and land, in comparison of the power and presence of the Almighty, which did so sweetly and eminently accompany me in those days.

After I had had good service in Kent and elsewhere in the country where I travelled, I went up to London.

CHAPTER IX.

1656.—*Sails for Holland—Visits Amsterdam and Rotterdam—His service at both places—Is imprisoned at Middleburgh, and conveyed on board of a ship of war for England—Travels into the South of England, returns to London (1656-7)—and proceeds again to Holland.*

ABOUT the beginning of the seventh month 1656, being at London, with several of the brethren, we had at that time much disturbance in our meetings in the city by some troublesome and unruly spirits, who were gone from the truth into extremes; and though we suffered by them, yet we were refreshed together in the Lord, and one in another.

About that time it was upon me to go over for Holland, unto which I was given up in the will of the Lord. I was then but weak in body, having gotten a surfeit through heats

and colds in my travels, as it was judged. Nevertheless I was in readiness, though in that weak condition, to take the first opportunity; and very much I desired to have a companion along with me, if Providence had so ordered it: howbeit, I went finally alone; and met with some wicked and uncivil men in the same vessel in which I went over; some of whom in their jollity abused me: but before we got over to Holland, we had a pretty sore storm, and to outward appearance were in much danger. At that time great was the fear and anguish that came upon those that were so wicked: and even then the Lord raised me up, in whom my faith and confidence was. It was upon me to speak to them in their distress, and then the witness of God was near and ready to answer to the truth of what I spoke: and the goodness and mercy of the Lord to me in that storm were very great; through whose hand we were preserved, and finally, through his mercy, brought well to our desired haven; blessed and magnified be his name for ever and ever.

When I landed at Dort, I do not know that I could speak three words of their language, and so was much pressed in spirit, and sorely laden with the weight of iniquity, which fell upon me; and seeing I wanted an interpreter, therefore was my burthen the greater. From Dort I sailed to Rotterdam, where I found some few that had heard the truth, and who in some measure received it; howbeit, I staid not long there, for my drawings were to Amsterdam. Through the good hand of the Lord I got well thither, where John Stubbs and William Ames, my dear brethren, had been before with another Friend; and very good service they had had among the professors there. Some had received their testimony and the truth in the love of it; and such with gladness and joy of heart received me. And the Lord made my service effectual among them for establishing and confirming them in that living truth, which they had heard and believed. There were some among them that could understand me, and interpret that which I spoke to the rest; so that I had very good service among them, for that little time I staid, which was not long, till it was upon me to return to Rotterdam. In the mean time, a young man came over from England, who went with me, and could understand both English and Dutch. When I was at Rotterdam he left me for a while; and in the meantime, I was much straitened for want of an interpreter; but there being one that could speak some Latin, I spoke some time in that language to him, and he interpreted it to the rest. But my sufferings were exceedingly great in that country, in divers respects; and they

were augmented through some forward and unruly spirits that were convinced, but who run out into extremes both in words and writing; whereby both the truth, and they that lived in it, came to suffer much: for my part, I had fainted through weakness and sufferings, had not the Lord by his mighty power upheld and preserved me.

At that time few or none of the priest's proselytes came to our meetings, but several high conceited professors, both at Amsterdam and Rotterdam attended, and several of them were more apt to take upon them to teach others, than to receive instruction themselves.

I was also at the Jews' Synagogue at Amsterdam upon one of their Sabbath days; and staying most of the time of their worship, I beheld the manner of it, which was very strange in divers respects; neither would they admit of any dispute in their Synagogue; but after their worship was ended, another Friend and I had some pretty good service with some of them in one of their houses: they are a very hard, obstinate, and conceited people in their way. When I had staid some time at Rotterdam, it was upon me to go to Zealand, which accordingly I did, about the latter end of the eighth month 1656, and the aforesaid young man went along with me. And when we had been some days at Middleburgh, he went to some of their meeting places in that city, and was apprehended; which I understanding, went to visit him, and they, perceiving that I was his companion, secured me also. Afterwards we were examined very late in the night, and after our examination we had three or four soldiers to guard us, and a place appointed for us where we might lie. But quickly after we were laid down, we were called up again in great haste, and were carried from thence to the prison, about the eleventh or twelfth hour at night, and put in two distinct places, which caused my sufferings to be the greater, and the more, because I could speak little or none of their language. There I remained some days, being weak in body, but in process of time, we were brought before the council, and were severally examined, but returned to prison again.

It seems they ordered (by what followed,) that we should be sent for England; for soon after, a coach-wagon was brought to the door, to carry us to the water-side, and several soldiers were also provided to guard us. For the city seemed to be in an uproar, and the rude multitude raged exceedingly, as if they would have torn us to pieces; but the Lord was with us, who was our chief keeper, though there were some in the wagon with us, and some that went on foot along by the wagon.

According to their order, they brought us on board of a ship of war, where we were kept prisoners, near upon two weeks, being confined to an open, cold room; and the men were so hard-hearted towards us, that they would not allow us so much as a bit of sail-cloth to lie under us, or above us: thus for the most part of that time we lay upon the bare boards in very cold, stormy weather, so that our sufferings were great both in the inward and outward man.

But, how is the goodness and mercy of the Lord to be admired, for even then, while I was in prison, and so hardly used, my strength grew much, and I recovered my health, in a great measure again, even to my own and others' admiration; and thereby I came to have further experience of the goodness and mercy of our God, for which my soul hath cause to bless and magnify his name for ever.

About the middle of the ninth month 1656, through mercy, we got well to England, and about the same time came up to London. We had extraordinary pain in our feet after we came to lie in warm beds, having lain so long in cold weather in our stockings and shoes: but meeting with many of the brethren there, my refreshment was great among them, and in that good service which I had in the city.

When I had been about two weeks in the city, it was upon me to go down into the country; and when I was travelling alone in Surrey, near Ryegate, a wicked, murderous fellow came out of a house, and fell upon me as if he would forthwith have murdered me; but the Lord delivered me out of his hands, and afterwards I went to the meeting of Friends that day. I had good service in Sussex, especially among a people that were called Seekers, who were mostly convinced, not far from Lewes. I was also at Steyning, Arundel, Chichester, Portsmouth and Southampton, at all which places I had good service for the Lord; as also at other places, both in Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. I had a meeting at the east side of Sussex, where there had never been any Friends before; and the rude multitude came with their drum, marching up to the house, like men ready for battle, in a desperate manner, as if they would have pulled the house down over our heads. I was moved to go out to them, and asked them what they wanted; they said Quakers; I told them I was one. And it was upon me to speak in much plainness to them, which I did, and in much power; and presently their countenance fell, and fear surprised them, and with shame and confusion they withdrew, not having power to harm any of us, blessed be the

Lord; who in those days did eminently appear for us, as he hath often done since, therefore have we cause to put our confidence in him to the end. About that time I had much good service for the Lord in those parts, and when I was free of the same I returned again to London.

I had not staid long there, when it was upon me to return again for Holland; although I had some very good service in London, and in some part of Surrey, before I was perfectly clear and ready to take shipping; for about that time there was an effectual door open in and about the city, and many of the brethren were there, and a very precious opportunity we had together, to our refreshment in the Lord.

In due time way was made for my going over, and in the fulness of dear and precious love, I took my leave of Friends and the brethren at London, and through mercy arrived well at Rotterdam; and understanding there that William Ames, a dear brother, was at Utrecht, I hastened thither, where I found him in good service for the Lord, both to his and my refreshment. Entering into discourse with him, I understood that he had been in prison at Amsterdam with another Friend, and that they were turned out of the city, &c. Nevertheless, according as it was upon me, I went to Amsterdam, though bound in spirit; and came thither about the middle of the second month, 1657. I arrived there in a very seasonable and needful time; for Friends being but young, and having had a pretty sore storm, were somewhat scattered and scattering, being discouraged and frightened through the indignation and wrath of the magistrates and priests, which were kindled against them. I made it my work to gather them together again, and to establish them so much as was possible in the eternal truth. Besides what they had met with from the magistrates, &c., there had been a bad instrument among them, who had bred much discord and dissension among them; but through the mercy and goodness of the Lord, they came in due time to be restored again into faith and confidence, peace and tranquillity, in which they kept their meetings. But as for the professors, they were high and conceited, and would scarcely believe that a greater light was sprung up in any part of the world, than what was arisen among them; neither could they well endure to receive instruction from such as would not or need not be instructed by them. There were also at that time many stumbling blocks laid in the way of the simple, and many obstructions the truth met withal in that place; and therefore were my burthens the more, and my

sufferings the greater; but the Lord was with me, and the right hand of his righteousness upheld me,—glory be to his holy name for ever and ever!

[The following valuable epistle from the Swarthmore Collection, is dated “Amsterdam, in Holland, 15th of third month, 1657:” it bears an endorsement in the handwriting (as the editor believes,) of George Fox, thus: “W. Caton to Friends, 1657.”]

To all my dearly beloved Friends that be elected of God, sanctified through the Word of his grace to be vessels of honour, to the praise and glory of his name everlasting: Mercy, grace and peace be multiplied amongst you, from God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the fountain of love and life, from whom all goodness doth come; who hath distributed of the riches of his grace unto you, and manifested his living power amongst you; by which he hath quickened some of you who were dead in trespasses and sins, and given you a sight of the entrance into the eternal inheritance, which never fades away. Yea, light is sprung up unto you who walked in darkness, and upon you who dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, hath the light shined; and your understandings hath the Lord opened, and given you to see *that* in yourselves, which separated you from him; and some of you are come to distinguish betwixt the precious and the vile, betwixt that which entereth into God's kingdom, and that which is shut out. So that which once you esteemed highly, which did appear beautiful and glorious in your eyes, comes now to be accounted dross and dung in comparison of that pearl, which some have found, and many are digging for; which is not purchased by all that seek it, because they are not willing to part with their whole substance for it. But I know that many of you have forsaken much; and yet something remains which must be also offered, even that which would save its life, and would not come to judgment, must be brought to light and tendered, if it be as dear unto you as your right eye or right hand. Those who keep nothing back, but are willing to part with all for the truth's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and in the life to come life everlasting. For I do assure you, that none are ever made losers for parting with any thing for the Lord, neither need they repent thereof; and that which you lose and have lost for the truth, the time is at hand when you shall account it gain. And though the world may account you fools, because of the loss of your reputation; when your honour and dignity

come to be laid in the dust, it matters not; for it is better to be reproached by the world, and to suffer persecution of the world for righteousness' sake, than it is to revile them whom the Lord hath chosen out of the world. Therefore eye his mercy to you, that are reproached and not reproachers, persecuted and not persecutors; yea, I say, rejoice that you are accounted worthy, not only to believe, but also to suffer for his name's sake. Be ye comforted, in the midst of your deepest sufferings and tribulations, with the consideration and hope of the joy and glory that shall be revealed unto you, which your present sufferings, which are but for a moment, are not worthy to be compared unto. For the night is far spent in which the sorrows are; and the day is at hand when sorrow and sighing shall fly away: then shall you that mourn be comforted, and receive beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that ye may be called the trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord; although for the present you be in pain and sorrow, groaning to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. Be patient therefore and hope to the end, for he that shall come will come, and will not tarry; whose arm is already stretched out, in which he carries his babes and lambs, who are born again of the incorruptible seed, nourished and fed with the sincere milk of the living Word, by which they grow from strength to strength. The Lord will not lay any more upon any of them than they are able to bear; but he strengthens the weak, comforts the feeble, binds up the broken-hearted, fills the hungry, clothes the naked, satisfies the weary and the thirsty soul; whose everlasting treasury is always full, and his banqueting house ever well stored with durable riches; where the distressed are relieved, and every one's necessity supplied, that hungers after righteousness. For he is a Father to the fatherless, and he increaseth the strength of such as have no might: so unto him you may come, as unto a living fountain, from whence none are sent empty away, who thirst and pant after the Lord. Oh! blessed are all they that come to drink here of this Fountain of living waters; their souls shall never thirst more: and you, whose souls are thirsting and longing to participate of it, you shall be satisfied. For I know that no visible created thing can satisfy that which longeth to be refreshed with the living streams which issue out from this fountain, which watereth and refresheth the whole city of God,—the streams whereof make glad the hearts of the righteous, whose souls come therewith to be

everlastingly satisfied. So come hither, all you that thirst, "come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea, come and buy wine and milk without money and without price;" yea, eat, O friends, eat abundantly and be satisfied; for a living fountain hath the Lord set open, for Judah and Jerusalem; and all that are bathed and washed in it come to enter into the holy city, which hath no need of the sun nor of the moon to shine in it;—for the glory of the Lord God doth enlighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof;—the gates of which are not shut at all by day, for there is no night there;—neither can any thing enter into it that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life. And towards this your faces are turned, and your feet are guided into the way that leads to it.

But woe to them that take up their rest by the way, and so come short; they shall inherit sorrow and vexation, and trouble shall be their portion; and with terror and great fear shall they inherit their possessions; and poverty and distress shall be their garments, by reason of the drought, scarcity and famine, that shall be in their inheritance. But with the righteous and them that fear the Lord it shall not be so;—for the Lord is their shepherd, and they shall not want any good thing;—they shall eat in plenty;—feed in pastures which are green and large, and their souls shall delight themselves in fatness. There shall no devourer or venomous beast come within their liberty to make them afraid; neither shall there be scarcity nor desolation in their land; for the dew from heaven shall fall upon it, which shall cause it to bring forth more abundantly, by which its increase shall be watered and refreshed; for the Lord hath blessed their inheritance, and the curse shall no more come upon it, neither shall the unclean enter into it,—but showers of mercy shall descend upon it;—because the Lord hath blessed it,—yea, and will bless it, and all their posterity, that inherit it for ever and ever.

So, my dear friends, know the seed of God in yourselves, and dwell in the living power of God, which will overturn and dispossess that which by violence hath kept the seed of God in bondage; that that which hath led captive may go into captivity, and that which hath suffered violence under the violent oppressor, may come to be set free. Then will you see your Deliverer come forth of Sion, who purchased your redemption, and will make you free from that which hath held you in thralldom and bondage: then shall

you return unto Sion with the ransomed of the Lord, with everlasting joy upon your heads,—being made inheritors amongst them that are sanctified and crowned with victory. So, the everlasting powerful God, who is strong and mighty, bless, preserve, and keep you;—that you may multiply, increase, and prosper, and bring forth some an hundred, some sixty, some thirty fold, to the praise and glory of our God—to whose custody and protection I commend you: his grace and peace be with you for ever and ever, amen. Your dear brother in the living truth,

WILL. CATON.

When I had staid there for the most part of seven weeks, I left Friends for a season, having had very good service, not only at meetings, or the like, but about getting books printed and published, which were of good service in that country.

Afterwards I went with my dear brother William Ames through some of the principal cities in Gilderland; howbeit our movings were especially to a place called Zutphen, a city out of which William Ames had been banished before: and when we came there we went to the meeting place of the Mennonists, otherwise Baptists; but when we would have gone in, they bolted the door, and would not suffer us to enter in among them. William being pretty well known in the city, the rude multitude gathered about us; but to avoid the occasion of a tumult, we withdrew out of the streets to the walls of the city, and very many people followed us. As we were moved and allowed of God, so we spoke in his power, making known his eternal truth; and a very good opportunity we had upon the walls of the city, from which we withdrew, when we were free; howbeit, the baser sort of people were very rude in throwing stones and clods at us; but the Lord did so preserve us, that we received little harm thereby. In the afternoon there came very many people to us out of the city to our lodging, where we had also a very good opportunity to declare the everlasting truth freely among them, and to disperse many books in their own language, which we had brought along with us; and several received pretty good satisfaction. My dear companion had proposed to stay there some time, but the magistrates being moved with envy, would not suffer the people to entertain him; besides they took it as a great presumption in him, that he should dare to return again thither, after he was banished from thence. Moreover, they threatened that if the Baptists came at us they should be served in like manner; which threatnings, together with

what they had done before, kept the people much in fear and slavery, so that they durst not appear to vindicate that of which they were convinced.

After we had good service in those parts, I returned again to Amsterdam, where my service consisted much in keeping things in as good order as was possible; and likewise in getting books printed and published, and in several other respects.

CHAPTER X.

1657.—*His service in several cities in Holland—The love of God to him and Friends there—He returns again to England—Attends a general meeting in Bedfordshire—Proceeds northward, and reaches Swarthmore.*

IN this year (1657) I was at the Hague, the place at which the head court is kept for the Seven Provinces: there was but little entrance for the truth, though I had some good service with some in that city. I was also at the city of Dort when the plague was there, where I found some two or three that were somewhat loving; howbeit, there was little entertainment for the truth in the place, and therefore was my suffering the greater.

I went also to the city of Utrecht to visit them that were convinced, where I had now and then good service, and pretty fine meetings; but in those days I spoke mostly by an interpreter. When the magistrates and priests came to understand that the truth seemed to get some entrance in that place, their enmity began to increase against it; and they gave forth an order, that those who entertained us, and had meetings at their houses, should from thenceforth neither entertain us, nor have any more meetings in their houses, on pain of being turned out of the city, or of being arbitrarily punished; which threatenings terrified some, and caused some to draw back, but not all.

I was also at the city of Leyden, where their great university is; there a Baptist woman received me into her house, whose husband was a Papist, at whose house I was allowed to have a meeting, to which many sorts of people resorted. The truth being a new thing and very strange, I met with no small opposition, especially from the Papists and Baptists, both which sorts were stirred and offended; and more so, because the man and woman of the house came to be convinced. A meeting was in due time established in that city, where oftentimes, as also in other places, I had good service for the Lord and his truth. Most commonly, when my service was over in the country, I returned to the city of Am-

sterdam which was a place of great concernment, and where there was a more constant service than in other parts in that country; in due time there was an addition to Friends, and the number of them increased; their meetings were kept in very good order, and for the most part were pretty peaceable; and the goodness and mercy of the Lord abounded much to the remnant that were gathered. Sometimes the rude multitude was tumultuous and troublesome at our meetings: once especially there were many rude people gathered together, who doubtless had much wickedness in their hearts, and some of the worst of them came into our meeting, and sought to lay violent hands on me, and to have done much mischief to me and others; but the Lord's power prevented them, and preserved me and Friends, even to our admiration. I was through Providence cast into a house in the presence of the rude multitude, who if they had not been, as it were, smitten with blindness, and restrained through the power of God, might have executed their fury upon me and the rest; but he that was in us, and by his power preserved us, was greater than he that was in them, who in their madness would have devoured us at once: but blessed be the Lord our God, who very often showed mercy unto us, and at sundry times, with his heavenly presence and infinite loving kindness, plenteously refreshed and comforted our souls;—infinite praises be to his name for ever and ever!

When I had spent above a year in the service of the Lord in the Low Countries, especially in Holland, in which time I had also written two or three books, I was free in the Lord to return for England, which accordingly I did, through Zealand; where I wrote the book called, "The Moderate Inquirer," &c. In due time I got well to London, through the mercy and goodness of the Lord, where I found many of the brethren; and several precious meetings we had in and about the city, to our great refreshment; for about that time the truth did multiply, spread, and many were added to the church, and came to receive the gospel. For in those days the Lord endued his servants and handmaids with very much power and wisdom from above, and they went on in his name, preaching the Word of life, both in season and out of season, not only in the meetings which they were moved to appoint, and which Friends duly kept, but also in steeple-houses and markets, in streets and highways, or elsewhere, whosoever and whensoever any was moved of the Lord to publish and declare his living truth.

When I had been some little time in London, I went into Surrey to some general

meetings there near Reigate and Kingston; where I was more than a little refreshed with Friends, and they with me, in the power and presence of the Lord God, which was often eminently manifested amongst us, to the comforting of our souls.

At the time called Whitsuntide, in the year 1658, there was a general meeting appointed in Bedfordshire, at John Crook's, to which I went with Friends from Kingston, and unto which many hundreds of Friends resorted; and some of the brethren came from most parts of the nation, and great was our refreshment together in the Lord.* When it had continued about two days, there came some troopers, who apprehended few or none, though some were in jeopardy: and afterwards we parted, and went every one as he was moved, some eastward, and others westward, some northward, and others southward: but I and a dear brother and former fellow-servant, whose name was Thomas Salthouse, went to the north, and visited Friends in our journey, and came finally, through mercy, well to Swarthmore in Lancashire, the place of our former residence; where we were received with joy and gladness, and indeed great was our refreshment in the Lord, as it was wont to be in that place. Divers precious and gallant meetings we had there and thereabouts, which tended not only to our own refreshment, but to the refreshment of many more, whose hearts were made truly glad, through the power and presence of the Lord God, which did accompany us.

After I was abundantly refreshed at Swarthmore, and with Friends thereabouts, I went into Westmoreland, according as it was upon me, about the latter end of the fourth month, in the aforesaid year, 1658, where I had some very good service among Friends at and about Kendal; and afterwards I went out of those parts into the bishoprick, where I had several large and precious meetings. One was a very large, general meeting, upon a certain moor, in a convenient place for Friends to come to from several parts of the country; and the Lord's power and heavenly presence was very much with me that day, even to the confirming of them that had believed in the everlasting truth, and to the convincing of those there present who were giving their hearts to the truth.

After this meeting I went to Durham, where the same night I had a very good meeting; for in those days it was common with us, while such an effectual door was open, to get meetings in the evening, besides

that which we had had in the day-time; for we were freely given up to spend and be spent in the work of the Lord, which in that day prospered exceedingly, to our joy and refreshment in the Lord.

When I had had very good service for the Lord in the bishoprick, I went into some part of Northumberland, and visited Friends there, and afterwards from thence to Carlisle, where I had very good service; as also elsewhere in the county of Cumberland, where I had many precious meetings; for in that county, there would come many hundreds to a meeting: and our meetings were commonly very peaceable, and the Lord was extraordinarily good to me, and gave me his word plentifully to publish and declare in the power and demonstration of his eternal Spirit, to the confirming of many that had believed in the everlasting truth of God.

After I had visited Friends and their meetings in that county, and was clear thereof, I returned again into Lancashire to Swarthmore, where I was wont to find Friends in the same love, life and power in which I left them; and it was very common with us, through the mercy of the Lord, to be plentifully refreshed together in and through the same; therefore had we many joyful and blessed days together, the remembrance of which doth even unto this very day sweetly refresh me, especially when I feel the same love and life fresh in myself, which then was, and yet is, the author of our living refreshment.

When I was at Swarthmore, it was my manner, together with others of the brethren, to go from thence to meetings in the country thereabouts, sometimes among Friends, and sometimes to fresh places, where, it may be, there had scarcely ever been a meeting of Friends: for I made it my sole work to be found doing the work of God, unto which he had called me, and for which he had in measure fitted and qualified me, blessed be his name for evermore, who never suffered me to go without my reward.

CHAPTER XI.

1658.—*Travels to London—His labours in Kent, Sussex, &c.—Proceeds to Bristol, and returns to London—Attends a General Meeting of ministering Friends at the Bull and Mouth (1659)—Sails again to Holland and returns—Dangers on his voyage back.*

ABOUT the latter end of the Sixth month, 1658, I took my leave of that honourable family [at Swarthmore] and of Friends thereabouts, and set my face southwards again,

* See George Fox's Journal for an account of this meeting, under date 1657-8.

visiting Friends in some part of Lancashire, and especially in Cheshire, where I staid about a week or more, and had several good and precious meetings to our great refreshment in the Lord.

Afterwards I went pretty readily to London, where I found several of the brethren, and an effectual door open, and Friends generally well, fresh, lively, and very open and tender: and I had good service in the city, and the Lord was pleased to give much dominion, and even fulness to me out of the everlasting treasury, which, through him that strengthened me, I freely communicated to them whose souls were breathing after the Lord.

[Extract from a letter dated London, 13th of Seventh month, 1658, to Margaret Fell.]

“I came into the city, and my soul hath been much refreshed among the brethren. Here is a mighty door open at present in this city; and Friends are generally fresh, lively, and tender: and for the generality of the people, they are much *under*, and many are moderate and loving, whose hearts are open to receive the truth. I have had as gallant service in the work of the Lord, since I came to this city, as I believe I ever had in my life. Upon the first-day, I was at the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, where the Lord was pleased to open the hearts of many, who with joy and gladness received that which the Lord allowed me to speak; so that in much love and tenderness I left them. After that meeting I passed a mile out of the city, when I had a very precious meeting, which consisted of a great concourse of people, several captains and masters of ships and seamen, with other persons of note and quality, who were generally very moderate and open to receive the truth. After that meeting was ended, I returned again into the city to another meeting, where the power and presence of the Lord was made manifest to the great refreshment of the most part of the Friends then assembled.”]

When I had been about two weeks, or above, in and about the city, I went down into Kent, where I also found an open door, and fresh desires in people after the Lord; and many precious meetings I had also in that county, which were of great service for the establishing of Friends in the truth who were convinced, and for gathering in of others, who were hungering and desiring after the truth.

I went out of that county into Sussex, where I also visited Friends, and had several precious meetings among them; and travelled

along pretty near to the sea-coast, so far as Southampton, where I had also gallant service among Friends; and after we had been plenteously refreshed together, I took my leave of them as in other places, and visited Friends at Winchester, who were in prison. Afterwards I travelled westward into Somersetshire, where I visited Friends and some of their meetings; and being sweetly refreshed among them, I went to Bristol, where I had good service, as also in some parts of the country thereabouts among Friends; and it was no small matter of joy and rejoicing to me to see the truth of God prosper and flourish, as I saw it did in that journey. In due time I returned to London again by Reading, where I also visited Friends, and reaped refreshment; for in all those travels the Lord had been with me, which even made them, together with the service which I had in them, very pleasant and delightful to me. Many precious and peaceable meetings I had; and the Lord gave me utterance in power and much authority, to declare and publish his name and truth; all which redounded to his praise, which was his due, and which my soul did freely render to him, who is the fulness, itself, from which all my fresh springs flow.

After I had some very good service in London, I passed down into Kent again, about the 20th of the ninth month; where I had very precious service for the most part of a month, and afterwards I returned to London again, where I determined to stay but a few days, when I went thither; but the work of the Lord was so great in it, and meetings so full and so many, that it was hard to get out of it again in a short time; for in those days the truth did mightily prevail and prosper, not only in that city, but in the country about, as also in many parts of the nation.

I spent some months in those southern parts, where especially there was an effectual door open: and oftentimes in great service for the Lord I was exercised both day and night, in which the Lord made my cup to overflow.

At the time called Easter, [1659,] there was a general meeting appointed, especially for the ministering brethren, who resorted to it from several parts of the nation, which was held at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate in London, upon the 5th of the second month, 1659: it was very large and exceedingly precious, to the refreshing of many hundreds. In the afterpart of the day we had a very great concourse of people at our meeting place at Horsleydown in Southwark, where, within and without doors, it was thought some hundreds might hear the truth declared that afternoon, with which many

were much affected; and great was our rejoicing and comfort, which we had in the work and service of the Lord, in which we were abundantly refreshed together: In that great assembly our souls even with one accord, praised and magnified the God of our salvation; and in a few days after, Friends departed out of the city again, the end being fully answered for which they came together.

About that time it was upon me to go [again] for Holland, and I took my leave of Friends and brethren in London, and in much brokenness of heart, love and unity, we parted. I took my journey towards Colchester, there to take shipping, which accordingly I did, after I had had several large and precious meetings: but the wind being contrary, I staid there, and thereabouts near upon three weeks, in which time I had very good service; for the Lord's heavenly power and presence was much with me, as in other places, not only to my refreshment, but to the refreshment of many more in the Lord. When the Lord made way for it, I went aboard, and we set sail; but the wind proving contrary, we put in at Harwich, whereby I had an opportunity to see Friends there also. On the first-day of the week, I had a gallant meeting there, to which many came, not only many Friends out of the country, but also many people that were not Friends, who seemed to be pretty much affected with the truth when it was declared to them. When I had spoken about an hour or two, the master of the vessel came and called me away, for he was determined to set sail: I committed them to the grace of God, and went aboard, and probably thirty or forty Friends might follow me to the ship-side in boats, such was their love, to the admiration of the spectators.

Through the good hand of God I got well over to Rotterdam, where I visited Friends, as also elsewhere in the country. I found things pretty well in reference to the truth, and meetings pretty peaceable; and about that time strangers came more frequently to our meetings than formerly: and if things had not been carried in much wisdom, we might have been often in tumults, for there were those who watched for iniquity, and were ready to do mischief, thinking that if the magistrates would not meddle with us, as we then were, yet if they could but procure an uproar or tumult at or about our meeting places, we should be punished as uproar-makers. Notwithstanding the evil conspiracies of the wicked, the Lord was exceedingly good to Friends, and very gently and compassionately dealt with them; and they grew bold and valiant, and the truth got dominion among them. My suffering before had been

great in that country, especially before I could speak their language, yet the Lord refreshed me much among that small remnant which were called by his name, and who walked in his eternal truth: and having gotten their language, and being able to minister in it, I could much better free myself of the weights and burdens than before. When I had staid about two months, and seeing things in a pretty good posture as to the truth, Friends well settled, and their meetings kept in good order, it was upon me again to return for England, where there was such an effectual door open. I took my leave of Friends in Holland, whom I committed to the custody and protection of the Almighty, and so left them.

In the latter end of the fifth month, 1659, I took shipping for England, partly intending for London. When we had been about twenty-four hours at sea, we saw a ship which proved to be a pirate or robber, which chased us; when the master perceived it, he caused all to be made in readiness to fight, and the passengers that were aboard were furnished with arms as well as the rest, but for my part I could not touch any of their weapons, as to shed blood with them, but stood simply given up to the will of the Lord. But as Providence ordered it, when they were almost within shot of us, their hearts failed them, and they were not suffered to come up to us, so that there was no blood shed, nor harm done to each other; wherein the Lord answered my desire, for which mercy my soul did bless, praise, and magnify his holy name.

After we were delivered through the good hand of God from the hands of the aforesaid pirate, we were in imminent danger through a very violent storm, which took us when we were near the coast of England; and coming to cast anchor we left both anchor and cable, and had our boat split in pieces. One great ship that rode by us was swallowed up of the raging sea—a sad sight to behold—there not being one man saved alive in her; yet nevertheless, the same God that delivered us from the hands of the aforesaid pirate, did also deliver us out of that violent storm; through whose mercy we got finally into harbour at Yarmouth, though it was near a hundred miles from the place for which we intended.

CHAPTER XII.

1659.—*He proceeds by sea to Sunderland, and passes westward to Swarthmore—His services in Cumberland—Travels to Edinburgh, Leith, and other parts, and returns to Swarthmore.*

BEING landed so far to the northward as Yarmouth, I determined to go from thence by

shipping; which accordingly I did, with a Friend to Sunderland, where I found two of the ancient ministering brethren, viz: Francis Howgill, and John Audland; with whom I was much refreshed, as also with the rest of Friends. And when first-day came, we went together to a general meeting in the country, where there were abundance of Friends and others; and the power and presence of the Lord was with us, through which we were much refreshed together.

After that meeting I visited many Friends in the bishoprick, and in a short time after passed westwards towards Lancashire through Westmoreland, visiting Friends in my journey, as my manner was. I got well to Swarthmore, where I was received in the same ancient and entire love, with which we were usually favoured together, through the infinite mercy of the Most High, which abounded much to us and among us in those days.

When I had staid some weeks there, and thereabouts, I went into Cumberland, to visit the flock of God there again, among whom I had many precious meetings; for the power and presence of the Lord did accompany me, and his Word of life ran freely and powerfully through me, to the strengthening of the weak, the comforting of the feeble, and to the satisfying of the thirsty soul. When I had been through a great part of the county, and had visited most of the Friends in it, I returned again into Lancashire; where I could not stay long at that time, because it was upon me to go into Scotland to visit Friends there. I took my leave, even in an extraordinary manner, of my dear and near relations in the eternal truth at Swarthmore, where we spent several hours in waiting upon the Lord, and in pouring forth our supplications before him, and in being refreshed abundantly together, after we seemed perfectly clear and ready to part one from another; which finally we did, in much love and unity.

Being accompanied by two dear brethren, Leonard Fell and Robert Salthouse, I went back again into Cumberland, and visited Friends in my journey thither, where I heard much of the troubles that were in that nation, and of the likelihood of their increasing; yet nevertheless I could not be freed of the journey, but must go on in the name and power of the Lord. Presently after our coming into that nation, the aforesaid brethren took their leave of me and I of them, in the fulness of our Father's love, in much brokenness of heart; committing one another to the protection and custody of the Almighty; and afterwards I and another Friend travelled towards Edin-

burgh, where through the mercy of God we arrived, after some hard travel.

The next day after our arrival, we went to a general meeting at Lythgoe, [Linlithgow] about twelve miles from Edinburgh; where we found Friends at their meeting by the highway side, to which many people resorted, and good service we had at it. Howbeit the people of the town were so incensed against us, that we could scarcely get any entertainment among them for our money; but the wife of the governor of the castle being at the meeting, her heart was opened and filled with love towards us and the truth, and she constrained us to turn in and take up our lodging in the castle; which we were free in the Lord to do. Afterwards we had some more good service in the town, which, when it was over, I returned back again towards Edinburgh and Leith, where I had good service. About that time it was pretty much upon me to speak with General Monk, it being about the time of his advancing for England; but I was not permitted, and was constrained to deliver my message or to make known my business to his secretary, which he promised to communicate to his master, whereupon I came to be pretty well discharged.

[The following letter is from the Swarthmore Collection: Thomas Willan, it appears, was a Friend of Kendal.]

Thomas Willan,

My dear friend,—Such is my love to thee and to Friends, that I cannot very well omit such an opportunity as this, when it is put into my hands, but that I must let you know something of my welfare and of the affairs of the gospel in these parts where I am; knowing that it hath often tended to the refreshment of some, even as I hope these lines in some respect will. I for the present being somewhat far remote from you, even as in a forest, or wilderness, where I should be in great jeopardy, did not the arm of the Lord's power compass me about, which is my buckler and sure shield of defence; by which I was brought well through the country, to the city of Edinburgh, the place towards which I was most pressed to hasten. Staying one night in the city, I passed on twelve miles the day following; when I met with several Friends to our refreshment in the Lord. And having had two meetings together in that town of Lythgoe, [Linlithgow] where the governor's wife of the castle is a Friend, we, or some of us returned to this place; where sometimes the meetings are held, and some-

times at the city of Edinburgh. But for the present our meetings are but small, few strangers coming to them; for many are surprised with fear who have some inclination in them towards the truth, but dare not appear nobly to confess the same before men, having little of the life of the same in themselves. Since my coming into these parts I have had good service, sometimes among the soldiers, sometimes among the Scots, often among Friends, who are I hope benefited already by my being here, this being not only a time of trial to them, but to many men who are exceedingly jealous one of another. This is a day wherein many are offended, and because of the treacherousness and falsehood that one man beholds in another, there is great hatred and emulation amongst men; insomuch that father is against son, and son against father, one brother against another, one family against another, and one nation rising against another. What shall we say to these things? Is it not the Lord's doing, thus to dash one potsherd against another, that he alone may reign, whose right it is? who is now arising in his mighty power, to break his enemies to pieces, like a potter's vessel. I have sometimes since my coming here endeavoured to speak with General Monk, but could not have access to him; so the substance of that which was upon me, as to him and the army, I wrote and gave to his secretary, who promised to deliver it to him. I also gave his secretary a copy of the same to communicate to the officers, which he said he would do. He with several others who were present with me, were pretty moderate and civil towards me. Friends here with others were very desirous that it should be printed, but it could not be got done here; and therefore, it is sent to Newcastle in order to be printed; and if it be, it is like that thou with Friends may see it. I purpose shortly, God willing, to pass westward, and after I have visited Friends there, I know not to the contrary but I may return for England. For the present, the door which hath been opened seems to be shut in this nation; where the spirits of men are much set on fire, and some are promoted, others abased, and strange overturnings here are among the children of this world: but the faithful and upright are little troubled at these things, being confident that they will work together for good to those that fear the Lord. For a further account I refer thee to the bearer hereof, George Collison. Salute me very dearly to Friends that inquire of me, and let them know that I am well at the writing hereof, praised be the Lord! Many things I might write of, but not knowing in

who e h nds this may come,* shall therefore be sparing; and remain thy dear friend and brother in the pure truth,
W. C.

Leith, near Edinburgh, 14th of
Ninth month, 1659.]

Afterwards it was upon me to visit Friends in the west of that nation, which I did, to the confirming and establishing of them in the eternal truth; and after I had had good service among them, I became pretty clear of that country, and set my face again towards England. I travelled mostly alone, after my fellow-traveller had left me, and got well, through the goodness of God, back to England again.

Upon my return from Scotland I visited Friends again in Cumberland, and with some difficulty, it being in the winter season and very tempestuous weather, I got back again into Lancashire, and so to Swarthmore, which was always a place of refreshment to me.

[*About this time William Caton wrote a letter to George Fox, dated from Swarthmore, 20th of Tenth month, 1659, from which the following is extracted.*

After describing his service at Edinburgh, &c., he adds, "but at that time the hearts and minds of people were so taken up with the bustlings and stirs that were among the children of this world, that there was scarcely any room at all for the truth in them. When I returned for England, I left Stephen Crisp in the west among Friends, who is a pretty wise man that came from Colchester; and he was determined to stay some time in that nation."—*Swarthmore Collection.*]

CHAPTER XIII.

1659-60.—*His service in the South of Lancashire—Attends a general meeting at Balby in Yorkshire—Travels to London, also into Sussex, Kent, and so into Norfolk—Returns to London and proceeds to Dover.*

WHEN I had continued at Swarthmore some time, it was upon me to go into the south of Lancashire, to visit Friends and their meetings; which I did, and had several good and serviceable meetings in divers of

[* This surmise seems to have been realised; for by a few lines written by the said George Collison, at Carlisle, on the back of the original letter, he states, that when he came near that city, he was stopped by two troopers, who asked him if he had any letters; on his informing them he had one, they took him before the governor. It seems

the great towns in Lancashire, as at Garstang, Preston, Wigan, Liverpool, and Warrington, &c.

Being at a meeting in Warrington, the 7th of the twelfth month, 1659, there came several rude soldiers of the baser sort, who did much abuse Friends; and after they had done much violence to us, they broke up our meeting, and forced us out of the town: but we gathered together again, near to the town upon the road-side, and had a sweet and precious meeting. It was not long before the soldiers came thither also, and as I was speaking they took me violently from among the rest, and beat me, some with their muskets, and others with their spears, in the sight of Friends, to the breaking of the hearts of many. When they had satisfied their wills with abusing me, they suffered me to return into the meeting again, which afterwards we kept a certain time to our great refreshment in the Lord, whose power and presence did exceedingly appear amongst us; for as our suffering at that time was greater than ordinary, even so was our refreshment in the Lord. I visited Friends in some parts of Cheshire and elsewhere; and when I had had good service in those parts, I returned again to Swarthmore, where I always found refreshment in the fulness of the Father's love, which abounded much among us in that blessed family.

I had not been long there, and with my own dear mother, who about that time laid down the body, when I was with her, but it was upon me to go southwards, first towards a general meeting of the brethren from several parts of the nation, which was at Balby in Yorkshire, and afterwards towards London; and it was so ordered that Thomas Salt-house, my dear companion and fellow-servant, together with Bridget and Isabel Fell, did accompany me. When the time of our departure from Swarthmore was come, our hearts were sad and broken within us, as they used to be at such seasons; and when with prayers and supplications unto the Lord we had earnestly interceded one for another, and had committed one another to his custody and protection, as our manner was at such times, we took leave one of another in the fulness and virtue of love and unity; and then set forward on our journey, in the name and power of the Lord.

When we came into Yorkshire, we had some meetings; and when we got to Balby

we found many of the ancient brethren there, and Friends that were come from several parts of the nation; so that the meeting consisted of many hundreds. When it was about the height, there came a part of a troop of horse to break it up, and dismiss Friends, but they were moderate, and Friends continued their meeting until they had freedom in the Lord to break it up. The next day we had a very large and precious meeting, not far from that place; and when we were abundantly refreshed together in the Lord, through the abounding of his mercy and goodness to us, we took leave one of another in much love and unity, and every one went in peace towards his respective place where the Lord had a service for him.* The aforesaid Thomas Salt-house, my dear brother, and I, travelled southwards towards London, and visited Friends in our journey. As we were travelling in Nottinghamshire, some troops met us upon the road and apprehended us, and carried us before some of their commanders, who sent us to the commissioners at Nottingham, where we were further examined by some of them, and being found innocent were discharged, and suffered to pass on our journey in peace.

Coming into Northamptonshire we visited Friends at Wellingborough and thereabouts, and being sweetly refreshed among them, we took our leave of them, and travelled along until, through the mercy of the Lord, we came well to London; where we had several precious meetings, and were more than a little comforted with the flock of God there, as oftentimes my soul had been before in that city. I staid about two weeks, and afterwards parted with my dear brother Thomas Salt-house.

[The following letter, descriptive of the state of things in London at this period may be here inserted; it is taken from the Swarthmore Collection.]

London, 7th of Third month, 1660.

TO THOMAS WILLAN.

Dear friend,

Our dear and unfeigned love reacheth to thee, and to the brethren with thee, whom we dearly salute in the living Truth. We rejoice in the Lord, who lifteth up our heads above the wickedness of wicked and ungodly men, which indeed is grown to an exceedingly great height in this city; which doth exceedingly abound in pride, fulness, excess,

that great eagerness for information on the state of Scotland then prevailed, that nation being reported by the writer to be at this period "in a mighty uproar."]

* See an account of these meetings in George Fox's Journal, under date of 1660.

and in all manner of superfluity of naughtiness, to the grieving of the spirits of just men, and to the making of their hearts sad, who fear the Lord and work righteousness. Yet, nevertheless, this we would have the brethren to know, that as yet we see scarcely any stop at all put to the work of the Lord in the city or country. For several precious meetings we had, as we came through the country, as a letter that is coming by the carrier, makes mention of, more at large, than at this time we shall do. As for the meetings, in general, in and nigh unto the city, they were, the last first-day, as full, large and peaceable, almost as Friends have at any time known them; and abundance of sober people resorted to them and were generally quiet—the guard of soldiers which for a season was kept at the Bull and Mouth, is now removed from thence; and several quiet, large and precious meetings we have had there of late, since the guard was removed, which is not only removed from thence, but also from several parts of the city. It is reported that the citizens would have all the soldiers of the old army removed out of the city forty miles, or rather disbanded; and they would undertake to guard and to protect the king and parliament. The old soldiers are in great contempt, and with most they are holden in derision, and that dreadfulness which once attended them is now departed from them, and others that dreaded them are now become a dread unto them. Indeed, now are anguish and distress come and coming upon many, whose hearts have been nourished, and exalted, and puffed up without the fear God; who have not regarded the cries of the oppressed, nor stood in God's counsel; but have boasted themselves against [those] that hewed with them once. Therefore, is it just with the Lord to give them for a prey to their enemies, who were a prey to them, while they stood in God's counsel; from which many of them have departed, and therefore are they fallen, snared and taken. Friends in the city are almost generally well, as far as we know. John Stubbs is gone into Kent, Richard Hubberthorne is yet in the city. The chiefest discourse among the people here is, about the king and the parliament's proceedings; who are speedily preparing the way for his coming, which is suddenly expected: but blessed be the Lord for ever, in whose power we can testify, that our King is come, who reigns in power and great glory; and therefore we need not look for another.

W. CATON, THOMAS SALTHOUSE.

London, 8th of Third month.—This very day the king hath been proclaimed in an ex-

traordinary manner; the concourse of people that have been in the streets has been innumerable; the shouting for joy hath been so exceedingly great among the people at times, that the sound of many trumpets could scarcely be heard, nay the bells themselves could not sometimes be heard, but the noise hath been exceedingly confused, like the noise of many waters. Time would fail me to relate the fantastical ceremonies that have been used, and the extraordinary pomp, the mayor and aldermen with the gentry have appeared in. Oh! the vanity and superfluity of wickedness which hath appeared in the city, my pen could not declare it in several hours' time to the utmost. But at present I have not much time, being about to go to a meeting, not knowing certainly whether this day they will suffer us to keep any of our meetings; for they would not suffer that at Westminster to be kept this day. This wickedness, which is now at an extraordinary height, will have an end in the Lord's time. Let this be sent to Swarthmore, after Friends have seen it at Kendal; my entire love is unto all the faithful there and elsewhere. Farewell. W. C.

My dear love in that which is our life, is unto you all, and if George Fox be there I would gladly hear from him, as he is free.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE.

As for the sufferings of Friends, which George Fox said should be given to this parliament, it is not yet a convenient time to present them, because they do not act any thing till Charles come, but what is in order to the bringing of him in, and so they were but lost to be given to them at present.

London, 8th of Third month, 1660.]

[Also in R. H.'s handwriting apparently.]

I went down into Surrey and Sussex, where I had very good service for the Lord, and many precious meetings, which were of great service at that time. At Hurst in Sussex, upon the 27th of the third month 1660, I had a very large meeting, to which many Friends from several parts of the county resorted, together with many others that were not Friends; and an exceedingly precious and serviceable meeting it was, but weighty and heavy upon me, before I went into it. But this I have often observed and found by experience, that by how much the more I felt the weight of the service of the meeting, before I went into it, by so much the more was my service in it, and my reward accordingly; blessed and magnified be the name of the Lord for ever!

At that time it was somewhat difficult tra-

velling, by reason of the many watches that were set with a strict order, as I was informed, to apprehend all suspicious Quakers, Baptists, and Papists; howbeit, the Lord was pleased to preserve me out of their hands. At the time called Whitsuntide, we had a very precious and large meeting near Hors-ham, of Friends out of four counties, according to appointment; which we enjoyed, through mercy, pretty peaceably, to our great refreshment in the Lord; who in those days did very eminently manifest his heavenly power and presence in our assemblies, to our great consolation in Him.

After the aforesaid general meeting was over, and I was clear of that country, I went into Kent, where I visited the brethren, and had many large and precious meetings, which tended much to the confirming and establishing Friends in the truth, and to the convincing of those that heard the same eternal truth declared.

When I was clear of those parts, I returned again to London, where I staid some time, and had good service. Afterwards I went into Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and visited Friends and their meetings in many places of the aforesaid counties, where I had as excellent good service as my heart could desire; for the Lord's refreshing presence went along with me, and the word of his power supported me, and carried me through the great and weighty service, in which I was so much exercised in that blessed day, wherein the truth did flourish and prevail mightily in very many parts of the nation; which was no small cause of joy to us, who were witnesses of it.

I returned again to London, where I always found service enough, and for the most part a door open in that city.—When I had been some time in it, and had had good service there and thereabouts, it was upon me to go over to Holland; and I returned into Kent after I had in much brokenness of heart, and in perfect love and unity taken my leave of Friends and brethren at London. In passing through the country I visited Friends and their meetings, as my manner was; and I staid several days at Staplehurst, with Thomas Housegoe, who then lay upon his death-bed, who had been a serviceable instrument in his day in those parts; and after he was laid in the ground, we had a very precious meeting, there being many Friends at his burial.

[*At Dover, he writes to his friend George Fox, under date of the 16th of Ninth month, 1660; from which letter the following are extracts.*

“Since I came from London, I have had

good service in this county, at Sutton, Cranbrook, Tenterden, but especially at Staplehurst, and in Thomas Housegoe's family; for it was so ordered that I came to his house the same day that he began to be very ill, and that very night I began to despair of his life; a day or two before he died, he gave a very good testimony to the truth, to the power and to the glory that is now revealed, &c. It was upon me to stay till his funeral was over, which was last third-day; and abundance of Friends were at it, yea, several out of Sussex, so that it was a very honourable burial. After his body was laid in the ground, Friends drew nigh into the meeting place, with several of the world, where we had a precious meeting; for the power and presence of the Lord were abundantly manifested amongst us, to the consolation of Friends in general. That night it was upon me to return to his house again, where I had very good service, and in the morning I left them in a pretty good hopeful posture; but assuredly he will be very much missed in those parts, and I believe there will be now more necessity of Friends visiting them pretty often than there was before: I desire that thou wouldest be mindful of them. I have also been at Will. Beeme's, and at Hythe, and at Folkstone, where I find Friends very well, but some in deep sufferings for that unhallowed ordination of tithe; some are in prison at Canterbury, and some in Dover Castle, for refusing to pay it. Yesterday I came to this town, and had a very good meeting yesternight among Friends here, who are as well as ever I knew them. Since I came to this town, I have been to see for shipping, and there are some vessels ready; it is thought they may set sail either this night or to-morrow at night, if the wind continue fair. I purpose, if the Lord will that I can get passage, to pass by them to Zealand, and go from thence to Holland; but the officers here that look after passengers are very untoward bad men; so how the Lord will order it, I know not at present. Dearly beloved of my soul, let thy prayers be for me, that I may be kept in the power, life, and wisdom of our God, to his praise, and to the comfort and consolation of the brethren, with whom I can rest in the Lord, even in the heat of the day; glory be to the Lord for ever.

WILL. CATON.”]

[*Swarthmore Collection.*]

CHAPTER XIV.

1660.—*He leaves Dover for Holland—His service in several cities and places—Returns to London (1661,) but soon after revisits Holland—He travels with William Ames into*

Germany—At Heidelberg is courteously treated by the Prince Palatine.

ABOUT this time I passed towards Dover, where I took shipping for Zealand, to go for Holland; and after some hardship sustained at sea, by reason of tempestuous weather and contrary winds, through the providence of the Lord I got to Flushing, where I staid but little, and passed for Middleburgh, where I visited the very few Friends that there were in the city; and afterwards I went to Treveare, where I found a vessel almost ready to sail for Dort in Holland. In my journey I was exceedingly filled with the Lord's love, and the power of his might, though I was alone, not having any Friend in company with me, but many passengers; and among the rest a Catholic, who was filled with much envy and wickedness, and uttered desperate threatening words against me, giving some to understand what a small matter it was in their account, to do a man a mischief who spoke against their religion. In the height of his wickedness he boasted of a pardon which he had in his pocket, not only for the sins he had committed, but also for what he should commit: but before we parted, the power of the Lord reached to his own witness in the man, whereby he was smitten in himself for his folly, and his fury against me was much turned into friendship towards me. Thus do we often see the Lord changing the hearts of our enemies, and restraining them from the evil they intend against us; which we must acknowledge to be the Lord's doing, which is, and often hath been, marvellous in our eyes; to him therefore be glory, honour, and dominion, for ever and ever.

I got well to Rotterdam, through mercy, where I found Friends very well in the Lord. After we had been sweetly comforted together, I took leave of them, and went to the city of Leyden, where I also visited that little flock, with whom my soul at that time was comforted. From thence I passed to the city of Amsterdam, where my refreshment was augmented in the Lord among his babes in that place, at which I arrived the sixth of the tenth month, 1660.

Afterwards it was upon me with another Friend called Peter Hendricks, to go into Friesland, which we did; and in due time through mercy we arrived well upon a first-day in the morning, at a place called Dockham, where we went into the meeting of the Baptists, so called, which was very large. When he that spoke had done, I stood up and began to declare the everlasting truth in their own language. They were much divided

among themselves, for some would gladly have heard me, others would not suffer me; but one of the chiefest of their teachers was very moderate, and spoke to this purpose, that if I had a nearer way to God to declare, than that which they knew, or one that was more excellent than theirs, they would willingly hear me. In order thereto many of them came together in the afternoon, and heard me declare that way which I preferred before theirs, and affirmed it to be nearer to God, and more excellent than theirs: and little they had at that time to object against it. Before we parted they were so far satisfied, that by their great silence, in which they sat as if they had been Friends, they seemed not to have any thing further to object. After the meeting was done, the aforesaid teacher invited us to his house, and to take up our lodging there, which for several reasons we were free to accept of. When we got to his house at night, many people followed us, so that we had a very good meeting. And when we had continued there some time in very good service, we left that place and returned to Leuwarden, the metropolitan city of that province: there we found some in whom there were desires after the truth, with whom we had meetings. Afterwards we passed to a place called Mackham, where there were also many of the aforesaid Baptists, and we were entertained by an old man, who had been a preacher among them for many years.

When first-day came, it was upon us to go to their place of worship, which we did; and waited until he that was speaking had done: afterwards I began to speak, but he would not suffer me, (to wit, he that had preached,) but became presently very angry, though the people would gladly have heard me; but he would not suffer them; and he became finally so uncivil, that he put the people out of the meeting place with his own hands; at which some being much offended, a skipper or master of a vessel, stood up and said, If they would not suffer me to speak there, I should speak at his house; and the same man came and took us to his house, where afterwards we had a pretty good meeting, and such as had desires to hear the truth came thither, so that I had some very good service there for the Lord.

When we were free of that place we went to Worchum, where we also had a meeting or meetings. When we were pretty clear of those parts, we returned again for Amsterdam, where we were received with joy and gladness by Friends, who rejoiced with us in the good service which we had had; and blessed be the Lord for our preservation.

[From this city W. C. addressed a letter to Friends in England, (as is supposed,) from which the following extracts are selected.]

“O! my beloved friends,

“It is delightful to me to meditate upon the Lord’s love to you, and it is a comfort and refreshment to my soul to feel you in the unity of the eternal Spirit, wherein I have daily communion with you, though I am necessitated, for the scattered seed’s sake, to be much as without the camp, where the reproach is borne, with many weights and burdens, by reason of which my soul is sometimes bowed down. Yet, O! my friends, I share with you of that joy and peace, love and life, which abound in your tents; and therein can I rejoice with you in the midst of our trials and sufferings, though as to the outward I am far separate from you. Yet know, that I have no more want and scarcity than I had when I was with you; for my heart is filled with love, my mouth with praise, and mine eyes with tears, when I behold your integrity and innocency, your faithfulness and constancy, under your trials and burdens. Often is my soul poured forth unto my Father on your behalf;—unto whom a child is born, unto whom a Son is given; whose name is called the Prince of Peace, and of the increase of whose government there shall be no end. This is He, of whom I bear testimony to the nations, though they abhor Him, and say within themselves,—‘we will not have Him to rule over us, or we will not suffer any of His messengers and servants to dwell among us, but we will imprison them, and put them to death,’ &c. Thus the Lord may suffer them to do, until they have filled up the measure of their iniquities, as the Amorites did; and then shall his iron rod be stretched over them, by which they shall be broken to pieces like a potter’s vessel, who have abhorred Him, and hated Him without a cause; but in that day will he spare you, who have followed Him through great tribulation.—In the meantime, O! beloved, he will try your faith and patience; but be ye not therefore troubled, for he knows what is good for you, in whom he has chosen in these latter days to manifest his power and glory, to the families of the earth, whose glory and dignity must be stained and brought to nothing.”

[He then proceeds to give a similar narrative of his labours in Friesland, &c., though somewhat more minute than given at this place in the Journal. He afterwards adds:]

“The sudden and violent storm which ye

have had in England,* hath also stirred the waters very much here, so that they rage and swell, as if they would prevail beyond the bounds which are set for them. Much mire and dirt they cast up, venting part of it in their weekly intelligence, and part in ballads, wherein they seem to lay that chiefly to the charge of Friends which lately happened in London, as if they had conspired together to do much more than what was done. The vulgar sort of people that have no feeling of the witness of God in themselves, they believe it; but some sober and honest-hearted men slight it, and do not much regard it. But the baser sort take a mighty occasion hereby against us, and they rage and tear as if they would swallow us up quickly. We are credibly informed that fifty of the wildest of men here have combined together, not only to break our meeting, but also to pull down the house to the ground, where we have often met: so that ye may understand, that we are here daily in as great jeopardy as they in England, that are not yet cast into prison. The last first-day there were some very wicked men at our meeting, who were exceedingly desperate and violent; but blessed be the Lord! they were not suffered to do much harm, and that which they did, was more to the house, than to Friends, who are given up to the will of the Lord, as well to suffer with you for the Truth, as to rejoice with you in the Truth.

“Now friends, ye know this day hath been long foreseen, and often have ye been told that it would come, and seeing it is come, think not these fiery trials strange which attend, though for the present they may not seem joyous; yet without all controversy, good will be brought forth by them to some, and these things shall not be in vain; for it appears to me that they work together for the hastening of that work, which the Lord is determined to cut short in righteousness for the elect’s sake. Therefore, let that reasoning part be kept under, that would say, this would hinder the work: for who art thou that reasonest with the Lord! is not the work his? and knowest thou better than he, what would be for the furtherance of it? If not, be still, patient, and content; and let him work for his Truth with us, or without us, according to the good pleasure of his Will; who hath all power in his hand; and this is he in whom we have believed, who commands the winds and the seas to be still, and they obey him; have we not seen it, and are not we his witnesses? if so, let us be patient a

* See the Histories of England concerning the troubles consequent upon the return of Charles II.

little, and we shall see the Lord work wonderfully. Though I have written thus largely to you at present, yet my heart is as full of love as it was when I began to set pen to paper: so in the fulness, do I most dearly salute you, and in it do I leave you, and commit you unto Him, who is of power to establish all your hearts in the living Truth, in which I remain, your dear brother in the fellowship of sufferings, in the gospel of peace,

WILLIAM CATON.*

Amsterdam, 25th of Eleventh month, 1660.

I continued several months in Holland, where I had very good service, sometimes at Atkmore, sometimes at Haarlem, sometimes at Leyden, sometimes at Rotterdam, but mostly at Amsterdam; and I was much alone, especially about that time, for William Ames who had had very good service in those parts, was some time in Germany, and some time at Hamburgh: and once he travelled through Bohemia, and to Dantzic, and from thence to Poland. John Higgins who had been much in Holland, was seldom with me; so that I was much alone in the country: but the mercy and goodness of the Lord abounded very much towards me, for which my soul hath cause for ever to praise and magnify his name.

About the time called Whitsuntide, in the year 1661, it was upon me to come over to London, chiefly to visit Friends there and thereabouts, after their great suffering. And the Lord gave me an opportunity, with two other Friends, viz: William Welch, and Benjamin Furly. Through the mercy of the Lord we got well over to Harwich, and from thence to Colchester, and so to London; where I was at several precious meetings, and was more than a little refreshed with the brethren, not only at London, but also at Kingston. But being pretty much pressed in spirit to return for Holland again, where there was some needful service for me, which required my hasting, I took my leave of Friends and brethren, in much love and unity at London, with whom my refreshment at that time was so great, that the remembrance of it afterwards was a great comfort to me. We got well back to Colchester, where we had a very large and precious meeting, to our own and Friends' strength in the Lord. We then went to Harwich, from whence we passed over to Holland again, and had a prosperous and successful journey of it, blessed be the Lord, which tended much to our encouragement.

At that time I had in hand the book, called,

An Abridgement,* which I printed at Rotterdam; and after I had finished it, I visited Friends in most places of that country, and had several good meetings among them, to their and my refreshment in the Lord.

About that time it was upon me to go into Germany, partly to visit Friends, and partly to speak with the Prince Palatine, and some else in that country, I took my leave of Friends in Holland with much tenderness of heart, committing them to the custody and protection of the Almighty. About the 10th of the seventh month, 1661, with my dear brother William Ames, I set forward on our journey towards Germany, and in due time we got well to Cologne; from thence we travelled towards the Grave de Whitt's country, who had promised large liberty to all sorts of people, that would come and inhabit in his dominion. When we came there, we went to his house, and had an opportunity to speak with him; and he reasoned very moderately with us a while, and we endeavoured to inform ourselves as much as we could from his own mouth, of the certainty of what was published in his name concerning liberty. But in the end, we perceived clearly from him, that his invitation, though promising liberty or toleration, was not so much out of love to tender consciences, as out of covetousness for what was theirs, as since hath more evidently appeared.

After we had had a very good time with him, and had informed ourselves sufficiently, and tried the ground from whence such things proceeded, we parted from him, and went up into the country, and had good opportunity to speak with some of the priests and people; and after we had satisfied and cleared ourselves, we left those parts, and travelled on our journey towards the Palz or Palatinate; where in due time we arrived, through the mercy of the Lord, at a place called Kriesheim, where we found a small remnant of Friends, that bore their testimony to the truth; with whom we were refreshed, after our long and pretty tedious journey. There we continued some time, helping them to gather their grapes, it being the time of their vintage; and when we had had a time of refreshment among them, we travelled towards Heidleberg, the place of the prince's residence. Soon after we came to Heidleberg, we went to the captain of the prince's life-guard, and

* "An Abridgement or Compendious Commemoration of the remarkablest Chronologies which are contained in that celebrated Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius," &c., 1661. Reprinted 1689. Whiting's Catalogue.

made known our desires to him concerning speaking with the prince; and he was willing to procure us access to him. Soon after, the prince sent for us to his palace, and he being at dinner, caused us to stand by him; and withal he heard very moderately what we had to say to him. Afterwards we presented several books to him, all which he kindly received from us, and was very courteous to us, and reasoned very familiarly with us in the presence of the great ones that were with him; and after we had had a favourable opportunity with him, we returned to our lodging.

In a short time after we went up to the prince's palace again, having some further occasion to speak with him; and having free access to him, we found him very moderate and courteous to us as before. He spoke to his captain to cause us to sit down at the table with his attendants, which we found freedom in the Lord to do; for he seemed to be somewhat troubled before, when he had observed our unfreeness in that thing. After dinner we had much private discourse with him, the governor of Manheim only being present, and we found him to be pretty courteously affected towards us; and therefore we were the more free to declare the truth in much plainness to him, and zealous in pleading Friends' cause with him, who had suffered by the priests about their tithe in his dominions. After we had spent some hours with him that day, we returned to our lodging again.

About that time we were very busy in answering several books that were extant in High Dutch against the truth and Friends; the answers to which we intended to have printed here, but the printers fearing the reproof of the clergy, durst not print them for us in this city. We then departed from thence, and returned again to Friends at Kriesheim; and when we had staid some time with them, William Ames determined to return again for Amsterdam, there to get the aforesaid books printed. He took his leave of Friends, and I went along with him to a place called Alstone, where the governor of those parts lived. It was upon us to go to him, to lay some abuses before him that were sustained by Friends. He was moderate towards us, and a good service we had with him; and he gave me an order for the officer of the place where Friends lived, to take care that the rude multitude did not abuse Friends. After we had been with him, we took leave of each other in the endearment of our Father's love, and he [William Ames] went for Holland, and I returned to Kriesheim again; there I staid with Friends some time, and

afterwards went to Heidleberg again, for I was not clear of that city. When I came there I hired a lodging in a goldsmith's house, and sometimes I went up to the prince's palace, and had good service there; and sometimes I was with some of the great ones of the city, with whom I had also very good service, and some of them were very courteous and *respectful* to me: and more love appeared in some of them towards me than others could well bear. Then began the enmity in the clergy to get up against me; and through the means of some that were envious against me, I with another young man, who were all the Friends that were in that city, were ordered to appear before the council, as also the man that entertained us. This accordingly we did, and had a very good service, for never had there been any Friend there before: so they had many things to query of me; and the Lord was pleased at that very time to give me enough wherewith to answer them, as also utterance, boldness, and dominion, even to the admiration of some. They were moderate towards us, and suffered me to speak pretty freely and largely among them; but in the end, that they might appear to do something, they would have me to depart out of their city, though they had nothing to lay to my charge, except for declaring the truth, and dispersing some books which testified of the truth; nevertheless, they suffered us then to depart from their judgment seat in peace.

Afterwards the prince came to hear of it, and as we were informed, was very highly displeased with the council for troubling us, when we had given them no just occasion. After that I went to the president's house, who had examined me before the council; and after a little discourse with him, he became pretty moderate, and reasoned very familiarly with me, and asked me many things concerning our Friends in England; as also concerning the magistrates' proceedings towards them; and I was very free to give him a full account thereof for his information. Before we parted he seemed to be very loving to me, and thanked me for the present I had given him, which was some Friends' books; and yet before the council, my giving of such books to people was the greatest crime they had to lay to my charge, though both the prince and he received them from me, and accepted of them.

CHAPTER XV.

1661.—*He visits Manheim and Frankfort, his ill-treatment in a Monastery—visits the Je-*

suits' College at Worms—At Heidleberg is introduced to the Prince—Is married to Anneken Derricks at Amsterdam, 1662.

I WAS several months, yea half a-year, in that country, where I had very good service for the Lord, some time in one place, some time in another. I was several times at a city called Manheim, where there were a sort of Baptists, who lived together as one family, and had their goods common; with whom I was several times, and did bear my testimony among them to the truth of God, though few of them received it. I was several times with the governor of that city at his own house; and he was very courteous to me, at least seemingly, and desired me as often as I came to the city, to come to his house. I was also in the country with a countess, so called, who was very loving to me, and pretty open to hear the truth; and at her house I found a great lord, so called, who formerly had been general of the emperor's army, as I was informed; and a great conference I had with him in the countess' presence, who was rather one with me in her judgment, than with the great man before mentioned; and after I had had some very good service with them, I left them.

I was also at Frankfort, and endeavoured to get some books printed there, but could not prevail with the stationers; for the books that were to be printed there, were first to be viewed by some of the clergy. When I saw I could not prevail there, I went with a Friend to another city called Hannau, where we got our business done; and afterwards returned again to Frankfort, one of the chief, if not the chiefest, city in Germany. On a certain time, I went into their chief monastery or temple, where the emperors are usually crowned; and the priests were gathering to their devotion: they were exceedingly offended with me, because I did not stand uncovered in what they call sacred, though it be an idolatrous, place. Some of the priests spoke to me, and one especially was exceedingly angry; and when we had spoken but a little together in Latin, he turned from me in a fury, and another that was with him fell upon me, and beat me sorely, and there he left me bleeding in the temple, where I left much of my blood behind me, as a testimony against the idolatry of that idolatrous place.

I was also in the synagogue of the Jews of that city, where I reasoned much with them, and had a good opportunity to bear a faithful testimony of the eternal truth; though they could apprehend little to it with their dark minds, which were blinded with the god of this world, as their forefathers were. I had

also some books to dispose of among them, which for novelty's sake they coveted much after: and when I had cleared myself of them, I left them; and in due time returned again into the Palz.

I was also at the city of Worms; and it was upon me to go to the Jesuits' college, to reason with them, or some of them, concerning the truth of God, and their traditions, which I did. When I came there, one that was eminent among them did soon enter into discourse with me, and spoke very feignedly to me for some time; for at the first he seemed to have hopes, as it appeared to me, to have won or gained me to his religion; and therefore did he seem to be the more ready and willing to resolve me in whatsoever I propounded, so far as I believe he well could. But when he saw I did notwithstanding lay open their apostacy, and boldly gave my testimony against their inventions, superstitions, and traditions, he could scarcely contain himself from breaking out into a passion. I spent some hours in dispute with him, in the presence of several that belonged to the college, for whom he was as the mouth for the whole. When I had cleared my conscience, and borne a faithful testimony unto the truth among them, I left them, and returned again to Kriesheim, where our Friends inhabited; for sometimes I was there, sometimes at Heidleberg, and sometimes elsewhere, where I saw the Lord had a service for me.

[Extract from an Epistle addressed to Friends in London, by William Caton, dated Kriesheim, near Worms, in Germany, 30th of Eleventh month, 1661. This instructive Epistle is printed at large in Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii. p. 451.]

"We have cause to praise and magnify the Lord God omnipotent for ever, who doth not only comfort and refresh us in our tribulations, through the consolations of his eternal Spirit, but also hath prepared a refuge for us, which we have truly found in his eternal light and pure power. And now if no storm had come, then I believe there would not have been such flocking and flying to this refuge, as there hath been, and as there is, and as I hope, there will be; therefore, if the storm of persecution do drive such as were neither cold nor hot from under their green trees of specious pretences and fair shows of religion and reformation, to this sure hiding place or refuge, which is in the eternal light, life, and power, which you have now made manifest, then will it be good in its season. Therefore let none be afraid of it who are faithful in their measures; for indeed our heavenly Fa-

ther is so abundant in mercy and goodness to his people, that if he suffers storms and tempests to arise, he doth not only still them, but even in the very time of them he covereth his dear babes with the banner of his everlasting love, so that truly they need not to fear, though sometimes they that are tender and young among them may be too much afraid. And forasmuch as I know that the refuge before mentioned is known to you, and the covering of the Lord's eternal Spirit manifested in you, which is the banner of his love spread over you, therefore I beseech you to be of good courage in the Lord: for to what end should you fear? to what end should you be troubled? to what end should you take thought? You know that neither fear of heart, trouble of mind, nor yet taking of thought, can in any wise avert these things. And if it be the good pleasure of the Almighty to purge and refine you in the furnace of persecution, as heretofore he hath done with many of his witnesses in the world, think it not strange that it should be so with you: but rather think it strange that the Lord hath so long dealt so gently with you, and that he hath so remarkably restrained the violence of the mighty, who have risen up against you, as if they would have devoured you at once. But behold, how have they been abased, brought down from their seats, and overturned; and though they have, as it were, bruised your heel, yet they have not prevailed against the Lamb, the captain of your salvation; neither have they overcome you, whose faith hath stood in the power of the Most High, through which you have overcome, and not by the force of arms, nor by might of princes, nor by the greatness of your multitude. Remember, therefore, these things; and strengthen ye one another in the faith and in the patience; and look ye alone unto the Lord, and hearken and hear what his Spirit saith in you and to you.

"When the spirit of enmity rules, there is not much liberty to be enjoyed in matters of religion; for it is well known to you, how through that spirit we have suffered from the beginning, which hath wrought mightily against us in our native country. In these countries there are three sects tolerated, viz: the Papists, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists; and all these have their particular government in their particular cities and villages; and all of them are addicted to persecute those that are not of their sect. But above all others they seem to be bent against us, as the most offensive, irregular, and perturbations people that are of any sect; and notwithstanding the great variance that is and hath been among themselves, yet they can, as it were, join hand

in hand against the truth and us. As for the Papists, they hate us as new up-started heretics, whom they account worthy of death: and the Protestants, they revile us and upbraid us, as if we were the pope's emissaries; and many of them esteem us as not fit to live upon the earth: so that as much as in them lies, they seek to toss us to and again, as a ship upon a troubled sea. But thanks be to God, our anchor holds; so that they, with all their hard threatenings, which proceed from their rocky hearts, cannot split our confidence, nor make shipwreck of our faith; which is in the Lord Jehovah, who is over all, blessed for evermore!"

When I was at Heidleberg, there came two of my dear brethren to the city, viz: John Stubbs and Henry Fell, who had been at Alexandria in Egypt, and in Italy, &c. The postmaster of the place seeing them, did bring them to my lodging, for he knew me well, for they had no knowledge of my being in the city; presently after, came the captain of the prince's life-guard, having seen them in the street; and he being a very courteous man to us, discoursed very friendly and familiarly with us, and afterwards told the prince of the aforesaid Friends being in the city. Soon after, the prince sent his secretary to my lodging to desire us to come up to the castle to speak with him, which accordingly we did; and when we came there, he began to speak friendly and familiarly to us, as his manner was, and did ask them much concerning their travels, and how it had been with them, &c. And a very gallant opportunity we had with him in the presence of the nobles, so called, that were conversant with him. After he had discoursed long with us, he parted very lovingly from us, and soon after we went out of the city.

When the aforesaid brethren were with me, I received some letters out of Holland, whereby I was informed of the death of Niesie Derricks, of Amstersdam, who had been a dear and special friend of mine, and a true and faithful servant to the flock of God in the Low Countries; of whose love and virtue, faithfulness, and good service which she did in her day, a volume might be written. When I heard of her departure, my heart was much saddened, and broken within me; and indeed it was more than I could well bear; but the aforesaid brethren being with me, they bore with me; and the Lord supported me in that heaviness, and comforted me with the promise and assurance which I had from him, of his raising and bringing her sister Anneken Derricks, with some else, into her love, life and spirit, to perform that

or the like service for the Lord which she had done.

When I had been about half a year in Germany, and had had very good service, especially in the Palatinate, it was upon me to return again for Holland, which accordingly I did. When, through the mercy of the Lord, I was gotten well thither, I visited Friends, as my manner was, and we were sweetly refreshed together.

[In the eighth month, 1662, he was married to Anneken Derricks, at the meeting in Amsterdam.]

The same day after the meeting was done, we brought William Ames's body to the ground, who had finished his testimony, and left a good savour behind him. Though we went as wisely to work as we could to prevent a tumult; yet nevertheless on a sudden the rude people were gathered together, and became so tumultuous, that not without much difficulty we could get through them with the corpse, which finally was laid in the ground; and afterwards the multitude was very rude, and Friends were much abused; howbeit, through mercy we were all preserved.

CHAPTER XVI.

1662.—*He returns to England; when in London, he sees Edward Burrough in Newgate shortly before his death—Travels into Surrey, Sussex, and Kent; is apprehended at Folkestone, but is discharged—Again visits Holland, and returns with his wife: travels into Warwickshire, &c., and arrives at Swarthmore.*

AFTER our marriage I continued several weeks with my dear wife, and the Lord was pleased very much to comfort and refresh us together with his infinite loving kindness which abounded to us, and with his heavenly blessings which he caused to descend upon us; for which our souls have cause for ever to praise and to magnify his name. Afterwards I went out upon the service of truth, to visit Friends in other places, as I had done before. In less than three months after I married, it was upon me to go for England; and in order thereunto I took leave of my dear wife and Friends in those parts; and about the 25th of the eleventh month, 1662, I embarked for England; and through the mercy of the Lord, I got well to Colchester, where I was sweetly refreshed with Friends, as I was wont to be in that place. Afterwards I went into the country, where I had several good and precious meetings, and then went up to London with another dear brother, and there I was also sweetly refreshed as I was wont to

be among the flock of God, and especially at Newgate with dear Edward Burrough, who was then a prisoner there; but in less than two weeks after he was released from his bonds, for the Lord removed him out of this evil world, that he might reward him with life everlasting in the world without end.

When I had been certain days in London, it was upon me to go down into Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, which I did, and visited Friends in Surrey, and had some very good meetings among them, to our refreshment in the Lord, being accompanied by my dear brother Joseph Fuce. Afterwards we went to Horsham in Sussex, and visited our Friends and brethren who were in prison there; after which we had some good meetings in that county. At a meeting at Hurst, I was in much danger of being apprehended through the envy of a wicked priest; but the Lord restrained the officers from executing his will, and therefore I was preserved out of their hands.

We passed into Kent, visiting Friends and their meetings in our travels, as our manner was: at Staplehurst we had a precious general meeting, after which we parted in the fulness of brotherly love; he [Joseph Fuce] went back into Sussex again, and I went towards Dover. When I came to Foulstone [Folkestone] I attended a general meeting there; and the officers of the town, whilst I was speaking, came into the meeting, and apprehended me, and carried me before the mayor; who being pretty moderate, would finally have set me at liberty, if I would promise him, that if I went to the meeting again, I would speak no more in it, which thing I could not in any wise promise, and gave him my reasons why I could not; upon which he sent me to prison. That same day afterwards we were had twice before the mayor, there being others with me, who finally discharged us all that night. I took leave of Friends there, it being the 1st day of the first month, 1663, and went to Dover, where I had a very good, serviceable and refreshing meeting among Friends; and being comforted together in the presence of the Lord, I left them, and went to a general meeting in East Kent, and from thence to Canterbury, and so to Rochester, visiting Friends, and from thence to London. I staid several days in that city, where I had several precious meetings: and afterwards, according as it was upon me, I went from thence into the country again, in order to return for Holland; and had several good meetings in the country at my return, to the renewal of our strength in the Lord.

When the Lord of his mercy had thus prospered my journey, and made it successful, he also gave me a good opportunity to return

again for Holland; where I arrived about the 10th of the second month, 1663, to mine and Friends' great refreshment in that country, and especially of my dear wife; with whom I staid not very long at her habitation, but as was upon me, went from city to city, visiting Friends and their meetings: and the Lord was with me, in whose living presence we were comforted together as in months past.

I had not staid above three months in those parts, when it was upon me to go for England again. My dear wife having longing desires, with some other Friends at Amsterdam, to see Friends in England; she and they determined to go along with me, which accordingly they did; and through the good hand of the Lord we got to Harwich about the 29th of the fourth month 1663, where we had a very good meeting with Friends, to our refreshment. From thence we went to Colchester, where we also had a good meeting. On the first-day following, we were at a general meeting in the country, to which many Friends and others resorted; and when I came there I understood that the constable had been there before me, and that he was determined to come again to break up the meeting. However, when Friends were gathered, I went in among them in the name and power of the Lord; and when I had sat but a little in the meeting, my heart was full of the Word of life, which I had to communicate to the congregation, and a very gallant and precious meeting it was. When I had done speaking, and was sat down, the constable came into the meeting, with his warrant subscribed by several justices; but he knew not me from the rest. Moreover, there being a woman Friend speaking, he troubled himself a little with her; but afterwards went away, and my liberty was preserved for future service, through the mercy and goodness of the Lord God. Afterwards we visited Friends at Coxhall [Coggeshall] and Witham, to their and our refreshment in the Lord.

In some short time after, we went up to London, where we were much comforted with Friends; who rejoiced more than a little to see people of another nation, and of a strange language, brought into the same living truth in which they were established, and to bear the same image that they bore, and to be comprehended in the same love, which the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ had shed abroad so richly among them. And when we had been very sweetly refreshed with Friends in several precious meetings in the city and elsewhere, we went to Kingston to a general meeting; and one of the Dutch Friends was moved to speak pretty much in the meeting, and I interpreted for her; with which Friends

were much affected and refreshed, feeling the same life and power in her that dwelt in us, giving testimony to the same eternal Truth; this, I say, did much refresh Friends, and confirm them in the present truth.

After that we returned to London, where we were comforted together as before; but we staid not long there, for it was upon me to go into the north; and it was upon my dear wife, and the rest of Friends, to return again for Holland. I with several dear Friends, accompanied them aboard, where I took my leave of them, and committed them to the custody and protection of the Almighty.

In a short time after I also took my leave of Friends in the city, and pursued my journey northwards; and when I came into Warwickshire, I met with my dear friend Margaret Fell, and two of her dear children, as also two dear brethren, viz: Thomas Salthouse, and Leonard Fell; and truly our rejoicing was more than a little in the Lord, having not seen one another for a long time before. We travelled together into Staffordshire, and there parted, some went for the north, some for Derbyshire; I returned again to a general meeting in Warwickshire, and went afterwards to Warwick, Coventry, &c., and visited Friends in several places in that county, where I also met with dear George Fox to my refreshment. After that I went into Derbyshire, and had a meeting in the city of Derby, and visited Friends elsewhere in that county. Then I went into some part of Nottinghamshire, where I met with dear M. F. again; and afterwards we went to Chesterfield, where we had a very good meeting. We then went into Yorkshire, visiting Friends as we went, to a place called Sinderhill Green, where dear G. F. met us: and there we had a gallant general meeting together.

Afterwards we went to Balby, where we staid some days, and many Friends resorted thither, so that we had a good time of refreshment together. After this I took my leave of Friends, for it was upon me to hasten towards Swarthmore in Lancashire, which I did, but visited Friends by the way as my manner was, to our mutual comfort in the Lord. In due time, through the goodness of the Lord, I got well to Swarthmore, where I had not been for some years; and there I was received in abundance of love, and was very sweetly refreshed with the remainder of the family. When first-day came, we had a very precious meeting, to the refreshing of the whole body of Friends that were present; for the power and presence of the Lord God was much amongst us, which was the cause of our great consolation in the Lord: blessed be his name for ever and ever.

CHAPTER XVII.

1663.—*He visits Friends in Cumberland—Proceeds into Durham—At Scarborough takes shipping for Holland, but reaches Yarmouth Roads—is driven back by storm again to Yarmouth, where he is committed to prison from Eighth month, 1663, to Second month, 1664.*

AFTER being at Swarthmore I went to Lancaster, Kendal, and other places, and visited Friends in those parts to our mutual comfort. It was upon me to go into Cumberland, which I did, so far as to the city of Carlisle, where I visited Friends in prison, and there, even in the prison, I had a very precious meeting; and afterwards I visited Friends in several parts of that county, to our great refreshment in the Lord.

When I was clear of that county, I returned again to Swarthmore, and there I found dear George Fox. Dear Margaret Fell was also returned home, which tended to the augmenting of my rejoicing which was great at that time with them, the family and Friends. I had not been long there when it was upon me to return again for Holland: but in the interim I went over to Lancaster to a general meeting which was held there in the assize week; and some occasion I had with some of the justices, as in reference to a certificate, which three of them granted me under their hands and seals, there being then reports of a plot, and for preventing my being stopped upon suspicion without cause. I therefore had their certificate, and returned again to Swarthmore; where I staid but a little, when I took my leave of them in the fulness of endeared love, and with much brokenness of heart, and so I left them, being accompanied by several of the brethren into Westmoreland; and after we were much comforted together, we took leave one of another, and parted in the same love and unity in which we had been so plenteously refreshed together.

I travelled into the bishoprick, and visited Friends there, and went to Durham, and visited those that were in prison; and from thence went to Sunderland, and had a general meeting betwixt Sunderland and the Shields. Upon inquiry after shipping for Holland, I heard of several that were preparing to go over, but the wind being contrary, and being desirous to visit more Friends, I travelled along the country, not far from the sea-side, visiting Friends as I went, at Shotton, Stockton, Whitby, and elsewhere, and had some very good meetings. When I came to Scarborough, I heard of vessels there also, that were intended for Holland. After I had had a very good opportunity with Friends there,

to their and my refreshment, the wind being fair, and the ships ready to sail, I took my leave of Friends, and went aboard one; but soon after, we met with contrary winds: however, we got up as far as Yarmouth Roads, and there waiting awhile, the weather being pretty good, we set sail again, intending to run over, if the Lord permitted. When we were got about ten leagues, I was much persuaded we should have a storm, and told the master of it, and would have had him return again for England; it being then indifferent weather, he did not much mind my words, but endeavoured to press forwards, though the wind was contrary. But that night following, according to my persuasion and expectation, we had a very sore tempestuous storm, and our ship proved very leaky; so that what with pumping and other extraordinary work, the men were exceedingly wearied and toiled. To outward appearance we were in much danger, for about the very height of the storm in the night season we lost the use of the helm for a time, so that the poor men were in great distress. In the mean while my soul interceded with the Most High, who heard my requests, and granted my desires; though for my own part, I was freely given up to the blessed will of the Lord, if it had been to have made my grave in those great deeps. But the Lord was determined to show mercy unto us, which evidently appeared, in his bringing us, through such apparent danger among the sands, even finally back to the English coast again: for which extraordinary mercy my soul hath cause for ever to bless, praise and magnify his glorious name.

Afterwards we got well, through mercy, into Yarmouth Roads again, and the wind remaining contrary, we put into the haven, and I went up to the town, where I waited some days for the wind. In the mean time the first-day of the week came, and it was upon me to go to the meeting of Friends, which accordingly I did; and about the end of it, there came several officers and soldiers, and apprehended seven Friends, besides myself, who were strangers in the town, five of whom belonged to one vessel; and they carried us to the main-guard, where they kept us that night; and very good service we had with the officers and among the soldiers; and the next morning we were brought before the bailiffs of the town, who tendered us the oath of allegiance; and because we refused to take it, or any oath whatsoever, we were committed to prison upon the 4th day of the eighth month, 1663, and continued in prison until the 22nd of the second month, 1664; and then I with the rest of my fellow prisoners was discharged.

The following interesting Epistles, nearly all of which are from the Swarthmore Collection, will serve to carry on the narrative beyond the period of the termination of the Journal.

WILLIAM CATON TO FRIENDS.

"Yarmouth Common Jail, 9th of eighth month, 1663.

"Dear and affectionately beloved Friends,

"In the everlasting fellowship of the gospel of peace, into which we are brought through the arm of God's eternal power, do I dearly and tenderly salute you; who are dear and near unto me in the truth of God, which he hath made known unto us, to the comfort of our souls; whereby he hath engaged us above all the families of the earth to love and to serve him with reverence and godly fear. And though they that are without, do judge we are losers through our knowledge of the Truth, yet we find that we are become gainers through it; for if we lose the love and peace and liberty, which the world in times past hath afforded us, we have gained the peace of God and liberty in his eternal Spirit; if we lose that honour and treasure which are of the world, and which we have had in the world, we are honoured of our God with bearing his name, and we are become sharers, with the rest of his sanctified ones, of heavenly treasure, which the world cannot give us, neither can it take away from us. So that whosoever deem or imagine we are losers through our coming to be of this way, or by our coming to the knowledge of this eternal Truth, I say, nay; for the things that we have lost by reason of it, being but as dross and dung, are not worthy to be compared to what we have gained through it. Shall not we therefore love the Truth? and shall not we be willing to suffer the loss of all this world can afford us for its sake? For can we have a better cause to suffer for than the Truth? can we suffer upon a more honourable account, than upon the Truth's account, upon the account for which all the righteous men, who have suffered in all ages, have suffered? And who are we that we should be called to this high and honourable calling?—or that we should be accounted worthy to become witnesses of this ancient Truth in this generation, to bear our testimony unto it with the rest of the faithful witnesses, servants and handmaids of the Most High! The consideration of these things I confess might even be enough to break and overcome our hearts, and to engage us, as it were, afresh unto our God, who hath chosen us and loved us, before we loved him or made choice of him to be our Lord and God; whom we have found

to be so exceedingly gracious and merciful to us-ward. Let our souls and spirits therefore praise and magnify him for ever and ever!

"And now, Friends, you may hereby understand, how that after I had had a very precious opportunity with many of you in the north, to my great refreshment in the Lord, I was clear in myself to return again for Holland; and in order thereunto, I passed towards the sea-coasts; and when I came there, I heard of ships that were nearly ready to go for Holland, both at Newcastle and Sunderland. But the wind being out of the way or contrary, and I being desirous to improve my time to the utmost, and withal being very desirous to see as many Friends as I could before I took shipping, I travelled along the coasts towards Whitby and Scarborough, and had some very good and precious meetings among Friends by the sea-side. And finding a ship ready at Scarborough, and the wind being good, I went aboard her: but the wind came contrary again: howbeit we kept out at sea and that for the space of nine days, whereas if the wind had been good we might have sailed it in two days. But finally a tempestuous storm came upon us, of which I had had some sight before, and told the master of it, and would have had him return again for England; and indeed it was so violent that as to outward appearance we were in very imminent danger; and the more so because our ship had a sore leak, or rather more than one, and sometimes the pump was so out of order that it would do no service, and besides they had lost the use of their helm, even in the very height of the storm. In the mean time the ship was in no small danger of being foundered or overset; and as for the poor men they were as if they had been plunged into the sea, and by reason of their continual pumping, besides the extraordinary toil they had with the sails, they were so exceedingly wearied out, that their courage and strength were very much departed from them. In which time I did much intercede with the Lord, and did with much fervency of spirit wrestle with him, that if it was his will their lives might be spared, and we preserved out of that extreme danger; though as for my own part I found myself freely given up to bequeath my soul into his bosom of everlasting love, and my body to be buried in that great deep: indeed I confess I could sometimes expect little else. At that time I could have bid you all farewell, and all that in this world I do enjoy, and could have gone to my everlasting home in peace with my God; who even then beheld my meditations and intercessions; and because he loved me, was he prevailed withal, even for his mercy's sake, who was deter-

mined, as appeared, to show mercy unto us. For when we were near the sands, where dear Hugh Tickhil's wife and another Friend were cast away, as I am informed, in their passing for Holland, the Lord was pleased to cast us betwixt two sands, which if our ship had come to strike upon either, she must in an instant have become a wreck. But blessed be the name of the Lord who preserved us out of that imminent danger, whereby he hath exceedingly engaged me unto him, and his unspeakable mercy I hope shall be held in a perpetual remembrance by me his servant; who at this time do make mention of this deliverance unto you, to the end that you may know how good the Lord hath been to me, and that you with me may return thanks unto him; not only for his mercies in general to us-ward, but for this to me in particular; the consideration and sense of which have more than a little broken my heart, which hath been filled with praises unto the Most High.

"Moreover, Friends, I would have you understand, that the Lord having delivered me out of the storm before mentioned by sea, he hath suffered me to come into another by land among unreasonable men, who are like unto the waves of the sea. But he that limits the one, limits the other; and I am confident that he that hath preserved me in the one, will in due time deliver me out of the other. By contrary winds, after we had been nine days at sea or thereabouts, we put in here at Yarmouth; and on a first-day I went to the meeting of Friends, which was a precious peaceable meeting: at the end of it, when we were standing up to depart, officers and many soldiers came there, and carried eight of us away prisoners to the main-guard, where they kept us that night among the soldiers; and the next day we were carried before the magistrates of the town, who presently tendered the oath unto us. I told them, I had never sworn but one oath in my life, that I knew of, and that was when I was a boy; and I had known the terrors of the Lord against the thing, and therefore I durst not swear again. But without any respect to my or our tender consciences, they committed us to the common jail; and so much confidence they had that we would be true to our principle, that they had made out our mittimus beforehand, yea, before they examined us; wherein the only thing charged against us was for refusing to swear. We were all strangers to the town, come occasionally and accidentally to it; for five of the Friends belonged to one vessel in the town, who were come hither to load with herrings for the Straits, one of them was the merchant, an-

other the master, another his mate, and the other two seamen; the others are Friends out of the country: and there are warrants out for apprehending Friends in the town also. And very high they are, (as the sea was for a season;) and they keep Friends from us, and would force us to have what we have occasion for of the jailer, which we cannot consent to, though we suffer five times more than we do at present. But notwithstanding their fury and rage against us, it is well with us,—blessed be the Lord; and we are resolved, in his name and power, to bear our testimony for the Lord in this place, as many of our brethren have done elsewhere. For my own part I am perfectly satisfied in the will of the Lord, not so much admiring at my present bonds, as I have admired sundry times that I have been so long kept out of bonds; unto which I have long been freely given up in the will of God, where my soul is in peace with the Lord. Unto him who hath gathered you by the arm of his power, and who is able to preserve you unto the end, whose name is called the Lord of hosts, do I commit you all; with whom I remain, in the unity and fellowship of the eternal Spirit of life, your dear friend and brother,

"WILLIAM CATON."

Extract from an Epistle of W. Caton to Friends, dated a few days after the preceding one; it is from a collection of copied letters from Colchester.

"Dear Friends,

"How near at hand we found Him unto us, even as a rock of defence to fly unto, in our greatest straits, difficulties and temptations! And what free access have we had unto Him through his eternal Spirit in ourselves, when by jails, houses of correction, force of arms, or the like, we have been hindered from having access one unto another, or from meeting together in the outward! How did we rejoice in the Lord, when he covered our heads as in the day of battle, even until the fury of the wicked came to be abated!

"And forasmuch as in these perilous times, we cannot well serve our God in that way in which He requires us to walk, without being in jeopardy of bonds and imprisonments, or of having other sufferings imposed upon us, by reason of our meeting together to wait upon the Lord; it doth so much the more concern us to feel the drawing of our God by his eternal Spirit to our meetings; that when we are met, we may so much the more enjoy His presence to the refreshment of our souls. And then if we suffer for waiting upon him, he will not leave us comfortless in that suffer-

ing; neither will it be grievous to us, while we keep in *that* through which we enjoyed him in our meetings, for *in that* we may enjoy him in our sufferings: and then it will be better to be one day in prison with the Lord, than a thousand elsewhere without the enjoyment of his presence, in which we have found, as you know, much joy and peace, much comfort and consolation.

I suppose many of you have heard of my bonds,—how that after God, of his mercy, had delivered me out of a mighty violent storm at sea, I was cast in here; where they in authority have shown themselves to be worse to me and the Friends with me, than the barbarous people of Melita were to Paul and them that were with him; who showed them no small kindness, for they received and lodged them courteously. But these that are called Christians, showed themselves far from courteous, in that they broke up our meeting with many soldiers, and afterwards committed us to prison; and instead of showing us much kindness, they have been so cruel to us, as that sometimes it was difficult for us to get water and bread. Howbeit, the Lord is with us, and their cruelty hath been little to us; for we know that our God will, in his own due time, deliver us out of their hands, when our testimony is sufficiently borne. Of this I am very sensible, that with the baptism of suffering under this spirit of persecution in the nation, many are to be baptized into the fellowship of the gospel with the saints in light. And blessed and thrice happy are they, and will they be, that continue faithful unto the end,—for they shall be saved. Farewell in the Lord, in whom I remain your dear friend and brother,

“WILLIAM CATON.

“Yarmouth Common Jail, 14th of
Eighth month, 1663.”

“Dear brethren, T. S. and J. P.,

“Yours dated the 12th of last month I have this afternoon received, to my refreshment in the seed immortal; in which I feel your love extending to me, and perceive your sympathizing with me in these my bonds; in which the Lord hath been pleased to try me a little, together with the rest of my fellow prisoners, even as he hath tried many who are now at liberty as I was, when they have been as I am: but blessed be the Lord it hath been a good time for me; and as I think I told you before, much I have enjoyed of the Lord since my confinement, and his love is perfectly continued unto me, in which my soul doth solace itself night and day. And much I could say unto you, if I were with you and the rest of our dear and near rela-

tions in that blessed family, who know my voice and integrity, my love and simplicity; which is also pretty much known to many more, whom I love in the Lord. In these parts I find the love of Friends to be much to me; but they are but seldom permitted to come in to us, for the bailiffs do absolutely gainsay it, for fear, as they pretend, lest they should bring in ammunition to us, books or letters, &c.—Howbeit, in eight weeks' time, through the providence of the Lord and our patient long suffering, our persecutors are brought so far as that they now do in part condescend to suffer provision to be handed in to us at the door. The last seventh-day the jailer caused the door to be opened for provision to be brought in, which was more than ever he had done before; yet on the last second-day they were so high again, that when Friends would have brought in a spinning wheel, they would not suffer them; and they going about to pull it up at the window, the turnkey cut the cords. But enough as to these things, for the Lord is with us; through whose word, power and Spirit we doubt not, but we shall in his time become victorious through suffering; as our Captain and thousands of his followers have been.

I was truly glad to hear of your liberty, and of Friends' welfare, and of the peaceableness and preciousness of your meetings in those parts; and especially of the well-being of that honourable family, and also of dear George Fox's liberty yet in it, which I know is no small mercy to it. I desire to be dearly remembered to him, also to dear Margaret Fell, and to all her dear children; unto whom my affectionate love is, as you right well know, as unto the rest of the family. I was glad to hear that my general epistle was come well to hand, and that it had such influence upon the hearts of our beloved Friends in the meeting to their refreshment. It is much with Friends in these parts, as you relate it is in the north, viz. the meetings are mostly pretty quiet, blessed be the Lord; but many of them are cited, and some excommunicated, and others have their goods spoiled, for not repairing to their devised devotion. I am yet very well, blessed be the Lord; so are we all.

“My dearest love is with you, my dear brethren:—Farewell,

“WILLIAM CATON.

“Yarmouth, 1st of Tenth
month, 1663.”

*Addressed to James Moore, woollen-draper,
Kendal.*

“J. M.

“With the salutation of dear and unfeigned love, do I dearly salute thee, and all our dear

Friends and brethren with thee; and being sensible of your desires to hear of me, to the end you might know how it was with us at the sessions, these are therefore to inform thee, together with the rest of Friends, that we were not once called at the sessions. When I saw they had adjourned their court, I went and spoke with the clerk thereof, to know the reason why we were not called; he said, because the court was minded to favour us: for if we had been called then, there must have been a bill of indictment preferred against us, and the oath tendered again to us, and then we should have been more liable to have been premunired, &c. He said further, if we would but give sureties for our good behaviour, we might go about our business and the like. Afterwards I wrote to the judge and to the bailiffs; and the chief collector of this town took it from me, and gave it to one of the justices, who willingly carried it to the judge, and did plead our cause pretty much; the judge was a moderate wise man, and willing that we should have our liberty; and though he was in much haste to be gone out of the town, yet he prescribed to them a way how they might clear us, viz: by taking any one man from the quay, though but a porter, and he might serve to be bound for a hundred of us; and when he came again he would take it off the file, so that we should not be called, neither needed even to appear any more. Further, he knowing our tenderness of conscience, ordered that the clerk should take nothing of us; neither would he have had us further troubled or longer detained. And this, one of the justices, that carried our paper and is our great friend, sought further to have accomplished, to the end that we might have our liberty; but when the judge was gone, some of our grand adversaries consulted together, and resolved to perpetuate our bonds, except we should yield and give our consent to the recognizance: though they did not desire that we should come to appear at the sessions, yet they would have us to submit to satisfy their wills more or less; and because we cannot satisfy them, therefore are our bonds continued. Howbeit, the aforesaid friendly justice is very much dissatisfied, and told the rest, in the hearing of one of our friends, that he could not be quiet, and would not be quiet till he had us out; and in order thereunto, he labours yet very much to procure our liberty, but what the end thereof will be, time will manifest: in the mean time we hope to rest satisfied in the will of our God.

"At Norwich there are several of our friends in prison, some committed from the assize, and some from the session, being fined for keeping on their hats in their courts of judi-

cature. Since the assize, meetings have been broken up at some places in these parts;—for the judge was very high and severe against the fanatics, so called, in his charge and proceedings. But Friends are sweetly kept, blessed be the Lord; and the truth is of good report and of good esteem among the upright in heart, notwithstanding the tribulation which comes upon them by reason of it. This very day we have had more visitors, than we have had in all the time that we have been prisoners here before; and much pity seems to be in the hearts of people towards us; and good service we had with them: but blindness and ignorance hath happened to the most of them. The chief occasion of their coming to the jail was to see some condemned persons; and being here they came to see us also, and finding every man close at his work, the sight was so much the more strange to them.

"I have little else to communicate, besides the redoubling of my salutation of true love unto thee and to all the brethren. I am, dear James, thy real friend and brother,

"WILLIAM CATON.

"Yarmouth, 18th of Second month, 1664."

P. S.—"The vessel out of which my fellow prisoners were taken, when they were put in prison here, was taken by the Turks, and carried into Argeei [Algiers?]; so that though our persecutors intended it for evil towards them, yet the Lord may have suffered it to come to pass for their good: and one of them having heretofore been a slave in Turkey, knows what a miserable servitude it is. But the Lord knows right well, how to order things for the best, to them that fear him."

At the period of the following Epistle, we find William Caton in Holland; it is dated Rotterdam, 16th of Tenth month, 1664.

"Dear and entirely beloved friends,

"The love and affection that abounds in my heart towards you in the Lord I cannot easily express, nor the fervency of my desire to the Lord for you; yet however herein can I satisfy myself, in that we are come to read and feel one another in that which is immortal—which tongue (to the full) cannot express, nor pen (to the utmost) demonstrate; and even through this, which is immortal, doth my love extend unto you; and with the sense of your love, and the mercy of God to you and me, is my heart broken, my spirit melted within me, and mine eyes filled with tears. And what is that which thus breaks and overcomes me? surely it is nothing but the sense of the same love and life, which we have felt one in another, when we were together, to

the comforting and refreshing of our souls. And though I am far separated from you as to the outward, yet I am not destitute of that which your souls delight in, nor deprived, through my external separation, of your joy and delight, of your solace and consolation, which is mixed with your adversity and suffering. Howbeit my heart is often sad, and my spirit afflicted within me, because of the many impediments and obstructions which the Lord's truth meets withal in this country; whereby it is much hindered from spreading and breaking forth: so that I cannot say that it flourisheth and prospereth here, as it hath flourished and prospered among you, when the Lord's truth did so eminently break in upon you, and his heavenly power did so mightily break forth among you, to our refreshment in the Lord. Yet verily I have no cause to complain; for the wonted goodness and tender mercy of the Most High is perfectly continued unto me, otherwise I should be much more bowed down than I am, and that through the sense I often have of the body's suffering, and of yours as members of it; and also of the subtle working of Satan, together with other things of the like nature; but the sense of the aforesaid goodness and mercy does support me in all my travels and sufferings in the Gospel. And I doubt not, my dearly beloved, but that you have the sense of the same to support and uphold you, in all your manifold afflictions and tribulations. Well, therefore, be patient and content in the will of the Lord, without willing anything, but that his will may be done in all things; lest while you should will to have things thus and so, and after this manner or the other, you should be found out of the will of the Lord, and among them that are willing and running, and unbelieving, to whom there is no true peace or rest. But I hope God, of his infinite mercy, will establish your hearts in faith and peace; that you may depend wholly upon his power and mercy, which hitherto upon all occasions we have found sufficient: to this then will I commit you all, my dear friends; and in the sense and virtue of the same, do I dearly greet and salute you all with love unfeigned in our Lord Jesus Christ.

"I suppose that some of you have heard of my being lately in Friesland; where there was but little entrance to be gotten for the truth, and therefore was my refreshment the less, and my sufferings the more. Howbeit some few I found, and but few, in their metropolitan city, who with a ready mind received my testimony. When I had been there some time, I returned again to Amsterdam, where we are much more visited with

strangers in our meetings than in any other place in this country. And as concerning the plague there, it is, through mercy, very much abated; so that there died the last week but about one hundred and eighty-six, which is about the ordinary number that used to die in a week: howbeit the city is not yet free of the sickness; for the same day I came from thence, I was to visit a Friend that was exceedingly ill of the plague, and two of his children are lately dead of the sickness, with another young man that lodged in his house. So that whom the Lord is pleased yet to visit with it, he visiteth; and therefore none can assure himself of being freed from it longer than the Lord pleaseth.

"About the latter end of the last week, at and about Amsterdam, there was a multitude of trees, small and great, that were so admirably rent and broken and bowed down by ice that was frozen upon them, that it was very wonderful to behold; surely it was a figure to that lofty city, and to the inhabitants of it, who are like unto those whom the prophet compared to the tall cedars of Lebanon. Here hath also been a strange comet seen for some weeks by many in these parts, which signs and tokens, as also the late visitation of the plague, together with the present threatening war, cause many to muse, and some to believe. Yet the Lord is determined to bring yet greater judgment upon this land; and it may be that when the vial of the Lord's indignation shall be poured forth, then the day of the Lord's gathering shall be. This day I have seen their weekly news, in which they have made mention of our seven Hertford Friends,* that were ordered to be sent away, showing that neither wind nor weather would serve the ship so that she could sail. And when the master could have no success with them, he put them ashore, that he might accomplish his voyage the better, &c. This even makes our enemies imagine, that the hand of the Lord is against our persecutors, in their proceedings against Friends. I have lately visited most Friends in this country, and they are pretty well, blessed be the Lord; and their dear love is to you all, and for any thing I know, their small meetings are for the most part pretty peaceable. Often am I, with other Friends, truly sensible of your manifold sufferings, and a perfect sympathizing we find in our very hearts with you; and we doubt not but you are sensible thereof. And truly we are right willing, not only to share with you of your consolation, but also to partake with you of your tribulation. So read ye our love, de-

* See Sewel's History, under date of 1664.

sire and willingness, and compare the same with yours, and you shall find that we are like-minded with you, yea of one heart and soul, and members of one body with you. And in this union and oneness we suffer and rejoice with you;—and in the one eternal Spirit, by which we are united, do I remain, as in months past, your dear brother and companion,
 WILLIAM CATON."

The following are extracts from the latest original letter of W. Caton's, which the Editor has been able to discover. It is dated "Amsterdam, 19th and 20th of the Eighth month, 1665," and is addressed to James Moore, woollen-draper, Kendal.

"I give you to understand, that through the infinite mercy of the Lord we are very well, and our meetings continue unmolested; except sometimes among the many strangers that resort to them, there may be some contentious or light person, who may seem to be a little troublesome. But I must confess we have no just cause to complain, having no greater suffering than our sympathizing with our suffering brethren in England in their grievous sufferings. O! that the Lord would be pleased, in this remarkable visitation, which is upon that nation, to break the hearts of them that are so inclined to persecution;—that they might come to desist from all such destructive enterprises, which are so exceedingly prejudicial, both to kings, kingdoms, and subjects, as might largely be shown. Methinks it is very commendable to see, as I have often seen in this city, Calvinists, Lu-

therans, Papists, Baptists of divers sorts, Jews, Friends, Armenians, &c., go in peace, and return in peace, and enjoy their meetings in peace, and all are kept in peace in the city, and that without any trouble to the rulers; who I think have manifold better, and are much more at peace and quietness than the magistrates in England, who first are troubled with making laws to take away liberty of conscience, and then more than a little with executing those laws, &c.

"I was glad to hear of the welfare of my friends and relations; to whom I desire to be remembered, and in particular to my sister Dorothy and her husband: and let them know, how that I and my dear wife are very well, blessed be the Lord. I desire that my dear love be dearly remembered to all our Friends and brethren; also to Friends at Cartmel, Underbarrow, and about Hawkshead, and at and about Swarthmore; in particular to dear Margaret Fell and her children: and of my love to Yealand Friends in the truth I could say much. I herewith commit you all to the protection of the Almighty—and in love unfeigned remain thy and your dear friend,

"WILLIAM CATON."

* * There is reason to believe that within two, or, at most, three months from the date of this last epistle, William Caton was removed by death, in Holland. "He died in the Lord, and is blessed; and rests from his labours, and his works follow him."*

* George Fox's Testimony concerning him.

MEMOIR OF THOMAS UPSHER.

THOMAS UPSHER was born in the parish of Lexden, borough of Colchester, and county of Essex, in the sixth month 1672. He was educated in the profession of a Presbyterian, and was seriously inclined from his youth, often seeking the Lord for the good of his soul, and diligently reading the holy Scriptures. About the fifteenth year of his age, he left the Presbyterians and joined the people called general Baptists, and was zealous in that way, becoming a preacher in much esteem amongst them. But it pleased the Lord more effectually to visit his soul, by the light of Christ Jesus, unto which he turned in living faith, and came to see the emptiness of his former profession and talk of religion, without the saving knowledge of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, which is only attained through the revelation of his Spirit.

He was about twenty years of age when he was convinced of the blessed Truth as held by the people called Quakers, and embracing it in the love thereof, he continued a diligent attender of their meetings for the worship of Almighty God, waiting upon Him in retirement of spirit and true silence for his teaching and counsel. At length, it pleased the Lord to bestow on him a gift in the ministry of the gospel, which he received in great humility, speaking a few words amongst his brethren, in much fear and tenderness, to the comfort and refreshment of many. God, in tender mercy, increased his gift, so that he became an able and experienced minister of the gospel, turning many from darkness unto the light of Christ Jesus; in which service he travelled in most parts of England, and also in Ireland.

In the time of health he was concerned to

remember death and spake of it; and when taken sick remarked, "I do not expect to live long in this world; I have been preparing for a better. I do not desire to live on my own account—I long more and more to be at home with my God; yet I would not be of those who desired the reward before the work is done. There is nothing here which invites my stay, but if God has any further service for me in this world, I am given up to his will."

In a letter to a particular friend, written in the time of his sickness, he thus expresses himself, viz;

"When I consider the many changes which we and ours and all we have in this world, are subject to, it seems a sufficient antidote against the individual love of [temporal things;] and it appears to me, that it is the want of due thoughtfulness which makes many so much engaged in them, as almost wholly to frustrate those religious endeavours which are necessary in order to make sure our eternal interest.

"It is now a long time since I have enjoyed one day of perfect health as heretofore. I consider it as a preparatory summons from this frail state of being; and I thank God, I am not altogether unmindful of my duty, in setting my house in order against the time shall come when I must die. I hope to live in a far better state, and there to join all the generations of the just that are gone before, and shall hereafter follow."

Several friends being with him, he spoke to them of his death, and desired they might bear him witness, saying: "My dependence, hope and trust is in the Lord Jesus Christ alone,—I do not value myself upon any qualification or endowment received, but lay all down as at the feet of Jesus, and am as nothing before him."

About two days after this, though weak in body, he was carried in a coach to the burial of a Friend at Ipswich; and although he seemed very unfit for the service of the day, there being many people assembled, yet the Lord was pleased to strengthen and qualify him to declare the word of Truth and life, in the demonstration and power of the Spirit, whereby the people were much affected, and friends who knew his weakness, admired the love and goodness of God to him. He appeared stronger after the meeting than before, and continued better for a few days, but his disorder returned again, and he was enabled to be very patient under extreme pain, which was so great, he said no tongue could express it. Yet he desired to be resigned, and the Lord favoured him with resignation, faith and patience, through all.

To a friend who came to visit him, he said, "In all likelihood, I am now about to take

my last leave of you all, and I pray God from my heart to bless you." Being desired to send for another physician, he answered, "No—I am satisfied if God had been pleased to say amen to means, there has been sufficient used for my recovery; and therefore I shall have my eye to the Lord only for help." At another time, he said, "My tongue is not able to express what I feel of the love and goodness of God, now when I have most need of it;—the saying used by that plain, despised people [the Quakers] is very true, that, Life is better than words. There is one thing I cannot find out, why the Lord should so abound in his love and mercy to me, who am so unworthy of the least of his mercies."

There was great refreshment felt many times in sitting by him in silence; and on a first-day morning several Friends being in his chamber, he desired they might wait upon the Lord together, and the Lord was pleased to open his mouth to praise and magnify his holy name. He spoke of the blessed estate of the faithful, at the sight of which, he was filled with heavenly joy, praising the Lord to the comfort of those present—and saying, "O that I might declare of the wonders of the Lord, which I have seen in the deeps—but I am resigned to his will."

Speaking of his pains and exercises, he said they were very great; but added, "The Lord is very good to me, and bears up my spirit in the midst of them all." Taking leave of some friends who visited him, he exhorted them so to live that he and they might meet in the mansions of eternal rest—and desired his dear love to Friends every where, saying, "They are near to my life—I have true unity with them in spirit." At a meeting in his chamber about two weeks before his death, the state of the church and many precious gospel truths were opened to him, and in a heavenly frame of spirit he spake of the wonderful wisdom, love and goodness of God, exhorting Friends to be more faithful and diligent in His blessed cause and service.

A few days before his close, feeling himself a little revived, he went to meeting and there was engaged in fervent prayer, praising the Lord in a true sense of his mercy and goodness. His distemper returning with increased severity, he felt his end drawing near, and remarked, "I desire to die in great humiliation and to commit my spirit into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ." When death approached he was in a heavenly frame of mind, and said, "The Lord, in the riches of his mercy, will keep all them that trust in him, under all their trials." He peacefully departed this life the 10th of the eighth month, 1704, aged thirty-two years.



